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ILLINOIS HISTORICAL SURVEY

Chicago: Its History and Its Builders

A CENTURY OF MARVELOUS GROWTH

BY

J. SEYMOUR CURREY

Honorary Vice President Illinois State Historical Society, Vice President Cook County Historical Society, Member Chicago Historical Society, American Historical Association, Illinois State Library Association, National Geographical Society, Chicago Geographic Society.

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AN INTERVAL OF FOUR YEARS

THE four years following the events narrated in the last chapter of the preceding volume were years of intense political excitement. The deep feeling of resentment prevailing throughout the North caused by the enactment of the Fugitive Slave law was not allayed, but settled into a permanent conviction that slavery must be exterminated. Even Lincoln had at last awakened from his conservatism, and had declared that the country could not continue to exist "half slave and half free." Talk of disunion among the Southern statesmen already filled the air, and one of the remembered phrases of Lincoln's "lost speech" was that memorable utterance, "We won't go out of the Union, and you shan't."

Douglas had been the chief instrument in carrying through the bill organizing the territories of Kansas and Nebraska, one clause of which repealed the Missouri Compromise. This was May 30th, 1854. The Missouri Compromise had for thirty-four years been the main reliance of the conservative element in its efforts to quiet

the fears of further slavery extension. The repeal had once more brought the slavery question to the fore as the chief issue in the politics of the nation.

In the year 1854 the population of Chicago was nearly sixty-six thousand, having more than doubled in the four years under review. The raising of the grades in the streets, so marked a feature of city improvements in later years, had not yet been attempted. The principal streets were dusty in dry periods and muddy in wet, and were often almost impassable. Ineffectual attempts to better conditions were resorted to by means of planking the streets, but the planking needed constant repair and soon became useless. The city was then reached by a number of railroads, the Galena and Chicago Union and the Chicago and Rock Island from the west, the Chicago and Alton from the southwest, the Michigan Southern and Northern Indiana, and the Michigan Central, from the east. The Illinois Central and the Chicago and Milwaukee railroads were not completed until the following year.

The newspaper press of the city was represented by the Chicago *Democrat,* John Wentworth's paper, William Bross' paper, the Chicago *Democratic Press,* the Chicago *Journal* and the Chicago *Tribune.* The telegraph had been in use for some years.

THE NORTH MARKET HALL MEETING

In August, 1854, Senator Douglas arrived in Chicago from Washington, and soon after he was asked to address the citizens on the questions of the day. The meeting was to be held at North Market Hall, on the evening of the first of September. William Bross was at this time editor of the Chicago *Democratic Press,* and though bitterly opposed to Douglas on the question of the extension and perpetuation of slavery, was extremely anxious that the senator should be heard, and an opportunity given him to explain his position. There was a strong tendency among the people of Chicago to break away from his leadership, and the growing anti-slavery element were only too glad to have him among them so that he, as one of the most influential statesmen in the Democratic party, could be made aware in the most direct manner of the sentiments of his constituents, on the burning issues of the time.

Mr. Bross in later years related in detail the particulars of this great meeting, in an article printed in the Chicago *Tribune,* for August 25th, 1877. "Three or four days before the meeting," wrote Governor Bross, "I called upon him [Douglas] at the Tremont House, and requested him to write out a copy of his speech for me, and I would publish it in full. Though the *Press* had persistently opposed, and perhaps denounced him bitterly at times, he received me with great courtesy and politeness, . . . thanked me for my offer, but said he never wrote out his speeches before delivery; he let the reporters write them out, and then corrected them where necessary." It was learned that the Democracy had determined to fill North Market Hall at an early hour with their partisans, "thus preventing other people from gaining admittance, pass resolutions strongly endorsing the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and Senator Douglas, and have that go out as the opinion of the people of Chicago."

MR. BROSS UNDERTAKES TO REPORT DOUGLAS' SPEECH

"The substantial and order-loving people were urged to turn out early," said Governor Bross in the article referred to, "and thus defeat the schemes of the polit-

ical tricksters. The meeting was held in the open air on account of the hot weather, and there was an immense gathering of people, perhaps the largest up to that evening ever held in the city. We then had no shorthand reporters here, and unwilling to trust any one else, I went there myself to report it. I was at once invited upon the stage, perhaps by Mayor Milliken, who presided, and, receiving a pleasant greeting from Senator Douglas, I sat down and composed myself for the work before me.

"The very first sentence he uttered was considered an insult to the people and the press of the city. He charged them with not understanding so plain a proposition as the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and the press with persistently misrepresenting and maligning him. The statement was received with groans and hisses, and for perhaps two or three minutes nothing else could be heard. When comparative quiet was restored, he spoke for perhaps eight or ten minutes, and then the laughing and hooting were repeated. This thoroughly enraged the senator, and his language and manner became exceedingly offensive.

"Finding no use for my pencil during the uproar, I slipped down from the stage and circulated among the people, to see in what temper they were. This I did several times, and always found them happy and in the best possible humor. Never before or since have I seen a larger proportion of our solid, substantial, leading citizens at a public meeting. I knew as well as I could know without being told it, there were more than a thousand revolvers in the crowd. All would laughingly tell me, 'Bross, we shall have no mob.' And yet, I feared it, for had some Democrat told one of our respectable citizens he lied, he would have instantly been knocked down; and when once a fuss began the pistols would have done their work fearfully. I knew that the human mind is so constituted that the change from the best of humor to the most intense anger requires but an instant.

TROUBLE ARISES BETWEEN DOUGLAS AND BROSS

"Little did I suppose that I was so soon to illustrate this principle myself, for on returning from one of my short visits through the crowd, and while the hooting and yelling were loud and long, Judge Douglas turned round, and paused for a moment. Knowing he could not and would not be heard, with the best of motives and the politest and most pleasant language I could command, I said, 'Judge, would it not be best to print your speech? You cannot be heard; allow me to suggest that you retire.' With all the force and power he could command, he said: 'Mr. Bross, you see that your efforts in the *Democratic Press* to get up an armed mob to put me down have been entirely successful.' In an instant, I sprang to my feet and with very emphatic gestures, said, 'Judge Douglas, that's false—every word of it false, sir!' 'It will do very well,' he replied, 'for you, with your armed mob about you, to make an assertion like that.' 'It's false, sir—not a word of truth in it,' I replied; and, a little quiet being restored, he turned to address the people.

"I have often wondered at myself for the part I acted in this little drama. There was not more than one or two besides myself on the stage who were not warm personal friends of Judge Douglas, and to hurl the word 'false' at him might have cost me my life; but I knew I had done all I could to give him a quiet

hearing, and I took not a moment's thought, and repelled the charge on the spot. After continuing his efforts to be heard for half an hour longer, with no success, his friends put him in a carriage, and he rode away amid the jeers of the crowd."

A DOUGLAS SYMPATHIZER'S ACCOUNT

The biographer of Douglas, James W. Sheahan, says in writing of the meeting at the North Market: "We never saw such a scene before, and we hope never to see the like again. Until ten o'clock he stood firm and unyielding, bidding the mob defiance, and occasionally getting in a word or two upon the general subject. . . . Had he exhibited fear, he would not have commanded respect; had he been craven, and entreated, his party would in all probability, have been assaulted with missiles, leading to violence in return. But, standing there before that vast mob, presenting a determined front and unyielding purpose, he extorted an involuntary admiration from those of his enemies who had the courage to engage in a personal encounter; and that admiration, while it could not overcome the purpose of preventing his being heard, protected him from personal violence. The motive, the great ruling reason, for refusing him the privilege of being heard, was that as he had, in 1850, carried the judgment of the people captive into an endorsement of the fugitive slave law, so, if allowed to speak in 1854, he would at least rally all Democrats to his support by his defense of the Nebraska bill. The combined fanatics of Chicago feared the power and effect of his argument in the presence and hearing of the people. They therefore resolved that he should not be heard. So far as this occasion was concerned, the object was successfully attained, and if there were any doubts as to the fact that the course agreed upon had been previously concerted, the experience of the following few weeks served to remove all question on that head."

BROSS' REVIEW OF THE MEETING

In the next issue of the *Democratic Press,* Editor Bross stated that the people present at the meeting "did not mob Judge Douglas," as it had been charged, that "the people were noisy and refused to hear him, thereby resenting the imputations he cast upon them," and that the fault lay with Douglas himself, who "lost his balance and forgot that he was the representative of the people. . . . Mr. Douglas came before his constituents rather as a master than as a servant. The spirit of a dictator flashed out from his eyes, curled upon his lip, and mingled its cold irony in every tone of his voice and every gesture of his body."

OTHER NEWSPAPER COMMENTS

The *Illinois Journal,* of Springfield, commenting on the meeting said, "We have heard from private sources that there were ten thousand people present; and that they evidently did not come there to get up a disturbance, but simply to demonstrate to Senator Douglas their opinion of his treachery to his constituents. This they did effectually, and Mr. Douglas now fully understands the estimate in which his conduct is held by his townsmen at Chicago. It is said that Mr. Douglas felt intensely the rebuke he had received."

The same paper gives a report of the speech, at least such portions as he was able to deliver between the interruptions. It is interesting as a specimen of "stump oratory," and as showing the excited state of public opinion on the burning questions of that day. "You have been told," said Douglass, "that the bill legislated slavery into territory now free. It does no such thing. [Groans and hisses—with abortive efforts to cheer.] As most of you have never read that bill [groans], I will read to you the fourteenth section. [Here he read the section referred to, long since published and commented on in this paper.] It will be seen that the bill leaves the people perfectly free. [Groans and some cheers.] It is perfectly natural for those who have misrepresented and slandered me, to be unwilling to hear me; I am here in my own home. [Tremendous groans, a voice—'that is, in North Carolina'—'in Alabama'—'go there and talk,' etc.]

"I am in my own home, and have lived in Illinois long before you thought of the state. I know my rights, and, though personal violence has been threatened me, I am determined to maintain them. [Much noise and confusion.]" These fragmentary remarks are continued to a considerable length in the report, which is concluded as follows: "The questions now became more frequent and the people more noisy. Judge Douglas became excited, and said many things not very creditable to his position and character. The people as a consequence refused to hear him further, and, although he kept the stand for a considerable time, he was obliged at last to give way and retire to his lodgings at the Tremont House. The people then separated quietly, and all, except the office-holders, in the greatest of good humor."

In the store of splendid memories of the men and the movements of the war period and of the period preceding the war, Mr. Carr recalls the following picture of the great Senator: "The author of this work," he says, referring to his Life of Douglas, "remembers Senator Douglas as what the politicians of to-day would call a good mixer. There was no company in which he could not be a congenial companion. In company of the great at Washington and in the cabin of the frontier, with grave senators, with cabinet officials, and with the plain people—farmers and mechanics and laboring men—he was equally at home. He was genial and cordial, interested in everything that concerned those with whom he came in contact, to such a degree as to make them feel that he was one of them. . . .

"Genial as he was, cordial as he was, entering into and enjoying all the social relations and sports of those early days, he was always dignified. While he was amused at the vagaries and the excesses of those who took part in the social gatherings of the time, and their extravagant demonstrations, and enjoyed them, he himself never gave way to them to such a degree as to be a leader in them. He maintained such reserve as was becoming in one of such character and attainments. He would enjoy and laugh at stories, but there is no record of his having told one. He appreciated and enjoyed a pun, but he never made one."

EARLY PAVING AND GRADING

As the city emerged from primitive conditions, the increase of street traffic required improved roadways. The general level of the city's site was but a few feet above the level of the lake and river, and in times of floods or even in ordinary wet

weather the soft and yielding soil was soon changed into quagmires, through which it was difficult to drive a wagon or carriage. In Bross' History of Chicago, he says:

"We had no pavements in 1848. The streets were simply thrown up as country roads are. In the spring, for weeks, portions of them would be impassable. I have, at different times, seen empty wagons and drays fast in the mud on Lake Street and Water Street on every block. . . . Of course there was little or no business doing, for the people of the city could not get about much, and the people of the country could not get in to do it. As the clerks had nothing to do, they would exercise their wits by putting boards from dry goods boxes in the holes where the last dray was dug out, with significant signs, as 'No bottom here,' 'The shortest road to China,' etc. Sometimes one board would be nailed across another, and an old hat and coat fixed on it, with the notice, 'On his way to the lower regions.' In fact there was no end to the fun; and the jokes of the boys of that day—some were of larger growth—were without number."

A story is told of General Hart L. Stewart, a citizen of early Chicago. One day as he was going along Lake street, his head and well known hat appeared above the surface of the mud. Some one called out to him, "General, you seem to be in pretty deep!" "Great Scott," he replied, "I've got a horse under me!"

The planking of Lake street was ordered by the Common Council January 22d, 1849. The planked roadway was forty-eight feet wide. Even before that time it had been found utterly useless to lay a stone pavement, which would soon sink in the yielding earth. The experiment of laying plank roadways had proven successful in many places, and the Common Council determined to plank the principal streets of the city. In 1849 and 1850 planking was laid down on Market, State, North and South Clark, La Salle, Wells, East and West Madison, and West Randolph streets, in all about three miles of planking, at a cost of thirty-one thousand dollars. But the plank roadways were short-lived, and the street paving problem soon came to be a leading public issue.

Intimately associated with the paving problem was that of the raising of the grades of the streets; indeed, from the earliest days street paving, whenever there was occasion to relay it, was usually accompanied by the raising of the level of the surface. In 1855 the grade was raised sufficiently to cover sewers. Again in 1857 another elevation of the surface was found necessary. After much public discussion it was decided to fill the streets to a height of ten feet above the lake or river level, with some slope towards the water. Even so there was a strong sentiment in favor of a still greater height, but it was supposed that difficulty would be experienced in obtaining the requisite earth for the filling. As a matter of fact there has always been found in the subsequent building operations more earth from excavations for foundations and basements than was necessary for street filling. This excess has supplied much of the filling required for the lake front east of Michigan avenue. The whole space between Michigan avenue and the piling upon which the Illinois Central Railroad was carried from Twelfth street to the terminal station at the foot of Lake street, a space of considerable width as all the old maps show, has been gradually filled with surplus earth taken from the excavations for buildings. The debris from the ruins of buildings after the great fire of 1871 also added largely to the material used for filling the lake front.

Raising the grade of the streets was one of the remarkable features of the city's growth, this being a necessary step in drainage and for providing a firm foundation for the pavements, but the process extended over many years, and was done in piecemeal fashion, and at great inconvenience to business men. The Chicago *Tribune* of April 9th, 1857, took up the subject vigorously. "What effect is this new grade going to have on buildings already erected in this city?" it asked. "The streets and sidewalks must be raised some seven feet above the natural surface level. In other words, every house now built must be raised about the height of the Mayor above its present foundation, or be entered through doors cut in its second story. [It will be remembered that "Long John" Wentworth was the mayor at this time.] The proposed grade would damage immensely all our citizens who have built those magnificent brick and stone blocks within the past three years. These buildings have been erected to correspond with the present grade. The grade would throw their floors some four feet below the sidewalks, while their second floors would be five or six feet above the street surface, and their cellars would become dark pits or dens underground. . . .

"It will be a costly job to raise all the streets and sidewalks of Chicago six to eight feet within the space to be drained by sewers—a space of more than twelve hundred acres. Where are the millions of cubic yards of earth to come from to fill them up to the second stories of the present buildings? And how many millions of dollars is it going to cost the tax payers? What sort of 'up and down' sidewalk will the establishment of this new 'thirteen or fourteen' foot grade create during the next twenty years?"

RAISING HEAVY STRUCTURES

A prominent instance of the difficulties to be met with in raising the grade was the new five story brick hotel, on the south east corner of Lake and Dearborn streets, known as the Tremont House. At first it was built to the grade of the period, but as there was now and then a new grade established it at last left the ground floor of the hotel three or four feet below the surface of the street in front. About this time there came to the city an enterprising young contractor who had had experience in raising buildings in the east, by the name of George M. Pullman, and he became actively engaged in the work of raising heavy buildings. Raising frame buildings was a comparatively easy task, but it was considered a most remarkable feat to accomplish the raising of so heavy a building as the Tremont House; it was successfully done, however, by young Pullman. It was the first brick building raised in Chicago, and the raising cost the proprietors, Ira and James Couch, forty-five thousand dollars. It was raised without breaking a pane of glass, although the building was one hundred and sixty by one hundred and eighty feet in size. Guests of the hotel were not conscious of the slightest jar throughout the entire proceeding.

Afterwards an entire block on Lake street, between Clark and La Salle streets, on the north side of the street, was raised at one time, business in the various stores and offices proceeding as usual. The facility with which buildings, light and heavy, were raised to the grade established became the talk of the country, and the letters of travelers and correspondents for newspapers abound with reference to the work going on and the odd sensations of going up and down as one passed along the streets.

NICHOLSON PAVEMENT

During the month of July, 1857, there was completed the first piece of "Nicholson Pavement" that had been laid in Chicago, a kind of paving which afterwards attained a remarkable vogue here. The Nicholson pavement was made by setting up on end blocks of wood on a suitable foundation, usually of well packed earth, covered with a layer of planking, between each row of which there was placed a narrow strip of wood to keep one row apart from the other, and in the space thus left a filling of tar and gravel was added to produce an even surface. The blocks of wood were sections of three or four inch sawed planking, and when the pavement was completed it presented a most pleasing appearance to the eye, and indeed seemed to promise a lasting service. The wearing quality of the Nicholson pavement, however, was not as great as had been anticipated, and although extensively constructed it was gradually superseded by macadam or stone block pavements. The latter in fact held the preference for a long term of years, and was more extensively built than any other style of pavement in use.

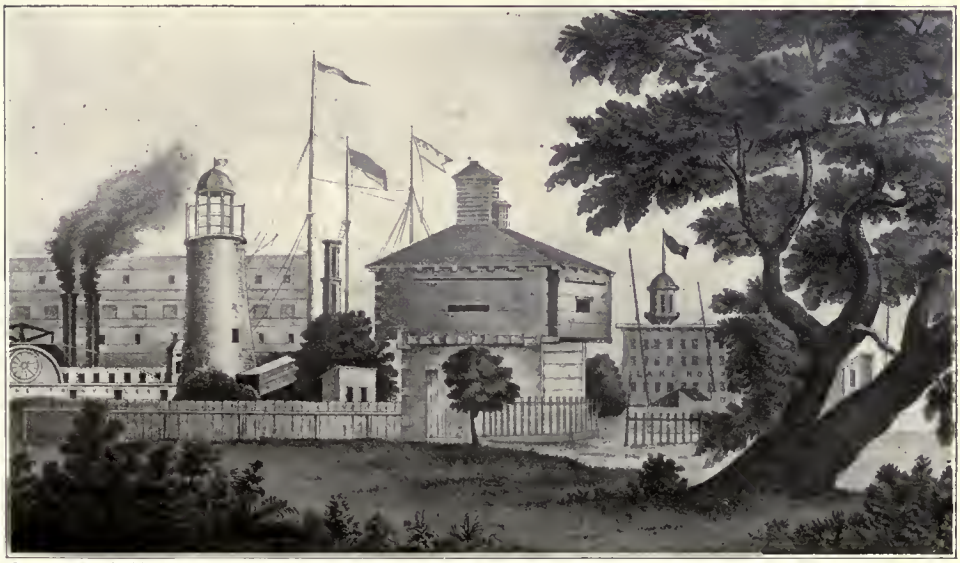
On Lake street the Nicholson pavement could be seen in all its glory; there were no car tracks on the street, and when the pavement was new, for it was renewed several times, it presented a most inviting appearance and was the especial pride of the Chicago people of that day. The attention of visitors was called to the wonderful pavement as soon as they arrived, and it was considered, with the water works and the grand view of the lake on Michigan avenue, one of the sights of the city. Lake street was preferred above all other streets as the route of processions, which were much more numerous in those days than they are to-day. Lined as it was with gorgeous retail establishments it was the busiest and most attractive street in the city. During the war it was the favorite highway for passing troops, and the citizens often saw marching regiments either starting for the war or returning to their homes, the discharged troops usually reduced in numbers and sadly lacking in the fresh and tidy appearance they bore at the time of their departure.

At the time of the Great Fire of 1871, the Nicholson pavement, which by that time had been laid on many of the business and residence streets of the city, suffered much injury from burning material from the adjacent buildings. Masses of hot bricks and flaming woodwork falling upon it burned cavities in the surface, and left the pavement charred and partially burned away in many places. This gave rise to a report, frequently repeated by correspondents, that the street pavements in Chicago took fire and were the means of carrying the flames across and along the streets. But this was not the case, as the wooden blocks composing the pavement were too deeply imbedded to become the means of spreading the conflagration.

GENERAL TRADE IN THE EARLY FIFTIES

Some consideration of the trade conditions existing in Chicago in the fifties is appropriate in this place. When William Bross issued a thin volume in 1876, published by Jansen, McClurg & Co., and called it a "History of Chicago," he crowded within a limited space a great variety of interesting facts regarding the city's development. Much of what he wrote was from his own knowledge and observation,

CLARK STREET IN 1857—CHANGING OF SIDEWALK LEVEL



By courtesy of Chicago Historical Society

OLD FORT DEARBORN WITH SURROUNDINGS IN 1856

and written as the history is by a man of superior intelligence and possessed of a fluent style, it has a special value for the historical investigator.

Bross came to Chicago in 1847, and writing of this period he says that "the business of our merchants was confined mainly to the retail trade. The produce that was shipped from this port was all brought to the city by teams. Some of them would come one hundred and fifty miles. Farmers would bring in a load of grain and take back supplies for themselves and their neighbors. Often has it happened that they would get 'sloughed,' or break their wagons; and between the expense of repairs and hotel charges, they would find themselves in debt when they got home. During the 'business season' the city would be crowded with teams. We have seen Water and Lake streets almost impassable for hours together.

"The opening of the canal, in 1848, made a considerable change in the appearance of the city, and when the Galena railroad was finished to Elgin, the difference was very striking. The most of those old familiar teams ceased to visit us, and we heard some few merchants gravely express the opinion that the canal and railroads would ruin the city. The difference they have made is simply that between a small and a large business, between a retail and a wholesale trade. One of the jewelry establishments of the city, in 1845, did a business of three thousand dollars; last year [1852] the same house sold goods to the amount of one hundred and twenty thousand dollars. Drug stores, whose sales eight years ago were from five to six thousand dollars, now do a business of from fifty to a hundred thousand."

THE APPRECIATION IN REAL ESTATE

In a historical review written by Mr. Bross, in 1853, he makes some interesting and startling comparisons between the values of lots between the time that the first sale of lots took place in 1833, and those of the year under review. "Our citizens," he says, "have all noticed the splendid drug store of J. H. Reed & Co., No. 144 Lake Street. The day it was opened, October 28th, 1851, we stood in front of the store, conversing with the owner of the building, Jeremiah Price, Esq. Pointing to one of the elegant windows, said Mr. Price, 'I gave one hundred dollars in New York for that center pane of French plate glass. That is exactly what I paid Mr. J. Noble for this lot, eighty feet front, on a part of which the store stands, when I purchased it in 1833.' That lot cannot now be bought for $64,000. Wolcott's addition, on the North Side was bought in 1830 for one hundred and thirty dollars. It is now worth considerably over one and a quarter millions of dollars.

"Walter L. Newberry bought the forty acres which forms his addition to Chicago, of Thomas Hartzell, in 1833, for $1,062. It is now worth half a million of dollars, and what is fortunate for Mr. Newberry, he still owns by far the largest part of the property. So late as 1834, one-half of Kinzie's addition, all of Wolcott's addition, and all of block one, original town, were sold for twenty thousand dollars. They are now worth, at a low estimate, three millions of dollars. Any number of similar instances might be given of the immense appreciation of real estate in Chicago.

"From the great appreciation which these figures show, many may be led to suppose that no more money can be made on real estate in Chicago. Exactly the

reverse is true. As compared with the original cost, lots near the center of the city cannot be expected to appreciate so rapidly as in years past; but that they will steadily advance, there can scarcely be a doubt. Let any business man study carefully the facts contained in these articles; let him remember that within the lifetime of thousands who read these pages Chicago will contain her hundreds of thousands of people; and then let him calculate, if he has the courage, what real estate then will be worth in the commercial center of the Mississippi valley."

INCREASE IN VALUATIONS, 1839 TO 1853

In a table included in the review above referred to, Mr. Bross shows the remarkable advances each year from 1839 to 1853. The valuations include real estate and personal property. The table, giving only round numbers, is as follows:

1839	$1,829,000
1840	1,864,000
1841	1,888,000
1842	2,325,000
1843	2,251,000
1844	3,167,000
1845	3,669,000
1846	5,071,000
1847	6,189,000
1848	9,986,000
1849	7,617,000
1850	8,101,000
1851	9,432,000
1852	12,035,000
1853	22,930,000

TRADE REVIEWS IN THE DEMOCRATIC PRESS

By the end of the year 1854 Chicago had attained to the rank of the greatest primary grain port in the world. This term is defined by J. L. Scripps, whose article in the *Democratic Press* is here referred to, as follows: "We say 'the largest primary grain depot in the world,' because it cannot be denied that New York, Liverpool, and some other great commercial centers, receive more breadstuffs than Chicago does in the course of the year, but none of them will compare with her . . . in the amount collected from the hands of the producers."

During that year the shipments of grain from Chicago had reached the great total of 15,804,423 bushels, nearly half of which was corn, while wheat and oats constituted about one-fourth each of the total amount. It must be remembered that it was during this year that the cholera prevailed to such an alarming extent that the time is referred to as "the great cholera year." More extended mention of the ravages of this dreadful visitation is made in another part of this history.

THE GREAT PROGRESS IN RAILWAY CONSTRUCTION

The rapid growth of railroads by the end of 1855 had riveted the attention and interest of the Chicago people. There were nearly three thousand miles of railroads

in operation in the state of Illinois at that time. The list of the railroads including their branches, and the number of miles operated by each of them, is given as follows:

	MILES
Chicago & Milwaukee Railroad	131
Chicago, St. Paul & Fond du Lac Railroad	82
Galena & Chicago Union Railroad	326
Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad	310
Chicago & Rock Island Railroad	340
Chicago, Alton & St. Louis Railroad	260
Illinois Central Railroad	626
Fort Wayne & Chicago Railroad	20
Michigan Southern & Northern Indiana Railroad	272
Michigan Central Railroad	282
New Albany & Salem Railroad	284
Total	2933

This showing was dwelt upon by the writer in glowing terms, and after giving a list of the receipts of the railroads centering in Chicago, the total of which to the end of the year 1855 was over thirteen millions of dollars, he says that he thinks this "will do very well for a city which only four years ago had only forty miles of railroad completed and in operation." It is added that there are ninety-six trains arriving and departing daily, but "when the spring business opens" the number will be increased to "about one hundred and ten."

At the end of the year 1856 the reviewer from whose work we have quoted above found that four of the principal railroads had carried 639,666 passengers westward from Chicago, and 532,013 passengers in the opposite direction, thus showing "that these four railways alone have taken west 107,653 more passengers than they brought back—people enough to redeem another sovereign State from the dominion of the panther and the savage, and to add another star to the banner of our glorious Union."

INTERRUPTION TO PROSPEROUS CONDITIONS

With the close of the year 1857 the reviewer whom we have been following, in spite of his usual optimism, recognizes the havoc and losses suffered during the panic of 1857. The business of the railroads, as that of every other branch of industry, fell off, and the figures shown are materially less than for the previous year. "Amid all the panic and disaster of the last year," says the writer, "with all the Satanic efforts of certain journals in New York and other cities to destroy all railway values, the earnings of twelve railroads centering in this city for 1857, fell short of their aggregate earnings in 1856 $1,558,550, which is ten per cent. less than their receipts in a year of great prosperity and progress. In all the dark days through which we have passed, the Daily Press has steadily labored to inspire confidence and hope, and the result of careful comparisons in every department of business show that our positions were correct. We have the satisfaction also of knowing that our reasonings have saved many of our readers from despair and utter ruin."

It is also shown that at the end of the year 1857, despite the baneful effects of the panic, the railroads of the state had increased their mileage, which now stood at nearly four thousand miles of track, and the total earnings of the railroads amounted to eighteen and a half millions of dollars. During that same eventful year the number of bushels of wheat received was twelve and a half millions, of corn seven million, four hundred and nine thousand bushels, of lumber four hundred and sixty millions of feet, and of vessels arriving in port seven thousand, five hundred and fifty-seven. "It is a source of great satisfaction that the tide of population is largely and steadily westward," says the review writer. "The change will, in almost every instance, secure for the people who emigrate a great increase of property, and thereby afford them the means of greater physical comfort and a more generous expenditure for their intellectual improvement and social elevation. Who can estimate the influence which the two hundred thousand people who sought homes west of the Lakes during the past year will have upon the social progress and the physical development of the Mississippi?"

PANIC CONDITIONS OF 1857

Hopefulness and intelligent optimism was the key note of public sentiment in those days, and combined with the great natural advantages possessed by Chicago in an eminent degree, the consequences of the panic conditions were not so severely felt as in many other parts of the country. "With a large surplus of last year's crop still in hand," says the writer of the review, "the west is abundantly able to meet all her liabilities, and have sufficient means to make large and substantial improvements in the future. We are on the eve of a great, permanent and propitious social advancement, and let every western man summon all his energy to act his part wisely and well."

But in Colbert's history, written many years later, the author records a much more serious condition of affairs from the effect of the panic than is allowed by the writers of the contemporary period. Colbert says that the effects of the panic on the real-estate market "were fearful, and the building business suffered correspondingly." The depreciation in prices of lots was great and continued during the following two years. Buyers of real estate at the high prices prevailing before the panic had depended upon a continuous advance in values to enable them to provide for their deferred payments, but found that they could not sell even at a ruinous sacrifice. "Great numbers of workers left the city for want of employment, and those who remained were obliged to go into narrowed quarters to reduce expenses. This caused a great many residences and stores to be vacated, and brought about a reduction in rents on those still occupied."

PANIC OF 1857

The area of the city had been increased in 1856 to eighteen square miles by the extension of the southern boundary to Thirty-fifth street. Land values had increased to an excessive range of prices, caused by the prevailing mania for speculation. The remoter causes of the general panic of 1857 were to be traced to the business men of the East. While the panic of this year was not the worst ex-

perienced in the United States it was remarkable from the fact that it prevailed in all the civilized countries of the world. A writer in Moody's Magazine for April, 1911, in reviewing this period says that the panic was both a financial and a commercial disturbance. "It was world-wide in extent, but its effects were more severely felt in the United States than elsewhere. It was due to speculation excesses, and, in America, was intensified by bad banking practices, a free commercial morality, an inflated currency, and a sudden loss of commercial confidence induced by the calling of loans and capital by European investors in American securities."

There were many important events taking place in other parts of the world during this period. The war in the Crimea was brought to a conclusion which resulted in an extensive readjusting of the international relations of European nations. The rebellion of the natives of India against British control added to the disturbances of financial conditions abroad, and these events "widely influenced subsequent American history and made the year 1857 memorable."

THE PANIC IN CHICAGO

The year of the panic during the fifties witnessed a serious check to the industrial development of Chicago, and indeed to the entire western country. It is one of the most remarkable characteristics of this community that no matter what check or disaster occurs the hopefulness and boundless energy of its people quickly repair the deficiencies and they march resolutely on in their predestined course.

"The recent season of panic and revulsion through which we have passed," writes the reviewer of the commercial situation in the *Democratic Press* at the close of the year 1857, "will prompt to greater caution, and therefore greater safety in the future. With all its evil effects, it has clearly demonstrated that there is a solid basis for the prosperity of our city and the West generally."

THE OLD UNIVERSITY

To Stephen A. Douglas is due the credit of founding the first University of Chicago, now known as the Old University of Chicago.[1] In 1855 a number of citizens visited Judge Douglas with plans for a university, and asked him for help. He gave them ten acres of ground lying along Cottage Grove avenue, at Thirty-fourth street, not far from the place where the Douglas monument now stands. On these grounds was erected a white limestone building in 1857, and here for seven years the work of the new institution was done. In 1865 another large building was put up, and was called Douglas Hall, the older hall being named Jones Hall, after William Jones, the father of the present Fernando Jones, who had made generous gifts to the institution. Within three years of its opening there were twenty students in the college, forty-eight in the law department and one hundred and ten in the academy.

[1] Edgar J. Goodspeed, in Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society, Vol. III, No. 2

DOUGLAS AND THE UNIVERSITY

In Clark E. Carr's volume entitled "Stephen A. Douglas," the author pays this deserved tribute to the memory of Douglas for his services in connection with the University of Chicago in its formative period. "To the building of a great university in Chicago Senator Douglas devoted much of his thought and energy from 1856 to the close of his illustrious career. He appreciated the value of learning and gave a large portion of his property to place within the reach of the young of Chicago and of the West the advantages of higher education. In the midst of great political excitement at a time when in the political arena of the whole great nation he was the central figure, midway between his repeal of the Missouri Compromise and the great debates, he found time to establish what he hoped and intended should be a great university. He was not satisfied with merely establishing such an institution, but as a member of its Board of Trust and in other ways he contributed to its success.

"He had a high conception of what an institution so situated and with such environment should be, and did everything in his power to bring it up to such a standard of excellence as he hoped to see it attain. Had he survived to the allotted years of man, no doubt much that he hoped for would have been attained by the institution he founded. But he lived only five years after the institution he founded was so established.

"It remained for wise, brave, able, and generous men, after the lapse of thirty years, to take up the work Senator Douglas so nobly attempted, and carry it forward to the most complete and triumphant achievement that has ever been reached by any institution of learning in so brief a period. In the University of Chicago, the dream of the great Senator has been far more than realized. That he hoped to see reared a great university upon the foundation he laid cannot be doubted, but it is scarcely within the bounds of possibility that he could have had any idea of the success to which the institution has attained. Familiar as we are with its history and appreciative as we are of its usefulness, we must revere the memory of him in whose heart and brain it was conceived, and by whose initiative a University of Chicago was first established."

When Douglas died in 1861, the university lost the president of the board of trustees and its chief patron; both trustees and faculty showed their honor for him by attending his funeral in a body. As his successor, William B. Ogden was elected president of the board, and served until his death in 1877, when N. K. Fairbank was elected to that office.

The Dearborn Observatory, containing at that time the largest refractor telescope in the world, was given by Mr. J. Young Scammon, who was a regent of the university. The observatory was named after Mr. Scammon's first wife, who was a member of that family from whom Fort Dearborn and Dearborn street were named. The group of three buildings, comprising Douglas Hall, with its lofty tower, Jones Hall, and Dearborn Observatory, seemed very imposing to the citizens of fifty years ago, and was visited in May, 1867, by the delegates and guests of the meeting of the national missionary and publication societies of the Baptist churches of the North, then holding their annual session in Chicago. Arranged in a large group on the wooden sidewalk on Cottage Grove avenue, in front of the

University, the delegates and some of the citizens of Chicago were photographed as we here see them.

From the opening of the university women had been allowed to attend the classes, though without formal recognition or degree. In 1875 they were admitted to the institution on an equality with men, with the same privileges and rewards. In the same year Rush Medical College, the oldest medical school in the West, was made a part of the university.

The management of the affairs of the University was in the hands of a board of trustees, a board of regents and an executive board, while the law department had its own board of counsellors. The law department became in 1873 the Union College of Law, the Northwestern University sharing control over it. This is the present law school of Northwestern University.

Ever since 1865 the university had struggled with financial difficulties, being loaded with a debt incurred in building Douglas Hall; to pay for this the whole property had been heavily mortgaged. Finally in 1886 an insurance company which had taken the property under a mortgage seized it for foreclosure, tore down the buildings, and had a street cut through and residences erected on the lots formed. The telescope was taken out to be used by Northwestern University at Evanston.

In the building of the new University of Chicago, the early benefactors of the former institution have been remembered. On the walls of Scammon Court and of the cloister leading to Mandel Hall are placed bronze tablets. The Douglas tablet bears a bas relief portrait of Senator Douglas and these words:

In Honor of Stephen A. Douglas
Who in 1855 Generously Contributed
To the Founding of
The First University Established
In Chicago, This Tablet Is
Erected in June, 1901, by the Decennial
Class of the University of Chicago

The memory of Mr. Scammon and his wife is perpetuated at the University not only in Scammon Court, the large quadrangle of the School of Education, on the walls of which there is a bronze memorial tablet, but in Scammon Garden, where the home of Mr. and Mrs. Scammon used to stand. In this garden on summer nights, among the trees and shrubbery in the midst of which the old house stood, plays are given by the students with no scenery but the setting of greenwood and lawn which they find there.

The Ogden Graduate School of Science, made possible by the terms of Mr. Ogden's will, is a magnificent memorial to one who did much for the early university and, unknowing, provided a great foundation for the later one.

By a resolution adopted by the trustees of the University of Chicago the alumni of the old institution are recognized as alumni of the present one, thus carrying on in a vital way the traditions of the Old University of Chicago.

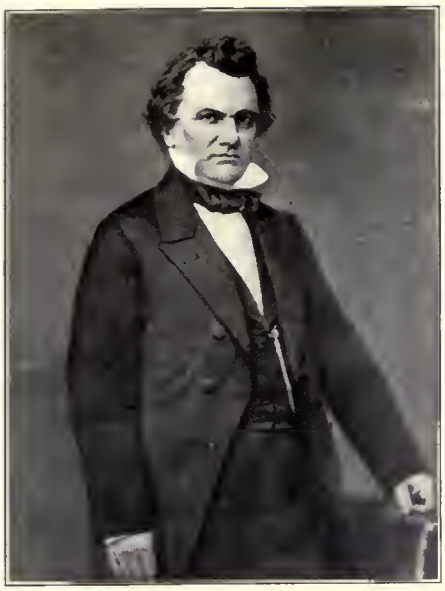
REMINISCENCES OF THE OLD UNIVERSITY

A former student of the old University of Chicago, of the class of 1868, supplies some interesting details of life at that institution in the war period, which are inserted here, in his own words:

"The University of Chicago of 1910, with its fine buildings, extensive grounds and wealth, largely overshadows its predecessor, and being located in another part of the city seems almost to be wholly disconnected with it save in name. One writer says of it, 'The first University of Chicago ceased to exist in 1886; it had never been a very vital force educationally.'

"The old university was situated on a ten-acre tract given by Stephen A. Douglas on the west side of Cottage Grove avenue, between Thirty-fourth and Thirty-sixth streets, and in its day was an institution of which Chicago was very proud. Among its students were the sons of many prominent men and members of wealthy families of the state and city, and it bade fair to become one of the leading universities of the country. But bad judgment on the part of its financial agents loaded it down with a large debt by building extravagantly, which embarrassed its friends and was the source of some irritations and difficulties among its managers. This resulted in the property being sold under a mortgage, its great telescope passing to the Northwestern University at Evanston, and its beautiful and substantial buildings taken down, the grounds platted and sold for private residences, so that not a vestige remained of the old university, nor a remnant to mark the spot where it had been.

"During the Civil War the grounds of the University were hedged in on its north and west sides by Camp Douglas with its high board fence, in which was confined an army of Confederate prisoners, a constant reminder to the students of the grim war then going on. That this undoubtedly had some influence upon the patriotic spirit of the boys one little event will show. It was in the fall of 1863, political feeling ran high, and one morning after the election of Brough as governor of Ohio by a very large majority, the students were gathering in the chapel for prayers. Whenever a student came in who was known to have decided views on political questions a round of applause would greet him. So enthusiastic became the crowd that even due propriety during the prayer seemed for the time to be forgotten. Dr. Burroughs was not present on the occasion, Professor A. J. Sawyer presiding in his place. After the prayer had been concluded Professor Sawyer directed that all the students who took part in the unseemly disturbance should rise. For a moment all was hushed, no one moved. Then James H. Shankland, a member of the sophomore class from Nashville, Tennessee, a hot bed of secession, though he himself was loyal to the Union, stood up to his full height, as sober and repentant apparently as George Washington was when he cut down the cherry tree, and looked the professor full in the face with an expression that Shankland could so well assume. He seemed by his manner to beg pardon for his offense, but said not a word. Upon this there broke out another outburst of applause that must have aroused the occupants of Camp Douglas. Thereupon the professor announced that he had seen some of the men join in this disturbance, and should give them two demerit marks and one demerit mark to those who acknowledged their offense. This announcement was followed by general applause. There was a spirit of patriotism and loyalty in the university that no number of demerit marks nor fear could suppress.



STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS

Photograph taken during his debates with Lincoln in 1856

ROBERT MARTIN DOUGLAS

Eldest son of Stephen A. Douglas

CHICAGO UNIVERSITY

"The faculty at this time was composed of Rev. J. C. Burroughs, D. D., President, William Matthews, LL. D., Professor Mixer, Professor Joseph Breck, Professor A. J. Sawyer, Professor Edward C. Johnson, Alonzo J. Howe, and tutor George W. Thomas. Notwithstanding that the institution was open to both sexes, there were no young women in attendance until a time subsequent to the war. Women in college and women employes in those days were almost unknown. There was but one woman employed in the Treasury department of the United States during the war. The equality of women in the institutions of learning and in business offices was not a mooted question to any great extent. The question in those days that was uppermost in men's minds was the war and its issues.

"There was a military company, wholly voluntary, connected with the University. Arms were provided for this company and it was fully organized and regularly drilled. Charles Parker of the junior class, who had been an officer in the United States service, was its captain, and he was an excellent drillmaster. Parker returned to the army as a lieutenant, and James H. Roe of the sophomore class succeeded him as captain of this company, in the spring of 1864. In response to a call for "one hundred day men," the 134th regiment of Illinois Volunteers was organized, largely composed of Chicago men. Company G of this regiment practically absorbed this company previously formed at the university. Joshua Pike of the junior class was its captain, James H. Roe its second lieutenant. The sergeant-major of the regiment was Charles D. Hancock of the Academic department. Among others from the university who enlisted in this regiment were C. S. Hostetter, S. E. Massey, Philip Dinkle, John A. Miller, Frederick A. Smith, and Edward P. Savage. The little that was left of the university was at the depot of the Illinois Central to witness the departure of the boys, and the college was lonely and 'stale,' after they had gone. The literary societies, the Atheneum and the Tri Kappa, seemed lifeless affairs. The class room was not what it had been, the cream of the university seemed merged in the departed regiment.

"It could hardly be expected that a University no older than this was would become 'a very vital force educationally.' Every large as well as every small educational institution has its small beginnings, the greater the struggle to get a start and to keep it upon its feet the greater the credit to those who organize and stand by it until it can stand alone. Few institutions of this kind can show a better beginning than this one. It ceased its existence not for lack of students or from any deficiency of its faculty, but because of bad management financially. Too much money was spent in its buildings, and too much wrangling among those engaged in the management of its affairs were the prime causes of its final dissolution.

"Among its students of the war times were the following whom we shall refer to by their later titles and the stations in life filled by them: Rev. Henry C. Mabie, D. D., Rev. William W. Everts, D. D., Rev. Joseph P. Phillips, Rev. E. O. Taylor, a well known temperance lecturer, George R. Wendling, a widely known lecturer on religious questions, Rev. Edward P. Savage, now for over twenty years the head of the Minnesota Children's Aid Society, Joseph F. Bonfield, Dorrance De Bell, a judge in Will County, Henry A. Gardner, a lawyer of Chicago, Ferd W. Peck, Philo A. Otis, well known in Chicago, Frederick A. Smith, judge of the Circuit court of Cook County, C. C. Kohlsaat, judge of the United States Circuit Court, and James H. Shankland, a prominent lawyer of Los Angeles, California.

"This forms a very respectable list from a new college. Its department of law, the prime mover in the formation of which was Hon. Thomas Hoyne, was under the charge of Judge John A. Jameson, Henry Booth, and Harvey B. Hurd. From the class of 1866 in this department was graduated, among others, Frank G. Hoyne, Norman T. Gassette, General Joseph Smith Reynolds, and Robert T. Lincoln. From the class of 1867 was graduated Hon. A. C. Bardwell, of Dixon, James H. Gilbert, D. G. Hamilton, R. C. Givens, John C. Wallace, Judge Gwynne Garnett, Judge E. H. Gary, Judge F. A. Smith, Colonel F. A. Riddle, Robert E. Jenkins, John A. Hunter, and others."

THE RIOTS OF 1855

Dr. Levi D. Boone was elected mayor of the city in the spring of 1855, on the "Know Nothing" ticket, the only time that the party of that name ever won an election in Chicago except in the case of some minor offices. During the period when Dr. Boone was mayor party feeling ran high. "It was one of the hottest and most unreasoning political periods in the history of the country," says the writer of an article published in later years in the Chicago *Times*. "The temperance question was alive; the Catholic question almost precipitated a religious war, and Know-Nothing-ism hung on the outer wall a banner inscribed, 'Put none but Americans on guard.'" Each of these questions was well calculated to rouse fierce popular passions, and in fact a large and clamorous element became prominent in the public affairs of the city and menaced its peace and welfare.

Almost immediately after Mayor Boone was inducted into office he was called upon to exercise his authority in the suppression of a riot. During the preceding winter the state legislature had passed a stringent temperance law, to be submitted to the people for their approval or otherwise. Mayor Boone believed that the measure would be ratified, and judged that it would render the transition easier from "wet" to "dry" if some of the liquor sellers and beer saloon proprietors could be induced to quit the business before being compelled to do so. He therefore recommended to the City Council that the license fee be raised from fifty dollars per annum, as it then stood, to the rate of three hundred dollars; but that no license be issued for a longer period than three months. By that time it was anticipated prohibition would have been voted, and those few saloons which had survived the large increase in the license fee could be easily dealt with. This he believed to be a wise measure of precaution, since it would "root out" the lower classes of saloon-keepers, leaving only the better men in the business.

The saloon-keepers throughout the city naturally regarded the measure, which had been passed by the Council, as oppressive, and united their efforts to defeat its object. The City government was at that time completely in the hands of the "Native American party," that is, the "Know Nothing" party, and every man of of the eighty or ninety patrolmen on the force was a native American. At the same time that the enforcement of the ordinance was attempted there was discovered among the municipal regulations a Sunday law, which had become a dead letter, but now it was sought to enforce this regulation also. Most of the saloon-keepers were foreigners, and, in the temper the people were in at that time, no consideration was to be shown to them. Some of the saloon men defied the authorities, which action on

their part resulted in a large number of arrests. It was agreed to try one case and let the others be settled by the precedent thus established.

The case decided upon for the test was called on the 21st of April, before Squire Henry L. Rucker, who was Police Magistrate and held his court in the courthouse. It will be remembered by old residents that a street was named in honor of Squire Rucker which in later years was changed to Center avenue. Soon after the beginning of the session of the court a great commotion ensued in the neighborhood. The saloon interest had massed itself in a solid body on the North Side, and headed by a fife and drum proceeded to the courthouse forming a noisy mob threatening to interrupt the further course of the trial. The mob gathered in force at the intersection of Clark and Randolph streets, and completely obstructed both thoroughfares opposite the Sherman House. Cyrus P. Bradley was the chief of police at that time, and Luther Nichols captain of police. Darius Knights was the marshal. Mayor Boone gave orders to "clear the streets and disperse the mob." This was done without any serious consequences resulting except a few arrests.

In the afternoon of the same day another mob assembled on the North Side with the declared intention of releasing the men who were on trial. Meantime the mayor strengthened his position by swearing into service a hundred and fifty extra policemen, thus placing a force of about two hundred and fifty men at his command. The mob approached the north end of Clark street bridge, and a portion got across the river. The mayor sent word to the bridge-tender to swing the bridge at this moment, thus dividing the mob into two parts. The police having made suitable dispositions the bridge was opened again for passage, upon which the remainder swarmed across the river and joined their fellows on the south side. Here they were met by a solid phalanx of the police, but the leaders of the mob urged the men on crying out, "Pick out the stars," "Shoot the police," which was followed by a brisk fusillade of shots. "For a short time," says the account printed many years afterward in the Chicago *Times,* in a series of historical articles, "things were exceedingly lively round the Sherman House. Quite a number of rioters were seriously wounded, but so far as can be ascertained, only one was killed, though a few days later there were several mysterious funerals on the North Side, and it was generally believed that the rioters gave certain victims secret burial."

MILITARY COMPANIES CALLED OUT

This affair caused intense excitement throughout the city, and a call was made upon several companies of the local militia to aid in preserving order. An Irish company, known as the "Montgomery Guards," an American company known as the "Chicago Light Guards," and a battery of artillery consisting of two guns responded to the call. The latter was in command of Richard K. Swift, the banker. Mayor Boone asked Swift to protect the courthouse with the artillery, but, as he was in doubt as to how the four sides could be protected with only two guns, the warlike mayor drew a diagram showing him that by placing one gun at the corner of La Salle and Washington streets, and the other at the corner of Randolph and Clark streets, he would be able to command all the approaches to the square in which the courthouse was situated. These measures were effectual and no further collisions occurred. Much was due to the firmness and ability shown by the

Mayor on this occasion. "Mayor Boone," says the account already quoted from, "being a man of nerve and decision, took the riotous bull by the horns, the moment he made his appearance, and knocked the brute insensible at the first blow."

The result of the referendum vote on the proposition to prohibit the sale of liquors was voted on by the people throughout the state, as well as in the city of Chicago. The result was adverse to the proposition, and the situation then reverted to its former state. Thus the "lager beer riots," as they were called, passed into history.

THE KNOW NOTHING PARTY

An echo of the Know Nothing movement was found some years afterward in the proclamation issued by Governor Letcher of Virginia soon after that state had cast in its lot with the Southern Confederacy. On May 3d, 1861, Governor Letcher, in his proclamation to the people of Virginia, said that the authorities at Washington had used "every artifice" which "could inflame the people of the northern states and misrepresent our purposes and wishes," that "these misrepresentations have been carried to such an extent that foreigners and naturalized citizens, who but a few years ago were denounced by the north and deprived of essential rights, have now been induced to enlist into regiments for the purpose of invading this state." This allusion to the old Know Nothing party shows how weak were its principles, which within a few years after its collapse gave a weapon into the hands of the Southern "Fire-eaters," when such an appeal as the proclamation above quoted from was made to the southern people.

It was a fine response made by the men of foreign birth when the time of stress and danger came, and, hearing the call for help, joined with all other defenders of the Union. They hesitated not and allowed no former political differences and enmities to stand in the way of a united effort. Thus they heaped coals of fire on the heads of those who lately regarded them with feelings of enmity, but now with relief and gratitude.

CHAPTER XXII

LINCOLN IN CHICAGO

FIRST APPEARANCE OF LINCOLN IN CHICAGO—WASHBURNE'S REMINISCENCES—POLITICAL ISSUES OF 1854—EDITORIAL CONVENTION AT DECATUR—THE BLOOMINGTON CONVENTION—LINCOLN'S "LOST SPEECH"—THE FREMONT CAMPAIGN—LINCOLN AND THE ILLINOIS CENTRAL RAILROAD—M'CLELLAN'S RECOLLECTIONS—LINCOLN'S FONDNESS FOR SHOWS—ARRIVAL OF SENATOR DOUGLAS IN CHICAGO, JULY, 1858—GRAND OVATION TO DOUGLAS—LINCOLN'S TREMONT HOUSE SPEECH—UNITED STATES ZOUAVE CADETS—TOUR OF THE ZOUAVES—NAMES OF THE MEMBERS.

LINCOLN'S FIRST APPEARANCE IN CHICAGO

WHILE Abraham Lincoln was a member of Congress from the Sangamon district he made his first visit to Chicago. This was at the time of the River and Harbor Convention in July, 1847. The Chicago *Journal,* in its issue of July 6th, 1847, mentions, among those who were present at the convention, the name of Abraham Lincoln, "the only Whig representative to Congress from this state." "This is his first visit to the commercial emporium of the state," says the *Journal.* It was while in attendance upon this convention that he caught the observing eye of Horace Greeley, who was reporting the proceedings for the New York *Tribune.* David Dudley Field of New York had addressed the convention in a speech which called out a sharp difference of opinion among the delegates. "In the afternoon," writes Greeley, "Hon. Abraham Lincoln, a tall specimen of an Illinoisan, just elected to Congress from the only Whig district in the state, was called out, and spoke briefly and happily in reply to Mr. Field." We make these quotations although they are given in another part of this work, under the account of the River and Harbor Convention, as they have a special interest in connection with Lincoln's earliest appearance in Chicago.

Henceforth Lincoln was a frequent visitor to the city, during the years of his professional and political activities, and became intimate with many of its leading citizens.

At one time he was offered, it is stated by Nicolay and Hay, in their work, "a partnership on favorable terms by a lawyer in good practice in Chicago; but he declined it on the ground that his health would not endure the close confinement necessary in a city office."

WASHBURNE'S REMINISCENCES

Mr. E. B. Washburne, in a volume entitled "Reminiscences of Abraham Lincoln," edited by Allen Thorndike Rice, says, regarding his early acquaintance with

Mr. Lincoln, that he met him for the first time when he (Washburne) attended the Supreme Court at Springfield in the winter of 1843 and 1844. "The Supreme Court library was in the courtroom, and there the lawyers would gather to look up their authorities and prepare their cases. In the evening it was a sort of rendezvous for general conversation, and I hardly ever knew of an evening to pass without Mr. Lincoln putting in his appearance. He was a man of the most social disposition, and was never so happy as when surrounded by congenial friends. His penchant for story-telling is well known, and he was more happy in that line than any man I ever knew. But many stories have been invented and attributed to him that he never heard of . . . But his anecdotes were all so droll, so original, so appropriate and so illustrative of passing incidents that one never wearied of listening to him.

"Ceasing to attend the courts at Springfield," continues Mr. Washburne, "I saw but little of Mr. Lincoln for a few years. We met at the celebrated River and Harbor Convention at Chicago, held July 5th, 6th and 7th, 1847. He was simply a looker on and took no leading part in the convention. His dress and personal appearance on that occasion could not well be forgotten. It was then for the first time I heard him called '*Old* Abe.' Old Abe, as applied to him, seems strange enough, as he was then a young man, only thirty-eight years of age.

"One afternoon, several of us sat on the sidewalk under the balcony in front of the Sherman House, and among the number the accomplished scholar and unrivaled orator, Lisle Smith. He suddenly interrupted the conversation by exclaiming, 'There is Lincoln on the other side of the street. Just look at Old Abe,' and from that time we all called him 'Old Abe.' No one who saw him can forget his personal appearance at that time. Tall, angular and awkward, he had on a short-waisted, thin, swallow-tail coat, a short vest of the same material, thin pantaloons, scarcely coming down to his ankles, a straw hat and a pair of brogans with woolen socks. Mr. Lincoln was always a great favorite with young men, particularly with the younger members of the bar. It was a popularity not run after, but which followed. He never used the arts of the demagogue to ingratiate himself with any person."

LINCOLN'S RETURN TO POLITICS

After his career in Congress had closed, in 1849, Mr. Lincoln devoted himself to the pursuit of his profession, apparently having satisfied his ambition in the political field. He had served several terms in the state legislature, and one term in Congress. But the repeal of the Missouri Compromise in 1850 aroused him again, and he became deeply interested in the progress of the warm controversies over the extension of slavery. "He was generally on the Whig electoral tickets," says Herndon, "and made himself heard during each successive canvass." It is related by John T. Stuart that he held a conversation with Lincoln in 1850, as follows: "Lincoln, the time is coming when we shall have to be all either Abolitionists or Democrats." Lincoln replied emphatically, "when that time comes my mind is made up, for I believe the slavery question can never be successfully compromised." But he was cautious in his relations with the "impetuous Abolitionists," and once when Herndon, who was radical in his views, warned him against his conservatism, he replied, "Billy, you're too rampant and spontaneous."

Again we find mention of Mr. Lincoln's presence in Chicago. "In April, 1854," says Andreas, "a meeting of prominent Chicago and state politicians, including Democrats and Whigs who were opposed to the course of Stephen A. Douglas in the Senate, was held in Room four, Tremont House. There were present Abraham Lincoln, Lyman Trumbull, Mark Skinner, Orville H. Browning, John E. Stewart, David Davis, Norman B. Judd, J. Young Scammon, Francis C. Sherman, and others equally well known. Those present pledged themselves to the support of an 'anti-Nebraska' party, and appointed a committee to agitate the subject. This led to that fusion of sentiment that revolutionized the politics of the entire northern part of the state."

CONTEMPORARY EVENTS

It was late in August of the same year (1854), that Senator Douglas arrived in Chicago, and received so hostile a reception at North Market Hall, as previously related. The furious denunciations of the Fugitive Slave law in 1850, and the turbulent scenes at the North Market Hall meeting in 1854, had given evidence of the intensity of public sentiment in Chicago, on the subject of slavery. The people of Chicago had shown that they would not longer accept the leadership of Douglas, and they were already beginning to look upon Lincoln as their favorite. But Lincoln had not yet emerged from his conservatism, environed as he was at Springfield by moderate Whigs, of whom he was the principal spokesman. He was still the disciple of Henry Clay, the "Great Compromiser," whom he greatly admired, and whose views, even after the death of that statesman in 1852, he largely shared. New situations, however, gradually presented themselves, and he began to give expression to strong anti-slavery views, though still unwilling to identify himself with the Abolitionists.

THE ISSUES BRIEFLY STATED

In order to understand the numerous allusions to the burning questions of that day, it may be well to state briefly the main issues. Nebraska sought territorial organization. By the Missouri Compromise of 1820, slavery was forbidden in that section of the Union. Notwithstanding this plain prohibition, Senator Douglas introduced a bill in Congress authorizing the formation of two territories, Nebraska and Kansas, to which later he added an amendment "repealing the Missouri Compromise and permitting the people who should settle in the new territories to reject or establish slavery as they should see fit." The bill was passed May 30th, 1854. "It was the passage of this bill," says Miss Tarbell, "which brought Abraham Lincoln from the courtroom to the stump."

Later in the season (1854), Mr. Lincoln determined to "try for the United States Senatorship," as he expressed it. His friends and party sympathizers were numerous enough in the legislature to give him the victory. However, Governor Matteson announced himself as a candidate, and this divided the supporters of Mr. Lincoln. On the other hand the governor was not able to obtain enough support to gain the election, and Lyman Trumbull was chosen as a compromise. Lincoln obtained forty-four votes on the first ballot, it being necessary to secure fifty to elect. Lincoln, with some bitterness, explained the situation to Washburne after-

wards. "It was Governor Matteson's work," he said. "He has been secretly a candidate ever since (before, even) the fall election."

The gratitude felt by Mr. Lincoln for the assistance and support he received from his friends in his campaign for the Senatorship in 1854, is acknowledged by him in a letter written under date of February 21st, 1855, to Hon. W. H. Henderson. He says: "The election is over, the session is ended and I am not Senator. I have to content myself with having been the first choice of a large majority of the fifty-one members who finally made the election. My larger number of friends had to surrender to Trumbull's smaller number, in order to prevent the election of Matteson, which would have been a Douglas victory. I started with 44 votes and T. with 5. It is rather hard for the 44 to have to surrender to the 5 and a less good humored man than I, perhaps, would not have consented to it,—and it would not have been done without my consent. I could not, however, let the whole political result go to ruin, on a point merely personal to myself. Your son [T. J. Henderson, a member of the legislature] kindly and firmly stood by me from first to last, for which he has my everlasting gratitude."

LINCOLN'S PROGRESSIVE VIEWS

As marking the progress Lincoln was making in the development of his views a remark made by him to Judge T. Lyle Dickey is quoted by Miss Tarbell. "I tell you," he said, "this nation cannot exist half slave and half free." The idea took deeper root as time passed. In August, 1855, he wrote to a friend: "Our political problem now is, Can we as a nation continue permanently—forever—half slave and half free. The problem is too mighty for me. May God, in his mercy, superintend the solution." He was already beginning to see that he might be obliged to abandon the Whig party. "All his life," says Miss Tarbell, "he had been a loyal Henry Clay Whig, ardent in his devotion to the party, sincerely attached to its principles." He hardly knew what his position really was. "I think I am a Whig," he wrote to his friend Speed, "but others say there are no Whigs and that I am an Abolitionist."

EDITORIAL CONVENTION AT DECATUR

In the following year a movement to organize all the various elements that made up the opposition to slavery extension was inaugurated at a meeting held at Decatur. The *Morgan Journal,* published at Jacksonville, of which Mr. Paul Selby was the editor, proposed an "editorial convention." Many other papers throughout the state indorsed the suggestion and a call was issued for a meeting at Decatur on February 22nd, 1856. Mr. Selby was made chairman of the convention, and resolutions were adopted, as "a basis of common and concerted action," declaring that "Freedom is national and slavery sectional," that the extension of slavery "must be resisted," and ended with a call for a State Convention to be held at Bloomington on May 29th following. Those present from Chicago at this meeting were Dr. Charles H. Ray, of the *Tribune,* and George Schneider, of the *Staats Zeitung.* "There was just a round dozen of us who took part in the proceedings," said Mr. Selby, in conversation with the writer, "though others came later and were present at the banquet given in the evening, which was presided over by Richard J. Oglesby, then a resident of Decatur."

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CHICAGO, LOOKING SOUTH, SOUTH-EAST FROM THE COURTHOUSE, 1858

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CHICAGO, LOOKING NORTH, NORTH-EAST FROM THE COURTHOUSE, 1858

A State Central Committee was appointed to take charge of the arrangements for the forthcoming State Convention at Bloomington. The committee was composed of eleven members, the first name being that of William B. Ogden of Chicago, although Mr. Ogden was not present at the meeting which was composed of editors exclusively. Ogden, however, did not serve on account of absence from the state. Dr. John Evans, of Evanston, took Ogden's place on the committee and rendered efficient service. Then and there was the beginning of the party organization of the new Republican party in Illinois.

THE BLOOMINGTON CONVENTION

The State Convention assembled at Bloomington on May 29, 1856. The seventeen delegates from Cook County in attendance were: Grant Goodrich, Francis C. Sherman, William A. James, Andrew H. Dolton, James McKee, George Schneider, John Wentworth, Charles H. Ray, John L. Scripps, Charles L. Wilson, Samuel Hoard, Andrew Aikin, Horace H. Yates, Isaac N. Arnold, Norman B. Judd, John W. Waughop, and Mark Skinner.[1] Besides these, there were present from other parts of the state, Richard Yates, O. H. Browning, Archibald Williams, John M. Palmer, Burton C. Cook (then a resident of Ottawa), David Davis, Owen Lovejoy, William H. Herndon, Abraham Lincoln, and many others.

The country was almost in a state of frenzy over the troubles in Kansas. The newspapers were teeming with accounts of the attack on Sumner in the United States Senate by Brooks. One of the men who was expected to be a leader in the Bloomington Convention, Mr. Paul Selby, editor of the Morgan *Journal* of Jacksonville, (in later years an honored resident of Chicago), was lying at his home prostrated by a cowardly blow from a political opponent.

"The convention," says Herndon, "adopted a platform ringing with strong anti-Nebraska sentiments, and then and there gave the Republican party its official christening." After the work of the convention had been concluded, Mr. Lincoln, in response to repeated calls, came forward and made "a speech of such earnestness and power that no one who heard it will ever forget the effect it produced." This speech, Herndon considers, was the grand effort of his life. "Heretofore, he had simply argued the slavery question on grounds of policy, and the eternal right. Now, he was newly baptized and freshly born; he had the fervor of a new convert; the smothered flame broke out; enthusiasm unusual to him blazed up; his eyes were aglow with an inspiration."

THE "LOST SPEECH"

Referring to the speech made by Mr. Lincoln, Miss Tarbell says: "So powerful was his effect on his audience that men and women wept, and children there that night remember the scene." The newspaper men present were likewise affected in an extraordinary manner, and their efforts to report the speech were paralyzed.

"It was before the stenographer had become acclimated in Illinois, though longhand reports were regularly taken. Of course, all the leading papers of the state leaning towards the new party, had reporters at the convention."

[1] McLean County Historical Society Transactions, Vol. III, p. 149.

Mr. Joseph Medill of Chicago was present. "It was my journalistic duty," says Mr. Medill, "though a delegate to the convention, to make a long-hand report of the speeches delivered for the Chicago *Tribune*. I did make a few paragraphs of what Lincoln said in the first eight or ten minutes, but I became so absorbed in his magnetic oratory that I forgot myself and ceased to take notes; and joined with the convention in cheering and stamping and clapping to the end of his speech." Others had the same experience. "I attempted for about fifteen minutes," says Herndon, Lincoln's law partner, "as usual with me then to take notes, but at the end of that time I threw pen and paper away and lived only in the inspiration of the hour." The result was that no reporter present had anything for his newspaper, and the language of the speech has thus unfortunately not been preserved, and it is today referred to by historians as "the lost speech."

One passage in the speech, however, has been preserved. Hon. J. O. Cunningham, who heard the speech, in the course of an address on Lincoln, delivered before the Firelands Pioneer Association, at Norwalk, Ohio, July 4th, 1907, said: "At this period there was, as my older hearers will remember, much wild talk on the part of many of the Southern politicians of disunion. To this kind of talk Lincoln turned his discourse for a time, and adopting, as was his frequent habit, the form of speech made use of in his first inaugural . . . he addressed his argument to a supposititious audience of Southerners, urging the unwisdom of disunion, and the direful consequences to the country of an attempt at it upon their part. He assured his audience that Northern men had no desire for a separation and would never consent to it. Warming up with his topic to vehemence, and still using the pronoun in the second person, he closed this part of his speech with these remarkable words: 'We won't go out of the Union, and you shan't.' "

THE FREMONT CAMPAIGN

The convention at Bloomington was followed, on June 17th of the same year (1856), by the meeting of the first Republican National Convention of Anti-Slavery Democrats and Whigs of the North, at Philadelphia. At this convention John C. Fremont was nominated for the presidency. In the ensuing election, in November, Fremont carried Chicago by a majority of six thousand, three hundred and seventy votes, and Cook county by nine thousand and twenty. Thus the new Republican party had, in four years, absorbed the Whig and Free Soil parties in Chicago, and weakened the Democratic party fatally.

Lincoln took an active part in the campaign for Fremont, and made over fifty speeches in Illinois and the neighboring states. One of these speeches was delivered at Princeton early in the campaign. It was "a fine example of political wisdom," says Miss Tarbell, "an historical argument admirably calculated to convince his auditors that they were right in their opposition to slavery extension, but so controlled and sane that it would stir no impulsive radical to violence." Lincoln knew well the virtues of restraint at a time when party passions ran high. The Princeton address was moderate in tone, and among all the utterances of orators in that campaign there was not probably "a cooler, more logical speech than this by the man who, a month before, had driven a convention so nearly mad that the

very reporters had forgotten to make notes." The temper of this Princeton speech was kept by Lincoln throughout the remainder of the campaign.

Buchanan, as we know, was elected in spite of the ardent and valiant Republicans. In Illinois they elected their candidate for governor, William H. Bissell, the first Republican governor of Illinois. Fremont received nearly one hundred thousand votes. Lincoln was not discouraged by the result. At a Republican banquet in Chicago a few weeks after the election, he said: "All of us who did not vote for Mr. Buchanan, taken together, are a majority of four hundred thousand. [He referred to the combined vote of Fremont and Fillmore, as there were three presidential candidates in the campaign of 1856]. But in the late contest we were divided between Fremont and Fillmore. Can we not come together for the future? Let every one who really believes and is resolved that free society is not and shall not be a failure, and who can conscientiously declare that in the last test he has done only what he thought best—let every such one have charity to believe that every other one can say as much. Thus let bygones be bygones; let past differences as nothing be; and with steady eye on the real issue let us reinaugurate the good old 'central idea' of the republic. We can do it. The human heart is with us; God is with us. We shall again be able not to declare that 'all states as states are equal,' nor yet that 'all citizens as citizens are equal,' but to renew the broader, better declaration, including both these and much more, that 'all men are created equal.' "

The banquet was given in December, 1856; Mr. J. Young Scammon presided on that occasion.

MR. LINCOLN AND THE ILLINOIS CENTRAL RAILROAD

"Probably the most important lawsuit Lincoln and I conducted," says Herndon, "was one in which we defended the Illinois Central Railroad in an action brought by McLean County, Illinois, in August, 1853, to recover taxes alleged to be due the county from the road." The legislature had granted the road immunity from taxation on condition that it pay perpetually into the state treasury seven per cent of its gross earnings. This case was intended to test the constitutionality of the law. The road sent a retainer fee of two hundred and fifty dollars. In the lower court the case was decided in favor of the railroad. An appeal to the Supreme Court followed, and there it was argued twice, and finally decided in favor of McLean County.

"This last decision was rendered some time in 1855. Mr. Lincoln soon went to Chicago and presented our bill for legal services. We only asked two thousand dollars more. The official to whom he was referred . . . looking at the bill, expressed great surprise. 'Why, sir,' he exclaimed, 'This is as much as Daniel Webster himself would have charged. We cannot allow such a claim.' Stung by the rebuff, Lincoln withdrew the bill and started for home. On the way he stopped at Bloomington. There he met Grant Goodrich, Archibald Williams, Norman B. Judd, O. H. Browning, and other attorneys, who, on learning of his modest charge for such valuable services rendered the railroad, induced him to increase the demand to five thousand dollars and to bring suit for that sum. This was done at

once. On the trial six lawyers certified that the bill was reasonable and judgment for that sum went by default. The judgment was promptly paid."

In Herndon's "Life of Lincoln," he says that the official of the Illinois Central Railroad, to whom Mr. Lincoln was referred for payment of the bill, was "supposed to have been the superintendent, George B. McClellan, who afterwards became the eminent general." This, however, is a mistake. The incident referred to occurred in 1855, and in that year Captain McClellan was absent in the Crimea as one of a commission of three sent abroad to study the European military service as displayed in the Crimean War. "It was not till January, 1857," says Miss Ida M. Tarbell in her "Life of Lincoln," "that McClellan resigned his commission in the United States Army to become the Chief Engineer and afterwards vice-president of the Illinois Central Railroad."

Mr. Lincoln, however, did not believe in suing for his fees. Mr. Herndon says that he would consent to be swindled before he would contest a fee. The case of the Illinois Centrail Railroad, however, was an exception to this rule. He held positive views on the subject of fees, which are quoted by Miss Tarbell in her book. "The matter of fees," wrote Mr. Lincoln in the "notes for a law lecture" which he left among his papers, "is important, far beyond the mere question of bread and butter involved. Properly attended to, fuller justice is done to both lawyer and client. . . . As a general rule never take your whole fee in advance, nor any more than a small retainer. When fully paid beforehand, you are more than a common mortal if you can feel the same interest in the case as if something was in prospect for you as well as for your client."

M'CLELLAN'S RECOLLECTIONS OF LINCOLN

It was while he was an officer of the Illinois Central Railroad that McClellan met Lincoln for the first time. "Long before the war," says McClellan, in the work entitled "McClellan's Own Story," "when vice-president of the Illinois Central Railroad I knew Mr. Lincoln, for he was one of the counsel of the company. More than once I have been with him in out-of-the-way county seats where some important case was being tried, and in the lack of sleeping accommodations have spent the night in front of a stove, listening to the unceasing flow of anecdotes from his lips. He was never at a loss and I could never make up my mind how many of them he had really heard before and how many he invented on the spur of the moment."

LINCOLN'S FONDNESS FOR SHOWS

Mr. Lincoln had a boyish fondness for attending concerts and shows. Once when he was traveling on the circuit, his friends missed him from the hotel he was stopping at during the evening. When he returned some one asked him where he had been. "Well," he said, "I have been to a little show up at the Academy." Mr. H. C. Whitney, one of his old friends, was present and relates as follows: "He sat before the fire and narrated all the sights of that most primitive of country shows, given chiefly to school children. Next night he was missing again, the show was still in town, and he stole in as before, and entertained us with a description of new sights —a magic lantern, electrical machine, etc. I told him I had seen all these sights at

school. 'Yes,' he said sadly, 'I now have an advantage over you, for the first time in my life seeing these things which are, of course, common to those who had, what I did not, a chance at an education when they were young.' " It was thus that at forty years of age, and when regarded as the ablest politician in Illinois, he satisfied the longing, which every healthy nature feels, for the simple delights of youth.

When he was in Chicago he was eager to attend concerts and shows, and Herndon relates that on one occasion he and Mr. Lincoln were present at a negro minstrel show where they heard "Dixie" sung, then an entirely new song, and which pleased him greatly. Mr. Charles A. Rogers, a Board of Trade man, who came to Chicago in 1854, said to the writer once that he remembered seeing Lincoln and Trumbull together "sitting just behind him" at a minstrel show in Metropolitan Hall.

The following incident was related by James W. Somers, a young lawyer of Urbana and quite a favorite with Mr. Lincoln, to Hon. J. O. Cunningham, who has kindly placed it at the disposal of the writer for this work. "While I was in Chicago attending law lectures," said Mr. Somers, "in the spring of 1860, my friend, Henry C. Whitney, invited me to accompany him to a performance of Rumsey & Newcomb's minstrels, to be given in Metropolitan Hall. He said Mr. Lincoln, who was in the city attending court, would go with us. I eagerly accepted the invitation. We went early and were seated about the middle of the hall, where we had a good view of the stage. I was then quite a young man from a rural village and to me the exhibition was novel and extremely amusing, but I am sure Mr. Lincoln enjoyed it as much as I did. He was in an especial good humor and laughed heartily at the quips and quirks of the "middle" and "end" men, and enjoyed the clog dancing. I recall that he was especially pleased with the then new song 'Dixie,' which he heard for the first time. It seemed to wholly carry him out of himself. Major Whitney relates what he said to Mr. Lincoln that evening: 'Possibly in a few weeks you will be nominated for president right here.' It was then thought the presidential national convention would be held in Metropolitan Hall. Lincoln replied: 'It is honor enough for me to be talked about for it.'

"When William N. Coler was leaving Springfield for Chicago, to attend the convention, Lincoln said to him: 'I've a good notion to go up with you, Coler, but I'm too much of a candidate to be there, I reckon, yet not enough of one to stay away.' "

THE ARRIVAL OF SENATOR DOUGLAS IN CHICAGO

The accounts of the arrival of Senator Douglas at Chicago from Washington, on the 9th of July, 1858, indicate that political excitement was at a high pitch. The newspapers of that period could not find language strong enough either in praise of their favorite statesmen or candidates, or in denunciation of those of the opposite party. The Democratic press, therefore, described the scenes occurring upon his arrival in glowing terms, and, indeed, it must have been an event long to be remembered. The Chicago *Times*, the leading Democratic organ, then under the editorial management of James W. Sheahan, published in its issue of July 10th the details of the latter part of Senator Douglas' journey.

At Michigan City, sixty miles distant from Chicago, the Senator's train was

met by a party who were to escort him the remainder of the way on a special train. The demonstrations of welcome which had been arranged at that point were seriously marred, however, because "some malicious person" had "secretly spiked the only gun in the town," and the local democracy were obliged to utilize a large anvil with which they "made the welkin echo with its repeated discharges." On the locomotive was displayed the banner of the Young Men's Democratic Club.

The train arrived in the city about five o'clock in the afternoon, and as it passed along Twelfth street to the depot, "crowds of ladies were assembled on the doorsteps of the residences on Michigan avenue, waving banners and handkerchiefs; the lake shore was crowded by persons hastily proceeding to the depot. Long before the train could enter the station house, thousands had crossed over the breakwater, got upon the track, and climbed into the cars; and when the latter reached the depot they were literally crammed inside and covered on top by ardent and enthusiastic friends and supporters of the illustrious Illinoisan."

Meantime all the available artillery was pressed into service and in Dearborn Park a salute of one hundred and fifty guns was fired, "the booming of the cannon alone rising above the cheering plaudits of the assembled multitude," says the account. "The Adams House, near the Central depot, was most handsomely decorated. The national flag, a banner bearing the motto, 'Douglas, the Champion of Popular Sovereignty,' as well as numerous flags belonging to vessels in the harbor were suspended across the street, presenting a grand display. The doors, windows, balconies, and roofs of the Adams House, as well as the private residences in the neighborhood, and the large stores and warehouses along Lake street were crowded with ladies and other persons—all cheering and welcoming the Senator. At the depot, a procession consisting of the 'Montgomery Guards,' Captain Gleason, and the 'Emmet Guards,' Lieutenant Stuart commanding, acting as military escort, was then formed. Judge Douglas was in an open barouche drawn by six horses, and was followed by the committee of arrangements in other carriages. The procession proceeded up Lake street to Wabash avenue," and thence by a circuitous route to its destination at the Tremont House.

"The omnibuses from Union Park, and from the southern and northern limits of the city, were crowded with suburban residents, and people came on foot from the remotest parts of the city, taking up eligible standing places around the hotel." It was estimated by the writer of the account we have just quoted from that there were "at the least calculation" thirty thousand people present. "Chicago has never before witnessed such a sight," says the writer. "A field of human forms parted with difficulty as the procession passed through, and closed instantly behind it, with the surge and roar of the waters of a sea." A continuous torrent of "thrills" characterizes the description throughout, reaching a climax when the writer seems fairly to shout, "Over all the light of the illumination, and the glare and glitter of the fireworks, spread an appearance which is indescribable!"

But in a land of free speech discordant sentiments are sure to find expression even at a time of such apparently universal enthusiasm and joy. The Chicago Daily *Journal*, published the same afternoon of the Senator's arrival, takes quite another view of the proceedings. "The followers of Senator Douglas," it croaks, "are straining their utmost powers to make the demonstration in behalf of their

champion on his return home, a great and glorious affair, this evening. If it does not prove imposing, and if there is not a tremendous outward show of 'enthusiasm' displayed on the occasion, it will not be for lack of effort on the part of the Senator's more active worshipers to render so. They have been begging and scraping together all the spare dollars, shillings, dimes and sixpences that could be obtained, for the last few weeks,—have bought powder enough to supply the Utah war—have expended large sums in getting up banners and devices—and have laid out not a small sum in hiring men and boys to make up a big procession and make a big noise. Surely, after such extensive preparations, we have a right to anticipate a great time, and shall expect to see the lionized Senator perfectly emblazoned in the glory of triumphant honors."

In its next issue the *Journal* referred to the speech made by Mr. Douglas in this cutting manner: "He spoke for an hour and a half, in his usual style-dispensing 'soft soap' quite freely, setting himself forth as a hero of no common order, and indulging even more than ordinarily in that inexorable habit of misrepresentation, and prevarication which appears in political matters to have become a sort of second nature to him."

A newspaper published at Quincy, Illinois, the Daily *Herald,* comments upon the change of sentiment towards Douglas as shown by his reception at Chicago, and remarks: "Four years ago Senator Douglas returned to Chicago from Washington and attempted to speak to the people in justification of his course in the United States Senate, but was denied a hearing. And, indeed, as most of our readers will recollect, when he did make the effort he was assailed and driven from the platform. The Chicago people would not listen to him; nor did they permit him the right of speech at all, so incensed were they against him for his support of the Kansas-Nebraska bill. Four years have elapsed since then and the city which hunted, denounced and assailed the 'Little Giant,' makes the occasion of his arrival a source of public rejoicing. In another place we have alluded to his triumphant entry into the city on last Friday."

The Chicago *Press and Tribune,* in its issue of July 12th, gives an account of the "Enthusiastic Reception of Mr. Lincoln by the Republicans of Chicago." The Republicans of the city were not disposed to permit the Little Giant to monopolize all the attention of the Chicago public, and when Mr. Lincoln arrived in the city from Springfield his coming was chronicled, and soon after it was announced that he would make a speech. Accordingly on the evening following that of the ovation given to Senator Douglas Mr. Lincoln spoke from the balcony of the hotel, the occasion being described as follows: "The audience assembled to hear Hon. Abraham Lincoln on Saturday evening was, in point of numbers, about three-fourths as large as that of the previous evening, when Douglas held forth; and in point of enthusiasm, about four times as great. The crowd extended from the corner of Lake and Dearborn streets the whole length of the Tremont House, and as on the evening previous, the balconies, windows and roofs of the adjoining buildings were filled with attentive spectators—ladies and gentlemen. The only advertisement of the meeting consisted of a notice in the Saturday morning papers, and a few handbills distributed during the day.

"The essential difference in the two demonstrations was simply that the Lincoln audience was enthusiastically for Lincoln, and the Douglas audience was not

in favor of anybody in particular. This will be admitted by any fair-minded man who witnessed both demonstrations. The Douglas authorities estimate the crowd of Friday evening at thirty thousand, or something more than the whole male adult population of the city. We presume that twelve thousand is a liberal reckoning for that evening, and that nine thousand would about cover the gathering of Saturday night.

"During the progress of Mr. Lincoln's speech a procession of four hundred men from the Seventh ward including the German Republican Club arrived on the ground, preceded by a band of music, and carrying the Seventh Ward banner. They were received with loud and continued cheers from the audience. Mr. Lincoln was introduced by C. L. Wilson, Esq., and as he made his appearance he was greeted with a perfect storm of applause. For some moments the enthusiasm continued unabated. At last, when by a wave of his hand partial silence was restored, Mr. Lincoln spoke."

THE UNITED STATES ZOUAVE CADETS

On the 19th of March, 1856, there was a military company formed in Chicago, called the "National Guard Cadets." The original officers were: Captain, Joseph R. Scott; First lieutenant, W. W. Lawton; Second lieutenant, W. B. Smith; Ensign, N. G. Vail. The discipline in this company was not maintained, however, at a very high standard, and by the spring of 1859 it had so far relaxed that it was threatened with dissolution.

At this time E. Elmer Ellsworth, then a young man but little past twenty-one years of age, full of military ardor and possessed of excellent capacity for management and discipline, became the captain, and at once began a thorough reorganization of the company. Stringent rules were adopted, members were prohibited from entering saloons or disreputable places while in uniform under penalty of expulsion. A new uniform was adopted, consisting of light blue trousers with buff stripes, dark blue frock coat with buff trimmings, cap of dark blue with red, white and blue pompon, and white cross belts. A knapsack, with a red blanket rolled and strapped on top, completed this attractive and brilliant outfit. The name of the company was changed to the "United States Zouave Cadets." Quarters in the old Garrett Block, at the southeast corner of Randolph and State streets, were fitted up for an armory, and here drills were instituted, and an earnest and unremitting course of discipline practiced, which soon caused this organization to be regarded as the model company of its kind in the country. Recruits were added and representatives of Chicago's "best people" found places in the ranks.

FIRST PUBLIC APPEARANCE OF THE ZOUAVES

On the 4th of July in that year (1859), the company paraded the streets of the city and gave an exhibition drill on Lake street, in front of the Tremont House. This was the first public appearance of the company, and the "Zouave drill," with its brilliant bayonet exercise, won a high degree of public admiration. Soon after, the uniform was changed and made to correspond with the Zouave uniform of the French army. The details of this uniform are worthy of description, as the widespread attention given to the company's activities became the talk of the day, not

only in Chicago but in many other cities soon after to be visited. The new uniform "consisted of a bright red chasseur cap with gold braid; light blue shirt with moire antique facings; dark blue jacket with orange and red trimmings; brass bell buttons, placed as close together as possible; a red sash and loose red trousers; russet leather leggins, buttoned over the trousers, reaching from ankle half-way to knee; and white waist belt. The jacket did not button, was cut low in the neck, without collar. Easy-fitting, high-laced shoes, with thick, broad soles were worn," thus making up a remarkably brilliant as well as a comfortable uniform.

TOUR OF THE ZOUAVES

Early in the following year (1860), preparations for an extensive tour were made. Redoubled exertions were now made to perfect the members of the company in the exercises of the various peculiar drills practiced. Drilling every evening, except Sundays, from seven to eleven o'clock, was required, and attendance was enforced under penalty of expulsion. Though the discipline and requirements were thus severe the membership was easily maintained up to the limit, for there was no more popular organization among the Chicago young men of that day, than the "Ellsworth's Zouaves." At all drills the uniform and knapsack were worn, so that every man should become accustomed to them, as well as to the handling of his rifle and bayonet.

The 2d of July (1860) was the day fixed for the departure of the Zouaves on their eastern tour. Before leaving the armory Ellsworth addressed the company warning the members that no infraction of their pledge to keep away from drinking places and disreputable resorts would be tolerated. "The first man," he said, "who violates his pledge while on the tour shall be expelled forthwith, stripped of his uniform, and sent back to Chicago in disgrace." There was no relaxation in the strict discipline exercised by the young commander in this regard, and the appearance of the young men composing the troop was everywhere a credit to the city from which they hailed, and the men were an example of good conduct and orderly behavior on all occasions.

POLITICAL EXCITEMENT IN 1860

It must be remembered that the country was at this time in the throes of a "red-hot" political campaign. Lincoln had been nominated at the Republican National Convention held at Chicago the previous May, and there was much political excitement everywhere. It was beginning to be apparent to the people of the nation that a collision with the southern states might occur in case the Republican nominee should be elected in the following November, for there were many indications that such a result would not be acquiesced in by the Southerners. In such a case an armed conflict was inevitable.

The interest, therefore, in military organizations was greatly heightened. Men's minds were constantly turning to military matters, and an eagerness was shown to be prepared for whatever might come. An appeal to arms seemed inevitable

in case of a Republican victory, and all signs pointed to it as almost a certainty. The appearance of Ellsworth's Chicago Zouaves, giving exhibitions of drill and military discipline, attracted the keenest interest of multitudes.

There was, too, another reason for the interest shown in the public appearance of the Chicago Zouaves. They had come from a city, then fresh in the minds of the people of the country, as the place where Lincoln had been nominated, and as the chief city of the state from which Lincoln hailed. Chicago, in the view of the people of the country, was of much more importance than was warranted from its size merely. Its population at that time was about 110,000. Something has always been happening at Chicago to attract the attention of the world—sometimes great political events of far-reaching significance and importance, sometimes startling revelations of wonderful commercial and railroad development, and sometimes great disasters. The mention of its name awakened an interest at once. Everywhere the Zouaves appeared, giving exhibition drills, they met with enthusiastic receptions, applause for their proficiency and approval of their strict principles of morality and behavior.

NAMES OF THE ZOUAVES

So important an episode in the history of the city as that of the brief career of the Zouaves would not be fully narrated without giving the names of the members,—names that became identified later with various military organizations which took part in the Civil War. It is said that those of them, who afterwards joined the armies of the Union, became officers and many of them reached high rank. Many, indeed, gave up their lives on Southern battle fields, and all of them are deserving of remembrance.

The company when it began its tour numbered fifty-one officers and men, the "Light Guard Band," composed of fifteen men, and five servants. The names of those who made the tour are as follows: E. Elmer Ellsworth, Commandant; H. Dwight Laflin, Second Lieutenant; Charles A. DeVillers, Surgeon; Joseph R. Scott, Commissary; James B. Taylor, Paymaster; James R. Hayden, First Sergeant; Edward B. Knox, Second Sergeant; Robert W. Wetherell, Quartermaster-Sergeant; Benjamin B. Botsford, Color Sergeant.

The men composing the rank and file were as follows: Fred J. Abbey, Gerritt V. S. Aiken, Merritt P. Batchelor, John A. Baldwin, William Behrend, Augustus A. Bice, Samuel S. Boone, Edwin L. Brand, Joseph C. Barclay, James A. Clybourn, Harry H. Hall, George W. Fruin, Louis B. Hand, Charles H. Hosmer, William Inness, Louis L. James, Ransom Kennicott, Lucius S. Larrabee, John C. Long, Waters W. McChesney, Samuel J. Nathans, William M. Olcott, Charles C. Phillips, Robert D. Ross, B. Frank Rogers, Clement Sutterly, Charles Scott, Jr., Charles W. Smith, Charles C. Smith, Edwin M. Coates, Freeman Conner, William H. Cutler, William N. Danks, James M. De Witt, George H. Fergus, Charles H. Shepley, Ira G. True, Evart Van Buren, Jr., Harry S. Wade, Sidney P. Walker, Frank E. Yates, and Charles A. Bell.

There were one hundred and twenty members of the company, but those only whose names appear in the above list made the tour.

THE ITINERARY OF THE ZOUAVES

The cities visited by Ellsworth and his company were Adrian (Michigan), Detroit, Cleveland, Niagara Falls, Rochester, Syracuse, Utica, Troy, Albany, West Point, New York, Boston, Salem, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, St. Louis, Springfield, and thence returning to Chicago. Here the Zouaves arrived on the 14th of August, having completed a tour of forty-three days and having won unstinted praise and many trophies. The company was regarded as the best drilled military organization in the United States.

On their return the Zouaves were welcomed by a grand ovation, participated in by all the local military organizations, the torch light clubs and the Fire department. A reception at the Wigwam was held where Mayor Wentworth delivered a congratulatory speech, and from there they proceeded to the Briggs House to partake of a banquet given in their honor.

Shortly after their return to Chicago the Zouaves gave an exhibition drill at the Wigwam, for the benefit of the Home for the Friendless. This was their last appearance as an organization, and in the following October the company disbanded. Ellsworth went to Springfield where he became a law student in the office of Abraham Lincoln and remained there up to the time of Lincoln's departure for Washington in the following February. Ellsworth accompanied Lincoln on this memorable journey. The story of his later experiences and of his tragic death will be told in the chapter treating of the Civil War.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE LINCOLN-DOUGLAS DEBATE

DEBATES BETWEEN LINCOLN AND DOUGLAS—LINCOLN'S CHALLENGE—REPLY OF DOUGLAS—FIRST MEETING AT OTTAWA—THE "PHONOGRAPHIC REPORT" OF THE PRESS AND TRIBUNE—HITT AND BINMORE THE SHORT HAND REPORTERS—THE REPORT OF THE CHICAGO TIMES—HORACE WHITE'S LONG HAND REPORTS—HITT'S ACCOUNT GIVEN IN 1904—REPUBLICAN VICTORIES IN THE FALL ELECTIONS—"HOLDOVERS" ELECT DOUGLAS TO SENATE—ISAAC N. ARNOLD'S COMPARISON OF THE DEBATERS—GRIERSON'S DESCRIPTION—LINCOLN AND DOUGLAS COMPARED—ADVANTAGES OF JOINT DEBATES—REVIEW OF THE CAMPAIGN—LINCOLN THE ACKNOWLEDGED STANDARD BEARER—INTENSE POPULAR INTEREST IN POLITICS—LONG SPEECHES OF CANDIDATES—ANECDOTE OF LINCOLN—LINCOLN COMPARES HIMSELF WITH DOUGLAS—LINCOLN'S GROWING PRESIDENTIAL PROSPECTS—LINCOLN'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY—LINCOLN'S FINANCIAL CIRCUMSTANCES.

THE BEGINNING OF THE DEBATES

"THE contest of 1858," said Horace White, in an address before the Illinois State Historical Society, in 1908, "has been more talked about and written about than any other intellectual encounter in our national annals." The debates proper, that is as arranged between Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Douglas, were comprised in a series of seven meetings, which were held during the late summer and fall of 1858, as follows: August 21st, at Ottawa; August 27th, at Freeport; September 15th, at Jonesboro; September 18th, at Charleston; October 7th, at Galesburg; October 13th, at Quincy; and on October 15th, at Alton.

The beginning of the debates, however, was regarded by Isaac N. Arnold as taking place in Chicago in the previous July. "The first speech was made by Douglas," says Arnold, "Lincoln being present at Chicago, on the evening of the 9th of July, 1858, from the balcony of the old Tremont House; Dearborn and Lake streets being completely packed with citizens, and the hotel parlors and rotunda filled with ladies and privileged guests. On the following evening Lincoln replied from the same place to a crowd equally great. On the 16th of July Douglas spoke again at Bloomington, Lincoln being present. On the 17th of July Douglas spoke at the Capitol in Springfield, and on the evening of the same day Lincoln replied." But in the volume edited by Professor E. E. Sparks entitled the "Lincoln-Douglas Debates," these speeches were merely regarded, he gives us to understand, as the irregular beginning of the campaign, and it was not until Lincoln's challenge of July 24th, and Douglas' acceptance of it on the same day, that the series were definitely arranged for. The seven formal debates began with the one at Ottawa on August 21st, and ended with the one at Alton, October 15th.

LINCOLN'S CHALLENGE

A challenge was sent by Mr. Lincoln to Judge Douglas to hold joint meetings. The letter was dated at Chicago, July 24th, 1858; and was as follows: "Hon. S. A. Douglas; My Dear Sir: Will it be agreeable to you to make an arrangement for you and myself to divide time, and address the same audiences the present canvass? Mr. Judd, who will hand you this, is authorized to receive your answer; and, if agreeable to you, to enter into the terms of such agreement."

Douglas' reply was quite lengthy. He said that "recent events had interposed difficulties in the way of such an arrangement," that he had already "made a list of appointments covering the entire period until late in October," that candidates for other offices on the Democratic ticket expected to be present at such meetings, and that there would be no opportunity at the meetings "for other speeches." "I cannot refrain from expressing my surprise," he continued, "if it was your original intention to invite such an arrangement, that you should have waited until after I had made my appointments, inasmuch as we were both here in Chicago together for several days after my arrival, and again at Bloomington, Atlanta, Lincoln, and Springfield, where it was well known I went for the purpose of consulting with the State Central Committee, and agreeing upon the plan of the campaign." However, he says, he will, "in order to accommodate you as far as it is in my power to do so, take the responsibility of making an arrangement with you for a discussion between us at one prominent point in each Congressional district in the State, except the second and sixth districts, where we have both spoken, and in each of which cases you had the concluding speech." He then named the places which he considered the most suitable "at which we should speak," the places being those where the meetings were afterward held.

THE FIRST JOINT MEETING AT OTTAWA

The people of Chicago were immensely interested in the debates, as appears in the large space given to the speeches in the newspapers of the city. The Chicago *Press and Tribune,* in its issue of August 21, 1858, announces the meeting at Ottawa, as follows: "The gallant Lincoln will enter the lists at Ottawa today, with Douglas. The meeting will be a memorable one, and the first of the present campaign. A large delegation will be in attendance from this city, leaving here by the 8:00 a. m. train, on the Chicago and Rock Island Railroad, returning this evening. Let there be a good attendance of our Republicans. The *Press and Tribune* of Monday will contain a full Phonographic verbatim report of the speeches of Lincoln and Douglas. Let all who can be present hear the champions, and all who cannot should read and judge for themselves."

The reports of the speeches were accompanied, in all the newspapers which printed them, with comments and descriptions, according to the political sympathies of their editors. The Chicago *Times,* a Douglas partisan newspaper (this was two years before Wilbur F. Storey became its editor), said: "When Douglas had concluded, the shouts were tremendous; his excoriation of Lincoln was so severe that the Republicans hung their heads in shame. The Democrats, however, were loud in their vociferations. About two-thirds of the meeting at once sur-

rounded Douglas, and with music, cheers, and every demonstration of enthusiastic admiration, they escorted him to his quarters at the hotel. . . . Lincoln, in the meantime seemed to have been paralyzed. He stood upon the stage looking wildly at the people as they surrounded the triumphant Douglas . . . and he could not find a friend to say one word to him in his distress. It was a delicate point for Republicans, who had witnessed his utter defeat, and who knew how severely he felt it, to offer him condolence, or bid him hope for better success again. The only thing they could say was that Lincoln ought not to travel round with Douglas, and had better not meet him any more. When Douglas and the Democrats had left the square, Lincoln essayed to descend from the stage, but his limbs refused to do their office. . . . In this extremity, the Republican marshal called half a dozen men, who, lifting Lincoln in their arms, carried him along. By some mismanagement the men selected for this office happened to be very short in stature, and the consequence was that while Lincoln's head and shoulders towered above theirs, his feet dragged on the ground. . . . It was one of the richest farces we have ever witnessed and provoked the laughter of all Democrats and Republicans, who happened to see it."

The Chicago *Journal*, however, seemed not to have gathered such an impression, and remarked as follows: "Since the flailing Senator Douglas received at Ottawa on Saturday, we suggest that his friends hereafter address him as the *late* Mr. Douglas."

In another part of its issue, the *Journal* gives this narrative of the occasion, which differs materially from the *Times* account. "The Republicans were in their glory at Ottawa on Saturday, the foolish statements and falsehoods of the Chicago *Times* to the contrary notwithstanding. At least two-thirds of the vast assemblage, that was attracted thither to listen to the Lincoln and Douglas debate, was composed of Republicans, and every candid man present whom we have seen bears testimony to the fact that Lincoln 'took down' Douglas most effectually, on every point of the debate. The genuine enthusiasm of the occasion was all on the side of Lincoln, and so pleased were his friends with his strong and crushing reply to the misrepresentations and sophistications of Douglas, that when he concluded his speech they rushed up to the stand, took him upon their shoulders and bore him in triumphal procession to the house of Mayor Glover, where he stopped."

After one of the debates it was remarked by some one to Lincoln that he looked tired. "Yes," he said, "I have been stoning Stephen." This allusion to the death of Stephen, as related in the book of the "Acts of the Apostles," is an excellent illustration of Mr. Lincoln's familiarity with the Scriptures.

REPORTING THE DEBATES

The man employed by the Chicago *Press and Tribune* to make the "Phonographic verbatim report," mentioned in the announcement previously quoted, was Robert R. Hitt, who later became assistant secretary of state under Blaine, and in 1882 was elected a member of Congress, an office which he continued to hold for twelve consecutive terms. Horace White, who later became the editor of the Chicago *Tribune* (from 1865 to 1874) was at that time one of the editorial writers of the *Press and Tribune*, and was designated as chief correspondent to accompany Mr.

Lincoln on his campaign against Senator Douglas. The noteworthy features of the great debates were given to the public through Mr. White's letter to his paper. Mr. White has related the particulars of the reporting of the speeches, and from his account the following is quoted:

"Senator Douglas had entered upon his campaign with two short-hand reporters, James B. Sheridan and Henry Binmore, whose duty it was to 'write it up' in the columns of the Chicago *Times*. The necessity of counteracting or matching that force became apparent very soon, and I was chosen to write up Mr. Lincoln's campaign. I was not a short-hand reporter. . . . The verbatim reporting for the *Press and Tribune* in the joint debates was done by Mr. Robert R. Hitt, late assistant Secretary of State. . . . Verbatim reporting was a new feature in journalism in Chicago and Mr. Hitt was the pioneer thereof. The publication of Senator Douglas' opening speech in that campaign, by the *Press and Tribune* the next morning, was a feat hitherto unexampled in the West, and most mortifying to the Democratic newspaper, the *Times*, and to Sheridan and Binmore, who, after taking down the speech as carefully as Mr. Hitt had done, had gone to bed intending to write it out the next day, as was then customary.

"All of the seven joint debates were reported by Mr. Hitt for the *Press and Tribune*, the manuscript passing through my hands before going to the printers, but no changes were made by me except in a few cases where confusion on the platform or the blowing of the wind had caused some slight hiatus or evident mistake in catching the speaker's words. I could not resist the temptation to *italicise* a few passages in Mr. Lincoln's speeches, where his manner of delivery had been especially emphatic."

Mr. Hitt, in an interview published many years later, said that Mr. Lincoln never saw the written reports of any of the debates. "I mention this," he said "as it was often charged at that time, in the fury of partisan warfare, that Mr. Lincoln's speeches were doctored and almost rewritten before they were printed; that this was necessary because he was so petty a creature in ability, in thought, in style, in speaking, when compared with the matchless Douglas." In a sketch of Mr. Hitt, printed in the New York *Herald* in 1904, it is said that some of Mr. Lincoln's political enemies, who had brought an indictment of illiteracy against the gaunt Illinois statesman, charged Mr. Hitt with "doctoring" the English of the speech, but he denied that he had taken any liberties whatever with Lincoln's phraseology.

CONCLUSION OF THE SENATORIAL CAMPAIGN

When the campaign was over it was found that the Republicans had a popular majority in the state of four thousand and eighty-five votes, though they failed to secure enough members in the legislature to elect a senator. A sufficient number of Democrats in the upper house, elected two years before and still holding their offices, although their districts had gone Republican, served to give the election to Douglas, who was thus elected to the United States Senate for the third time. The vote in the legislature stood forty-six Republican and fifty-four Democratic.

When asked by a friend how he felt over the result of the election, Lincoln replied that he felt like the boy who had stubbed his toe, "too bad to laugh and too

big to cry." In a letter he wrote to Dr. A. G. Henry he said, "I am glad I made the late race. It gave me a hearing on the great and durable question of the age which I would have had in no other way; and though I now sink out of view and shall be forgotten. I believe I have made some marks which will tell for the cause of civil liberty long after I am gone."

ISAAC N. ARNOLD'S DESCRIPTION AND ESTIMATE

The following quotation is made from a paper read by Hon. Isaac N. Arnold, on Abraham Lincoln, before the Royal Historical Society, London, June 16, 1881:

"The great debate between Lincoln and Douglas, in 1858, was unquestionably, both with reference to the ability of the speakers and its influence upon opinion and events, the most important in American history. I do not think I do injustice to others, nor over-estimate their importance, when I say that the speeches of Lincoln published, circulated, and read throughout the Free States, did more than any other agency in creating the public opinion, which prepared the way for the overthrow of slavery. The speeches of John Quincy Adams, and those of Senator Sumner, were more learned and scholarly, and those of Lovejoy and Wendell Phillips were more vehement and impassioned; Senators Seward, Chase, and Hale spoke from a more conspicuous forum, but Lincoln's speeches were as philosophic, as able, as earnest as any, and his manner had a simplicity and directness, a clearness of illustration, and his language a plainness, a vigor, an Anglo-Saxon strength, better adapted than any other to reach and influence the understanding and sentiment of the common people.

"At the time of this memorable discussion, both Lincoln and Douglas were in the full maturity of their powers. Douglas being forty-five and Lincoln forty-nine years old. Douglas had had a long training and experience as a popular speaker. On the hustings ('stump,' as we say in America) and in Congress, and especially in the United States Senate, he had been accustomed to meet the ablest debaters of his State and of the Nation.

"His friends insisted that never, either in conflict with a single opponent, or when repelling the assaults of a whole party, had he been discomfited. His manner was bold, vigorous, and aggressive. He was ready, fertile in resources, familiar with political history, strong and severe in denunciation, and he handled with skill all the weapons of the dialectician. His iron will, tireless energy, united with physical and moral courage, and great personal magnetism, made him a natural leader, and gave him personal popularity.

"Lincoln was also now a thoroughly trained speaker. He had contended successfully at the bar, in the legislature, and before the people, with the ablest men of the West, including Douglas, with whom he always rather sought than avoided a discussion. But he was a courteous and generous opponent, as is illustrated by the following beautiful allusion to his rival, made in 1856, in one of their joint debates. 'Twenty years ago, Judge Douglas and I first became acquainted; we were both young then; he a trifle younger than I. Even then we were both ambitious, I, perhaps, quite as much as he. With me, the race of ambition has been a flat failure. With him, it has been a splendid success. His name fills the Nation, and it is not unknown in foreign lands. I affect no contempt for the high eminence he has reached; so reached, that the oppressed of my species might have shared

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CHICAGO IN THE FIFTIES

with me in the elevation, I would rather stand on that eminence than wear the richest crown that ever pressed a monarch's brow.'

"We know, and the world knows, that Lincoln did reach that high, nay, far higher eminence, and that he did reach it in such a way that the 'oppressed' did share with him in the elevation.

"Such were the champions who, in 1858, were to discuss, before the voters of Illinois, and with the whole Nation as spectators, the political questions then pending, and especially the vital questions relating to slavery. It was not a single combat, but extended through a whole campaign.

"On the return of Douglas from Washington to Illinois, in July, 1858, Lincoln and Douglas being candidates for the senate, the former challenged his rival to a series of joint debates, to be held at the principal towns in the state. The challenge was accepted, and it was agreed that each discussion should occupy three hours; that the speakers should alternate in the opening and the close—the opening speech to occupy one hour, the reply one hour and a-half, and the close half-an-hour. The meetings were held in the open air, for no hall could hold the vast crowds which attended.

"In addition to the immense mass of hearers, reporters from all the principal newspapers in the country attended, so that the morning after each debate the speeches were published and eagerly read by a large part, perhaps a majority of all the voters of the United States. The attention of the American people was thus arrested, and they watched with intense interest, and devoured every argument of the champions.

"Each of these great men, I doubt not, at that time sincerely believed he was right. Douglas' ardor, while in such a conflict, would make him think, for the time being, he was right, and I know that Lincoln argued for freedom against the extension of slavery with the most profound conviction that on the result hung the fate of his country. Lincoln had two advantages over Douglas; he had the best side of the question, and the best temper. He was always good-humored, always had an apt story for illustration, while Douglas sometimes, when hard pressed, was irritable.

"Douglas carried away the most popular applause, but Lincoln made the deeper and more lasting impression. Douglas did not disdain an immediate *ad captandum* triumph, while Lincoln aimed at permanent conviction. Sometimes when Lincoln's friends urged him to raise a storm of applause (which he could always do by his happy illustrations and amusing stories), he refused, saying the occasion was too serious, the issue too grave. 'I do not seek applause,' said he, 'nor to amuse the people, I want to convince them.'

"It was often observed, during this canvass, that while Douglas was sometimes greeted with the loudest cheers, when Lincoln closed, the people seemed solemn and serious, and could be heard all through the crowd, gravely and anxiously discussing the topics on which he had been speaking.

"Douglas secured the immediate object of the struggle, but the manly bearing, the vigorous logic, the honesty and sincerity, the great intellectual powers exhibited by Mr. Lincoln, prepared the way, and two years later, secured his nomination and election to the presidency. It is a touching incident, illustrating the patriotism of both these statesmen, that, widely as they differed, and keen as had been their

rivalry, just as soon as the life of the Republic was menaced by treason, they joined hands to shield and save the country they loved."

GRIERSON'S DESCRIPTION

The popular designations often applied to Lincoln and Douglas were the "Rail Splitter" for the one and the "Little Giant" for the other. The last debate in the series took place at Alton in October, 1858, which has been described somewhat graphically by Francis Grierson in his volume entitled, "The Valley of Shadows," being the author's recollections of "the Lincoln country" in 1858-1863. Though now residing in England Grierson as a lad lived with his parents on a farm in Illinois, and his book contains many of his early recollections and impressions. His statement of the political beliefs of the two men is this: "Douglas stood for the doctrine that slavery was nationalized by the Constitution, that Congress had no authority to prevent its introduction in the new Territories like Kansas and Nebraska, and that the people of each State could alone decide whether they should be slave State or free. Lincoln opposed the introduction of slavery into the new Territories."

The debate at the Alton meeting, says Grierson, "resembled a duel between two men-of-war facing each other in the open, the Little Giant hurling at his opponent, from the flagship of slavery, the deadliest missiles, Lincoln calmly waiting to sink his antagonist by a single broadside." In the earlier debates Douglas seemed to have the advantage. "A past master in tact and audacity, skilled in the art of rhetorical skirmishing, he had no equal on the 'stump,' while in the Senate he was feared by the most brilliant debaters for his ready wit and his dashing eloquence.

"Regarded in the light of historical experience, reasoned about in the light of spiritual reality, and from the point of view that nothing can happen by chance, it seems as if Lincoln and Douglas were predestined to meet side by side in this discussion, and unless I dwell in detail on the mental and physical contrast the speakers presented it would be impossible to give an adequate idea of the startling difference in the two temperaments: Douglas—short, plump, and petulant; Lincoln—long, gaunt, and self-possessed; the one white-haired and florid, the other black-haired and swarthy; the one educated and polished, the other unlettered and primitive. Douglas had the assurance of a man of authority, Lincoln had moments of deep mental depression, often bordering on melancholy, yet controlled by a fixed, and, I may say, predestined will, for it can no longer be doubted that without the marvellous blend of humor and stolid patience so conspicuous in his character, Lincoln's genius would have turned to madness after the defeat of the Northern army at Bull Run, and the world would have had something like a repetition of Napoleon's fate after the burning of Moscow. Lincoln's humor was the balance-pole of his genius that enabled him to cross the most giddy heights without losing his head.

"Judge Douglas opened the debate in a sonorous voice plainly heard throughout the assembly, and with a look of mingled defiance and confidence he marshalled his facts and deduced his arguments. To the vigor of his attack there was added the prestige of the Senate Chamber, and for some moments it looked as if he would carry the majority with him, a large portion of the crowd being Pro-Slavery men,

while many others were 'on the fence' waiting to be persuaded. At last, after a great oratorical effort, he brought his speech to a close amidst the shouts and yells of thousands of admirers."

LINCOLN'S APPEARANCE ON THE PLATFORM

"And now Abraham Lincoln . . . rose from his seat, stretched his long bony limbs upward as if to get them into working order, and stood like some solitary pine on a lonely summit, very tall, very dark, very gaunt, and very rugged, his swarthy features stamped with a sad serenity; and the instant he began to speak the ungainly mouth lost its heaviness, the half-listless eyes attained a wondrous power, and the people stood bewildered and breathless under the natural magic of the strangest, most original personality known to the English speaking world since Robert Burns. There were other tall and dark men in the heterogeneous assembly, but not one who resembled the speaker. Every movement of his long, muscular frame denoted inflexible earnestness, and a something issued forth, elemental and mystical, that told what the man had been, what he was, and what he would do in the future. There were moments when he seemed all legs and feet, and again he appeared all head and neck; yet every look of the deep-set eyes, every movement of the prominent jaw, every wave of the hard-gripping hand, produced an impression, and before he had spoken twenty minutes the conviction took possession of thousands that here was the prophetic man of the present and the political saviour of the future. Judges of human nature saw at a glance that a man so ungainly, so natural, so earnest, and so forcible, had no place in his mental economy for the thing called vanity."

INDIVIDUAL TRAITS OF THE DEBATERS

"Douglas had been theatrical and scholarly, but this tall, homely man was creating by his very looks what the brilliant lawyer and experienced Senator had failed to make people see and feel. The Little Giant had assumed striking attitudes, played tricks with his flowing white hair, mimicking the airs of authority with patronizing allusions, but these affectations, usually so effective when he addressed an audience alone, went for nothing when brought face to face with realities. Lincoln had no genius for gesture and no desire to produce a sensation. The failure of Senator Douglas to bring conviction to critical minds was caused by three things: a lack of logical sequence in argument, a lack of intuitional judgment, and a vanity that was caused by too much intellect and too little heart. Douglas had been arrogant and vehement, Lincoln was now logical and penetrating. The Little Giant was a living picture of ostentatious vanity; from every feature of Lincoln's face there radiated the calm, inherent strength that always accompanies power. He relied on no props. With a pride sufficient to protect his mind and a will sufficient to defend his body, he drank water when Douglas, with all his wit and rhetoric, could begin and end nothing without stimulants.

"Here, then, was one man out of all the millions who believed in himself, who did not consult with others about what to say, who never for a moment respected the opinion of men who preached a lie. My old friend, Don Piatt, in his personal

impressions of Lincoln, whom he knew well and greatly esteemed, declares him to be the homeliest man he ever saw; but serene confidence and self-poise can never be ugly. What thrilled the people who stood before Abraham Lincoln on that day was the sight of a being who, in all his actions and habits, resembled themselves, gentle as he was strong, fearless as he was honest, who towered above them all in that psychic radiance that penetrates in some mysterious way every fibre of the hearer's consciousness.

"The enthusiasm created by Douglas was wrought out of smart epigram thrusts and a facile superficial eloquence. He was a match for the politicians born within the confines of his own intellectual circle; witty, brilliant, cunning and shallow, his weight in the political balance was purely materialistic; his scales of justice tipped to the side of cotton, slavery and popular passions, while the man who faced him now brought to the assembly cold logic in place of wit, frankness in place of cunning, reasoned will and judgment in place of chicanery and sophistry. Lincoln's presence infused into the mixed and uncertain throng something spiritual and supernormal. His looks, his words, his voice, his attitude were like a magical essence dropped into the seething cauldron of politics, reacting against the foam, calming the surface and letting the people see to the bottom.

" 'Is it not false statesmanship,' he asked, 'that undertakes to build up a system of policy upon the basis of caring nothing about the very thing that everybody does care the most about? Judge Douglas may say he cares not whether slavery is voted up or down, but he must have a choice between a right thing and a wrong thing. He contends that whatever community wants slaves has a right to have them. So they have, if it is not wrong; but if it is a wrong he cannot say people have a right to do wrong. He says that upon the score of equality slaves should be allowed to go into a new Territory like other property. This is strictly logical if there is no difference between it and other property. If it and other property are equal his argument is entirely logical; but if you insist that one is wrong and the other right there is no use to institute a comparison between right and wrong.' . . .

"When Lincoln sat down Douglas made one last feeble attempt at an answer; but Lincoln, in reply to a spectator who manifested some apprehension as to the outcome, rose, and spreading out his great arms at full length, like a condor about to take wing, exclaimed, with humorous indifference, 'Oh! let him go it!' These were the last words he uttered in the greatest debate of the ante bellum days."

ADVANTAGE OF JOINT DEBATES

"It would be an enormous advantage," observes George Haven Putnam in his volume on Lincoln, "for the political education of candidates and for the education of voters if such debates could become the routine in Congressional and Presidential campaigns." As at present conducted a campaign of speech-making is made, the principal features of which are meetings of sympathizers who approve the utterances of the orator, and thus is lost the great advantage from the questionings of opponents. An interruption of the speaker is considered to be a disturbance of order, and a man who asks questions is regarded as an interloper. With a system of joint debates, the speakers would be under a wholesome restraint regard-

ing their statements, which if incorrect or unreasonable would subject them to prompt criticism by their opponents. Thus the men who were chosen to be speakers would "have to possess some reasoning faculty as well as oratorical fluency." "I can conceive," says Putnam, "of no better method for bringing representative government on to a higher plane, and for making an election what it ought to be, a reasonable decision by reasoning voters, than the institution of joint debates."

REVIEW OF THE CAMPAIGN

"While the campaign was local in its inception," says Professor E. E. Sparks, "it became national in its significance and results. The issues as brought out in the debates, especially in the speech of Douglas at Freeport, widened, if they did not open, the breach between him and the southern Democrats, made a split in the (Democratic) convention of 1860 a foregone conclusion, and thereby paved the way for Republican success and the election of Abraham Lincoln to the presidency. The debate also marked the high-tide of the 'stump' method of campaigning." The newspaper press throughout the country gave extensive space to reports of the speeches, while the speeches themselves were "of a high order of debate and of unusual import; those of Douglas set forth his untenable position and his impossible theory in the clearest terms, those of Lincoln state the arguments of the new Republican party as they had not been outlined before."

MR. LINCOLN CHOSEN THE STANDARD BEARER

Mr. Lincoln had been chosen as the standard bearer in the senatorial campaign at the Republican State Convention held in Springfield, in June 1858. The convention had endorsed him as its candidate, thus pledging the legislators elected on its ticket to vote for him for senator in the joint session to be held during the following winter. In the report of the proceedings it is stated that Charles L. Wilson, of Cook County, submitted the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted with shouts of applause: "Resolved, that Abraham Lincoln is the first and only choice of the Republicans of Illinois for the United States Senate, as the successor of Stephen A. Douglas." The delegates from Chicago had already prepared a banner inscribed, "Cook County for Abram Lincoln for United States Senator," but in the course of the proceedings a delegate waved a flag upon which was printed the word "Illinois," and moved that it be placed over the words "Cook County," and the motion was carried unanimously, so that the inscription then read "Illinois for Abram Lincoln." At that period the proper spelling of Mr. Lincoln's first name had not become fully established in the minds of the people.

LIVELY PUBLIC INTEREST IN THE CAMPAIGN

The interest taken by the people in political discussions was of the most earnest description. "It is astonishing," said a correspondent of the New York Evening *Post*, writing to his paper from Illinois during this famous campaign, "how deep an interest in politics this people take. Over long weary miles of hot and dusty prairie the processions of eager partisans come—on foot, on horseback, in wagons drawn by horses or mules; men, women, and children, old and young; the half sick, just out of the last 'shake,' children in arms, infants at the maternal

fount, pushing on in clouds of dust and beneath the blazing sun; settling down at the town where the meeting is, with hardly a chance for sitting, and even less opportunity for eating, waiting in anxious groups for hours at the places of speaking, talking, discussing, litigious, vociferous, while the war artillery, the music of the bands, the waving of banners, the huzzahs of the crowds, as delegation after delegation appears; the cry of the peddlers vending all sorts of ware, from an infallible cure of 'agur' to a monster watermelon in slices to suit purchasers—combine to render the occasion one scene of confusion and commotion.

"The hour of one arrives and a perfect rush is made for the grounds; a column of dust is rising to the heavens and fairly deluging those who are hurrying on through it. Then the speakers come with flags, and banners, and music, surrounded by cheering partisans. Their arrival at the ground and immediate approach to the stand is the signal for shouts that rend the heavens. They are introduced to the audience amidst prolonged and enthusiastic cheers; they are interrupted by frequent applause; and they sit down finally amid the same uproarious demonstration. The audiences sit or stand patiently throughout, and, as the last word is spoken, make a break for their homes, first hunting up lost members of their families, getting their scattered wagonloads together, and, as the daylight fades away, entering again upon the broad prairies and slowly picking their way back to the place of beginning."

In speaking of the pioneers of Illinois, Grierson in his book entitled "Valley of Shadows," says: "It was a wonderful people, living in a second Canaan, in an age of social change and upheaval, in a period of political and phenomenal wonders."

LONG SPEECHES OF THE CANDIDATES

The patience of the audiences gathered to hear the speeches of candidates, finds many illustrations. For example, at Peoria, in 1854, Senator Douglas had addressed a large audience at considerable length in the afternoon, and at the close of the address the people began to call for Lincoln, as it was understood that Lincoln was to make a speech in answer to that of Douglas. Mr. Lincoln then took the platform and spoke as follows:

"I do not arise to speak now, if I can stipulate with the audience to meet me here at half past six or at seven o'clock. It is now several minutes past five, and Judge Douglas has spoken over three hours. If you hear me at all, I wish you to hear me through. It will take me as long as it has taken him. That will carry us beyond eight o'clock at night. Now every one of you who can remain that long, can just as well get his supper, meet me at seven, and remain one hour or two later. The judge has already informed you that he is to have an hour to reply to me. I doubt not but you have been a little surprised to learn that I have consented to give one of his high reputation and known ability this advantage of me. Indeed, my consenting to it, though reluctant, was not wholly unselfish; for I suspected if it were understood, that the Judge was entirely done, you democrats would leave, and not hear me; but by giving him the close, I felt confident that you would stay for the fun of hearing him skin me. The audience signified their assent to the arrangement, and adjourned to 7 o'clock p. m., at which time they re-assembled, and Mr. Lincoln spoke."

An amusing story is told in Clark E. Carr's book on Douglas, showing Lincoln's ready wit. "When Senator Douglas made his first speech in Chicago," says Carr, "in opening the great campaign in which Lincoln was pitted against him, Mr. Lincoln was present and was invited to sit on the platform. On the evening before, the Common Council of Chicago had passed a resolution denouncing the 'Dred Scott decision,' and Douglas called the Council to account for attempting to reverse and override a decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, saying that it reminded him of the statement of an old friend who used to declare that if you wish to get justice in a case you should take it to the Supreme Court of Illinois, and from that court take an appeal to a Justice of the Peace. Lincoln's voice was heard from behind the speaker, sotto voce, calling 'Judge! Judge! Judge!' The Senator paused and turned around, and Lincoln said, 'Judge, that was when you were on the Illinois Supreme bench.' So far from being put out by the interruption Judge Douglas repeated the joke of his 'friend Lincoln' to the audience."

JUDGE CARTER'S COMPARISON

A comparison between Lincoln and Douglas was made in an address by Judge Carter in Evanston, May, 1911, which is a valuable contribution to this subject. "Until the history-making debate of 1858," said Judge Carter, "Lincoln was little known outside of this State, while Douglas was then the most prominent man in either house of Congress. As Lincoln said in that debate, he was of world-wide renown. His great reputation undoubtedly fixed the attention of the nation on that extraordinary intellectual contest. At the opening of the debate Lincoln was known and seen largely in the reflected light of his great rival. This debate, however, made his candidacy for the presidency possible, and his own fame now has almost completely eclipsed that of Douglas.

"The ordinary reader of history knows little of Douglas, except in association with Lincoln as the latter's opponent in this great forensic contest, and as the leading candidate against him for president. Considering the prominence and brilliancy of Douglas during his life his place in history seems now almost pathetic. These two men are most frequently compared, not so much because of their respective characters or ability, as from the fact that Lincoln was on the winning and Douglas on the losing side of a great national struggle. While we all believe that Lincoln was on the right side morally of the slavery question, it was most fortunate for his reputation and for the country that the time was then ripe for the settlement of that problem. Douglas found himself with the receding tide, Lincoln with the incoming. Without detracting in the slightest from the great ability and ever growing and well deserved reputation of Lincoln a study of the lives of these two men strongly emphasizes the truth of the old adage that 'Nothing succeeds like success.' "

PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF LINCOLN AND DOUGLAS

Judge Carter, in the address just referred to, also remarked upon some personal characteristics which will aid the reader to form a more complete and satisfactory impression of these two great historical figures. "Both of these men in private life," said Judge Carter, "were above reproach; both of extraordinary ability, each very

different from the other. Lincoln was six feet four inches in height, weighed about one hundred and eighty-three pounds, was well built in proportion, and one of the strongest men physically of his time. Douglas was a trifle over five feet four; in his young manhood he weighed about one hundred pounds, but later in life about one hundred and forty.

"Douglas was very popular, a 'hail fellow well met' with every one with whom he associated. Doubtless in early life he was the more polished,—as that term is ordinarily used,—of the two men. The statements, however, so often found that Lincoln was awkward and ill at ease in society are largely exaggerations. Those best qualified to judge state that he was at home wherever placed, whether in the society of men or women; that he was always the center of interest in any gathering.

"They were both self-made men, succeeding largely through their own unaided exertions. Douglas had a little better opportunity for education, having gone practically through a high school course, while Lincoln's schooling was not more than a year all told, and that taken at odd times. The practice of the legal profession in their time was quite different from what it is now. There were but few libraries of any size, either public or private, in the State. In Springfield there were not over two or three that contained fifty volumes; in Chicago probably not more than a half dozen that contained over one hundred volumes. The Revised Statutes of Illinois, the Illinois Form Book, and a few elementary treatises constituted the usual library of a lawyer in the smaller towns. Common sense, the gift of speech, an aptitude for politics and regular attendance upon the courts in the circuit were the chief requisites of success at the bar when Lincoln and Douglas began the practice of law."

POLITICAL CONDITIONS

Briefly reviewing the political situation at this time the reader will recall that Douglas was chosen Senator from Illinois for the first time in 1847, and was reelected in 1853. Thus his second term would expire in 1859, and he must seek a new election from the Illinois legislature. While the state had been steadily Democratic up to this time, Douglas found himself obliged to enter the campaign of 1858 under peculiar and embarrassing circumstances. The plan for home rule in Kansas, advocated by Douglas, was called by him, "Popular Sovereignty," and frequently referred to by his opponents as "Squatter Sovereignty." While Kansas was yet a territory, and seeking admission as a state, a so-called constitution was adopted at Lecompton, but only pro-slavery men took part in its adoption. Although this fact was known at Washington, President Buchanan had transmitted it to Congress with his recommendation for its acceptance. Douglas, however, did not coincide with the President, and plainly told him that the acceptance by Congress of the "Lecompton Constitution" was not a fair test of popular sovereignty, thus displaying a spirit of independence which was one of Douglas' traits of character, and goes far to redeem his otherwise pro-slavery predilections.

President Buchanan was much incensed with Senator Douglas on account of the stand he had taken, and he warned him of his peril in adopting such a position. Douglas replied, "Mr. President, Andrew Jackson is dead," implying that the days of presidential dictation were past.

"The breach between Douglas and the administration," says Sparks, "was

reflected in the Democratic State Convention which met at Springfield, April 21, 1858. As soon as resolutions were introduced approving the course of Senator Douglas, a considerable number of delegates withdrew from the convention and formed a 'rump' assembly in another room. They were mostly from Chicago and the northern part of the state. These 'bolters' called another convention which met at Springfield, June 9th, nominated candidates, and adopted resolutions denouncing Douglas and characterizing his opposition to the administration on the Lecompton question as 'an act of overweening conceit.' "

The Chicago *Times*, in its issue of the 10th, said of this latter convention: "It was a miserable farce." Out of one hundred counties there were forty-eight represented, and "considering that the delegates were self-appointed, and that offices under the federal government were promised to all who would attend, the fact that in fifty-two counties there could not be found men mean enough to participate in the proceedings, is a glorious tribute to the fidelity of the Democracy of Illinois."

ADVANTAGES POSSESSED BY DOUGLAS

Although Douglas entered the canvass beset with difficulties, Lincoln was not confident of placing the contest purely on the basis of merit. The federal patronage of the state was a weapon still in the hands of Douglas, and this advantage was fully understood by his opponent. In one of his speeches Lincoln expressed himself in these words: "Senator Douglas is of world-wide renown. All the anxious politicians of his party, or who have been of his party for years past, have been looking upon him as certainly, at no distant day, to be the president of the United States. They have seen in his round, jolly, fruitful face, postoffices, land offices, marshalships, and cabinet appointments, chargeships and foreign missions, bursting and sprouting out in wonderful exuberance, ready to be laid hold of by their greedy hands.

"And as they have been gazing upon this attractive picture so long, they cannot, in the little distraction that has taken place in the party, bring themselves to give up the charming hope; but with greedier anxiety they rush about him, sustain him, and give him marches, triumphant entries, and receptions beyond what even in the days of his highest prosperity they could have brought about in his favor. On the contrary, nobody has ever expected me to be president. In my poor, lean, lank face, nobody has ever seen that any cabbages were sprouting out. These are disadvantages, all taken together, that the Republicans labor under. We have to fight this battle upon principle, and upon principles alone."

POSSIBILITY OF OTHER CANDIDATES

There was a fear among the staunch friends of Lincoln that some other candidate might win recognition from the legislature, should it be found that the Republicans had won the day in the fall elections. It was thought by many that some man who had formerly been a Democrat, but had now joined the Republican party, might be acceptable to a larger number of the members of the new legislature. Mr. Lincoln, as was well known, was a "Henry Clay Whig" before he had become a Republican. It was rumored that John Wentworth of Chicago was the real can-

didate in the minds of those Republicans who had formerly been Democrats, and that Lincoln was to be used to lead the fight and make sure of the defeat of Douglas, upon which Wentworth could be taken up and elected to the Senatorship. A St. Louis paper, as early as July, had mentioned the possibility, by drawing a parallel between the present situation and that of two years before when Trumbull had been elected, for it had then been expected by Lincoln and his friends that he would have been chosen.

Lincoln's prospects were further menaced by the danger, says Professor Sparks, "that the Republicans of the state might deem it wise to lend their support to Douglas, re-elect him to the Senate, and by his victory impair the chances of Buchanan securing a second term. Greeley suggested that the Illinois senatorship should be allowed to go to Douglas by default, and thus, by increasing the breach between Douglas and Buchanan, prepare the way for the Republicans to carry the state in 1860." But the enterprising men who composed the Cook County delegation at the Springfield convention, supported as they were by the hearty and unanimous action of all the members of that convention, had put a quietus on any such movement. The Republican enemies of "Long John" Wentworth apparently had him in mind when they brought out the banner with the inscription referred to above.

"The speech in which Lincoln acknowledged the courtesy of the convention," says Sparks, "was thought out in advance, and every sentence carefully weighed. It marked the new lines upon which Lincoln proposed to argue the situation, and which ultimately won success. Boldly casting aside the long prevalent idea that the Union could be saved by compromise and by repressing agitation, Lincoln voiced the new opinion in a slightly altered Scriptural quotation, 'A house divided against itself cannot stand.' (The exact language of the Bible is, 'And if a house be divided against itself, that house cannot stand.') He declared that the government could not endure permanently half slave and half free; it must become all one thing or all the other."

Mr. Horace White was present when Mr. Lincoln delivered his famous speech before the convention. In a letter quoted in Herndon's "Life of Lincoln," he writes: "I was sent by my employers [the Chicago *Press and Tribune*] to Springfield to attend the Republican State Convention of that year. Again I sat at a short distance from Mr. Lincoln when he delivered the 'House-divided-against-itself' speech on the 17th of June. This was delivered from manuscript and was the only one I ever heard him deliver in that way. When it was concluded he put the manuscript in my hands, and asked me to go to the *State Journal* office and read the proof of it. I think it had already been set in type. Before I had finished this task, Mr. Lincoln himself came into the composing room of the *State Journal* and looked over the revised proofs. He said to me that he had taken a great deal of pains with this speech, and that he wanted it to go before the people just as he had prepared it. He added that some of his friends had scolded him a good deal about the opening paragraph and the 'house divided against itself,' and wanted him to change it or leave it out altogether, but that he believed he had studied this subject more deeply than they had, and that he was going to stick to that text whatever happened."

EVENTS SUBSEQUENT TO THE DEBATES

While the debates were in progress Lincoln's friends began seriously to consider him as an available candidate for the Presidency. Lincoln, however, discouraged any such proposal, and said that he was not well enough known. "What is the use of talking of me," he said, "whilst we have such men as Seward and Chase, and everybody knows them, and scarcely anybody, outside of Illinois, knows me? Besides, as a matter of justice, is it not due to them?"

A few days after the November election, the Chicago *Democrat*, of which "Long John" Wentworth was the editor, came out strong in a eulogy of Lincoln, in an editorial reviewing the work of the campaign. "His speeches," declared the *Democrat*, "will be recognized for a long time to come as the standard authorities upon those topics which overshadow all others in the political world of our day; and our children will read them and appreciate the great truths which they so forcibly inculcate, with even a higher appreciation of their worth than their fathers possessed while listening to them.

"We, for our part, consider that it would be but a partial appreciation of his services to our noble cause that our next State Republican Convention should nominate him for governor as unanimously and enthusiastically as it did for senator. With such a leader and with our just cause, we would sweep the state from end to end, with a triumph so complete and perfect that there would be scarce enough of the scattered and demoralized forces of the enemy left to tell the story of its defeat. And this State should also present his name to the National Republican Convention, first for President and next for Vice-President. We should then say to the United States at large that in our opinion the Great Man of Illinois is Abraham Lincoln, and none other than Abraham Lincoln."

A concerted plan was carefully laid out by the Republican State Committee in the office of the Chicago *Tribune*, or as it was at that time called, the *Press and Tribune*. The country Republican papers were to propose Mr. Lincoln's name for the presidential nomination, which was done. Early in 1860, the *Press and Tribune* came out for Lincoln, which was followed by a letter from Mr. Joseph Medill written from Washington, where he had spent some weeks "preaching Lincoln among the Congressmen." Medill wrote that he "heard Lincoln's name mentioned for President in Washington ten times as often as it was one month ago." While Medill was writing thus Norman B. Judd, as a member of the Republican National Committee, secured the convention for Chicago.

During the previous year Lincoln had quailed at the proposal of his name for the presidency. He wrote one editor, "I must in all candor say I do not think myself fit for the presidency." Late in 1859 and early in 1860, Lincoln became convinced that whether he was fit or not he was in the field, and when asked for a sketch of his life for the use of the Republican State Committee he complied by sending a brief "Autobiography," with a few apologetic remarks. "There is not much of it," he wrote, "for the reason, I suppose, that there is not much of me. If anything be made out of it, I wish it to be modest, and not to go beyond the material."

LINCOLN'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY

A few quotations from the "Autobiography" referred to, which is contained within the limits of one ordinary page of a printed volume, will be appropriate. He says that he was born in Kentucky, from which state his father removed to Indiana when he (Lincoln) was eight years old. Two years later his mother, whose family name was Hanks, died. When twenty-one years of age young Lincoln came to Illinois and took up his residence in Macon county. "When I came of age," he says, "I did not know much. Still, somehow, I could read, write, and cipher 'to the rule of three,' but that was all. I have not been to school since. The little advance I now have upon this store of education I have picked up from time to time under the pressure of necessity."

He then gives a brief summary of his experience in the Black Hawk war, in which he was a captain of volunteers, after which he became a member of the Illinois legislature. "In 1846," he continues, "I was once elected to the lower house of Congress. Was not a candidate for re-election. From 1849 to 1854, both inclusive, practiced law more assiduously than ever before. Always a Whig in politics; and generally on the Whig electoral tickets, making active canvasses. I was losing interest in politics when the repeal of the Missouri Compromise aroused me again. What I have done since then is pretty well known."

LINCOLN'S FINANCIAL CIRCUMSTANCES

After the Lincoln-Douglas debates had taken place the subject of expenses came up in the Republican State Committee, and the chairman wrote to Mr. Lincoln regarding them. His reply throws light on the state of his own affairs. "I have been on expense so long, without earning anything," he writes, "that I am absolutely without money now to pay for even household expenses. Still, if you can put in two hundred and fifty dollars for me towards discharging the debt of the Committee, I will allow it when you and I settle the private matter between us. This, with what I have already paid with an outstanding note of mine, will exceed my subscription of five hundred dollars. This, too, is exclusive of my ordinary expenses during the campaign, all of which being added to my loss of time and business, bears pretty heavily upon one no better off than I am." This was addressed to Norman B. Judd.

At this time he owned the house and lot where he lived in Springfield, and his income from his profession did not exceed three thousand dollars per year. Arnold says "he was not then worth over ten or fifteen thousand dollars altogether."

While in New York during the day on the evening of which he made his address at the Cooper Institute, he met an old acquaintance from Illinois, whom he addressed with an inquiry as to how he had fared since leaving the West. "I have made a hundred thousand dollars, and lost all," was the reply. He then asked, "How is it with you, Mr. Lincoln?" "Oh, very well," said he, "I have the cottage at Springfield, and about eight thousand dollars in money. If they make me vice-president with Seward, as some say they will, I hope I shall be able to increase it to twenty thousand; and that is as much as any man ought to want."

CHAPTER XXIV

PUBLIC LIFE OF STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS

AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF DOUGLAS—BOYHOOD IN VERMONT—JOURNEY TO THE WEST—ARRIVES IN ILLINOIS—TEACHES A COUNTRY SCHOOL—ENGAGES IN A POLITICAL DEBATE—ENTERS UPON PRACTICE OF LAW—APPOINTED STATE'S ATTORNEY—ELECTED TO THE LEGISLATURE—HIS VOTE ON INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS—JUDGE CARTER'S ADDRESS ON DOUGLAS—DOUGLAS APPOINTED TO THE SUPREME BENCH—HIS CAREER AS A SUPREME JUDGE—DOUGLAS ELECTED TO CONGRESS—BECOMES U. S. SENATOR—CARR'S ESTIMATE OF DOUGLAS—AMBITION TO BECOME PRESIDENT—HIS COURSE AFTER LINCOLN'S ELECTION—HIS UNION SPEECH AT THE WIGWAM—COUNSELS RESISTANCE TO SECESSION—CONDEMNS DISUNION—THRILLING EFFECTS OF THE SPEECH—HIS DEATH AT THE TREMONT HOUSE—JUDGE CARTER'S COMMENTS ON DOUGLAS—COMPARISON BETWEEN LINCOLN AND DOUGLAS—MRS. DOUGLAS DECLINES OFFER TO TAKE HER CHILDREN SOUTH—LAST RESTING PLACE OF DOUGLAS.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS

IN a small blank book found among the private papers of Senator Douglas was written an account of his own life. The oldest son of Mr. Douglas, Judge Robert M. Douglas, of Greensboro, North Carolina, sent a transcript of this autobiography, in 1908, to a friend residing in Evanston. In a note accompanying the transcript Judge Douglas says: "It is in his own handwriting, hastily written and evidently never revised or continued. It is dated September 1, 1838, when he was only twenty-five years of age, and does not extend beyond his service in the Legislature. It was evidently never intended for publication but may now have some public interest as the candid statement of the boyhood and early manhood of a young man who had bravely and successfully faced life's battle; and who was writing frankly purely for his own future information, and at a time when the circumstances were yet fresh in his mind. Autobiographies are generally carefully written in old age when the circumstances of early youth have grown dim, and perhaps unconsciously colored by the struggles and experiences of after life."

As will be observed Douglas even at that time in his life was possessed of a good style and narrates the events of his early life in excellent and straightforward language. "I, this day," he writes, "commence this memorandum or journal of passing events for the purpose of refreshing my mind in future upon subjects that might otherwise be forgotten. It may be well to turn my attention to the past as well as to the future, and record such facts as are within my recollection or have come to my knowledge, and may be interesting or useful to myself or others hereafter."

He relates that he was born in Vermont on the 23d day of April, 1813. He was named after his father, Dr. Stephen A. Douglas, a physician by profession, a graduate of Middlebury College, who died when he was but two months old. His mother took her child and went to live with a brother who had no family of his own, and where young Stephen reached the age of fifteen living the life of a farmer's boy. He was provided with a good common school education, but became anxious for a more independent position than he then occupied, and so determined upon leaving home and finding employment "in the wide world among strangers."

Accordingly he left his mother and uncle and engaged to learn the cabinet making trade with one Nahum Parker who had a shop at Middlebury. "I have never," he says, "been placed in any situation or been engaged in any business which I enjoyed to so great an extent as the cabinet shop. I then felt contented and happy, and never aspired to any other distinction than that connected with my trade." But a change gradually took place. "Towards the end of the year," he continues, "I became dissatisfied with my employer in consequence of his insisting upon my performing some menial services in the house." This resulted in his leaving his place and returning to his uncle's. Soon after, however, he obtained employment in another cabinet shop where he remained another year.

Young Douglas had developed a fondness for reading as he grew older, his interest being especially engaged with works of political writers. Even at this time he had become a strong adherent and supporter of Andrew Jackson, and remained throughout his life a believer and admirer of "Old Hickory." He says that from this moment his politics became fixed, and all subsequent reading and reflection and observation confirmed his early attachment to the cause of Democracy. His health failed him at length and he was obliged to give up his situation.

He commenced now to attend the Academy in his native town, but his mother having married a man living in New York state, he followed her to her new home. He then became a student in the Academy at Canandaigua and devoted himself zealously to the study of Greek and Latin, Mathematics and so forth. When he was twenty years old he left the Academy and entered a law office as a student, thus at last making a beginning in the profession in which he ultimately won distinction and renown.

"I pursued my law studies diligently five days in the week," he writes, "and the sixth I spent in reviewing my classical studies, until some time in the month of June in that year (1833). Finding myself in straitened pecuniary circumstances, and knowing my mother's inability to support me through a regular course of law studies, which would continue about four years longer according to the statutes of New York requiring a course of seven years' classical and legal study before admission to the Bar, I determined upon removing to the Western country and relying upon my own efforts for a support henceforth. My mother and relatives remonstrated, urging that I was too young and inexperienced for such an adventure; but finding my resolution fixed and unchangeable, they reluctantly consented, and kindly furnished me with three hundred dollars, the last of my patrimony, with which to pay my expenses.

"On the 24th of June, 1833 (being twenty years of age), I bid farewell to my friends, and started alone for the 'great West,' without having any particular place of destination in view." Arriving at Cleveland he presented some letters of in-

troduction and was well received. Entering a law office at this place it then seemed that his career was fairly inaugurated. But an attack of fever unfortunately kept him confined to the house for some months, and after his recovery he determined to leave the place and push on farther west. His fortune was now reduced to but forty dollars, and by the time he had reached St. Louis by way of the Ohio river he was nearly at the end of his resources. He found that he must immediately engage in some employment which would defray his expenses, or go to some place not far distant where he could do so.

"My first effort," he continues "was to obtain a situation in some law office in the city where I could write and perform office labor sufficient to pay my expenses, and during the rest of the time pursue my law studies." But in this he was unsuccessful, and soon after he left the city. We now see the future statesman on the threshold of his residence in the state of his adoption and the arena of his nation-wide fame. His first point of arrival was at Jacksonville, Illinois, where he found himself with one dollar and twenty-five cents in his pocket. "One of my first acquaintances at Jacksonville," he says, "was Murray McConnell, Esq., a lawyer of some reputation, who advised me to go to Pekin on the Illinois river and open a law office. I informed him that I had never practiced law, had not yet procured my license, nor had I any library. He informed me that he would furnish me with a few books, such as I would stand in need of immediately, and wait for the pay until I was able to pay him, and did so to the amount of thirty dollars' worth, which I received and subsequently paid him for. He told me that a license was a matter of no consequence, that I could get one at any time I desired to do so. I concluded to take his advice, and consequently packed up my things and went to Meredosia on the Illinois river to take a steamboat to Pekin.

"Arriving at the river, I waited one week for a steamboat, and then I learned that the only boat which was expected up the river that season had blown up at Alton, and consequently there would be no boat until the next spring. What was now to be done? After paying my bill at the tavern I had but fifty cents left. I could find nothing to do there, and had no money to get away with. Something must be done, and that soon. I inquired as to the prospect of getting a school, and was told by a farmer residing in the country a few miles that he thought I could obtain one at Exeter, about ten miles distant; and if I would go home with him that night, he would go to Exeter with me the next day. I accepted his invitation, left my trunk at Meredosia, rode behind the farmer on the same horse to his home, and the next day we both went to Exeter.

"He introduced me to several citizens who were very polite and kind; but did not think a school could be obtained there; but if I would go to Winchester, eight or ten miles further, they had no doubt I would succeed in obtaining one. . . . I therefore determined to go to Winchester and make another effort. Accordingly I parted with my friend, the kind-hearted, hospitable farmer, and taking my cloak on my arm, went to Winchester on foot that night. Arriving in the town, I went to the only tavern in the place, introduced myself to the landlord and told him I wished to stop a few days with him, to which he readily assented. The landlord introduced me to the citizens generally, who seemed pleased with the idea of a new school in their little town, and in a few days obtained for me a subscription list of about forty scholars.

"In the meantime there was on the second day after my arrival, an administrator's sale, at which all the personal property of a dead man's estate was to be disposed of at auction, and the Administrator applied to me to be clerk at the auction, make out the sale bills, draw the notes, and so forth; which I very cheerfully consented to do and performed the duty in the best style I knew how, and received five dollars for two days' labor therein. About the first of December I commenced my school, and closed it about the first of March, having during the whole time a goodly number of scholars, and giving as I believe general satisfaction to both scholars and parents. During this period I attended to considerable law business before justices of the peace, and formed an extensive acquaintance with the people in that part of the county. There was considerable political excitement growing out of the veto of the United States bank and the removal of the deposits by General Jackson, or rather the removal of the Secretary of the Treasury because he would not remove the deposits, and the appointment of Mr. Taney in his place, who did remove them from the vaults of the United States Bank.

"One evening at the Lyceum, Mr. ———, a lawyer of some distinction from Jacksonville, made a speech denouncing the leading measures of General Jackson's administration, and especially the veto and removal of the deposits. He characterized the first of these acts as arbitrary and tyrannical, and the last as dangerous and unconstitutional. Being a great admirer of General Jackson's public and political character and a warm supporter of the principles of his administration, I could not remain silent when the old hero's character, public and private, was traduced and his measures misrepresented and denounced. I was then familiar with all the principles, measures and facts involved in the controversy, having been an attentive reader of the debates in Congress and the principal newspapers of the day, and having read also with great interest, the principal works in this country; such as the debates in the convention that formed the Constitution of the United States, and the convention of the several states on the adoption of the Constitution; the Federalist, John Adams's work denominated 'A Defense of the American Constitution,' the opinions of Randolph, Hamilton and Jefferson on the constitutionality of the Bank, and the history of the Bank as published by Gales & Seaton, Jefferson's Works, and so forth. I had read all of them and many other political works with great care and interest, and had my political opinions firmly established. I engaged in the debate with a good deal of zeal and warmth, and defended the administration of General Jackson and the cause of the Democratic party in a manner which appeared highly gratifying to my political friends, and which certainly gave me some little reputation as a public speaker; much more than I deserved.

"When the first quarter of my school expired I settled my accounts, and finding that I had made enough to pay my expenses, I determined to remove to Jacksonville, the county seat of the same (Morgan) county, and commence the practice of the law. In the month of March, I applied to the Hon. Samuel D. Lockwood, one of the Justices of the Supreme Court, and after a short examination, obtained a license, and immediately opened my office, being then less than twenty-one years of age. During the first week of my residence at Jacksonville some members of the Whig (alias the Federal) party called a county meeting, and made speeches and passed resolutions denouncing the administration in the severest terms, and

more especially in relation to the Bank and currency question. The next week the Democrats called a meeting, one of the most numerous and spirited I have ever witnessed in that county. It was composed principally of farmers and mechanics, men who are honest in their political sentiments and feel a deep interest in the proper administration of the public affairs, although but few of them are accustomed to public discussion.

"It so happened that at that time out of twelve members of the bar there was not a Democrat among them. This meeting I attended, and at the earnest solicitation of my political friends (for personal friends I had not then had time to form) I consented to make a speech. The excitement was intense, and I was rather severe in my remarks upon the opposition; so much so as to excite the bitter hostility of the whole of that party, and of course the warm support of my own party. The next week the *Patriot,* the organ of the opposition, printed and published by James G. Edwards, Esq., devoted two entire columns of that paper to me and my speech, and continued the same course for two or three successive weeks. The necessary consequence was that I immediately became known to every man in the county, and was placed in such a situation as to be supported by one party and opposed by the other. This notoriety acquired by accident and founded on no peculiar merit, proved highly serviceable to me in my profession; for within one week thereafter I received for collection demands to the amount of thousands of dollars from persons I had never seen or heard of, and who would not probably have known that such a person as myself was in existence but for the attacks upon me in the opposition papers.

"So essential was the service thus rendered to me by my opponents that I have sometimes doubted whether I was not morally bound to pay the editor for his abuse according to the usual prices of advertisements. This incident illustrates a principle which it is important for men of the world, and especially politicians, to bear in mind. How foolish, how impolitic, the indiscriminate abuse of political opponents whose humble condition or insignificance prevents the possibility of injury, and who may be greatly benefited by the notoriety thus acquired! I firmly believe this is one of the frequent and great errors committed by the political editors of the present day. Indeed, I sincerely doubt whether I owe most to the kind and efficient support of my friends, and no man similarly situated ever had better and truer friends, or to the violent, reckless and imprudent opposition of my enemies. Certain I am that without both of those causes united, I never could have succeeded as well as I have done. But I must forbear, for I find that I am philosophizing, which is far from my present purpose.

"During the summer of 1834, my time was about equally divided between law and politics, reading and practicing the one and preaching the other. There was a general election pending for governor, congressman and members of the legislature, in which I felt no special interest and took no active part. I supported the Democratic candidate; William Kinney for governor against General Joseph Duncan, and William L. May for congress against Benjamin Mills, and the Democratic ticket for the legislature in my own county. We lost our governor, elected our congressman, and a part of our legislative ticket.

"At this time John J. Hardin, Esq. (now General Hardin), held the office of State's Attorney under an appointment from Governor Reynolds, which then had

two years to run. He had procured this appointment through the aid and influence of Colonel James Evans, Colonel William Weatherford, Captain John Wyatt, and other leading Democrats, every one of whom he opposed at the next election after the appointment. Captain Wyatt was the only one of them who succeeded in his election, and was so indignant at Hardin for what he called his ingratitude, that he determined upon removing him from office at all hazards.

"The opposition having succeeded in electing their governor, there was no hope from that quarter; and the only resort left was to repeal the law conferring the appointment upon the governor, and make the office elective by the legislature. At the request of Captain Wyatt I wrote the bill, and on the second day of the session of the legislature which commenced on the first Monday in December, 1834, he introduced his bill, and also another bill written by myself making the County Recorder's election by the people, instead of being appointed by the governor. I felt no peculiar interest in these bills any further than I thought them correct in principle, and desired to see them pass because my friends warmly supported them.

"Both the bills were violently opposed by the Opposition (alias Federal) party, and advocated by a large majority of the Democrats, and they finally passed by a small majority. When sent to the Council of Revision (composed of the governor and judges of the Supreme Court) for approval, they were both vetoed, the former as unconstitutional, and the latter because it was inexpedient. Then came a desperate struggle between the friends and opponents of the bills, and especially the State's Attorney bill. The opposition charged that its only object was to repeal Hardin out of office in order to elect myself in his place, and that the whole movement had its origin in Wyatt's malice and my selfishness and ambition.

"I will here remark, and most solemnly aver to be true, that up to the time this charge was made against me, I never had conceived the idea of being a candidate for the office, nor had any friend suggested or hinted to me that I could or ought to receive it. But from that moment forward the friends of the bill declared, that in the event they passed the bill over the heads of the Council, I should be elected to the office. At this time I did not desire to be a candidate, for I had no reason to suppose I could be elected over so formidable an opponent, a man who had been for a long time a resident of the state, had fought in the Black Hawk war, and was well acquainted with the members. My short residence in the state, want of acquaintance and experience in my profession, and my age (being only twenty-one years old) I considered insuperable objections. My friends, however, thought differently, passed the bill, and elected me on the first ballot by four votes majority.

"I will here remark that although I wrote this bill and reaped first fruits under it, and was inclined at that time to think it was correct in principle and ought to become a law, yet subsequent experience, observation and reflection have convinced me of my error; and I now believe that all legislative elections ought to be abolished, and the officers either appointed by the Governor and Senate, or elected by the people. In this remark I do not mean to include clerks of our courts whose appointments, I am inclined to think, ought to be vested in the Judges.

"Immediately upon my election as State's Attorney I procured all the standard works upon criminal law within my reach, such as Archbold, Chitty, Roscoe, McNally, Hale's "Pleas of the Crown," and so forth, and devoted myself to the study of them with a determination of making myself master of that branch of my pro-

fession. My official duties being exclusively within the line of my profession, I now applied myself assiduously to study and practice. How far I succeeded in this I must leave to others who are more impartial judges than myself to decide.

"An amusing circumstance occurred in McLean county at the first court after my election as prosecuting attorney. The grand jury had found a large number of indictments for different offenses, and I had been engaged all night in writing them, in great haste, in order to discharge the grand jury and enable them to return to their families. After the grand jurors were discharged John T. Stuart, Esq., came into court and moved to quash all the indictments, although he had been employed in but a small number of the cases. He stated his reasons for quashing the indictments, which were that they were presented by the 'grand jurors in and for the county of McClean, when in fact there was no such county as "McClean," the true name of the county being McLean.'

"The manner of making this motion was very pompous and accompanied with some rather contemptuous remarks imputing ignorance to the writer of the indictments. Contrasting my youth and inexperience with the long practice and reputation of the opposing counsel, I considered his conduct extremely ungenerous, and especially in a county where he was well acquainted with the people and I was an entire stranger. The moment the motion to quash was made and the objection was pointed out, it struck my mind as being fatal to all the indictments, and had it been done in a respectful and courteous manner, I should have made no objection to the indictments being quashed. When the Judge (Stephen T. Logan), asked me if I had anything to say in support of the indictments, I told him I did not consider it necessary as yet to say anything; Mr. Stuart having made the motion and having the affirmative of the question, the burden of proof rested upon him; that I presumed the court would not take official notice that I had not spelled the name of the county right until some evidence had been adduced to sustain the motion, and when such evidence should be produced, it would then be time enough for me to rebut such evidence.

"The court decided that it could not officially take notice of the precise mode of spelling the name of the county, and gave Mr. Stuart time to procure the statute creating and naming the county. My object was now accomplished, knowing there was none of the statutes to be found in the county, and that it would require a good deal of traveling, trouble and expense to procure one, which would sufficiently rebuke the gentleman's insolence; but not doubting that when the statute was produced it would show that the defect in the indictments was fatal, and they ought to be quashed.

"After a lapse of two days the statutes were procured from an adjoining county, and produced and read to the court by Mr. Stuart, when to his astonishment, and I will say to the astonishment of myself and the whole Bar, it appeared that the name of the county in the indictments was right, and that the learned gentleman did not know how to spell the name of the county he had practiced in for years. It turned the joke upon him so completely, and excited so much mirth and humor at his expense, that he could not conceal his chagrin and mortification. The indictments were all sustained by the court, much to my gratification. Some time afterwards I took the pains to compare this printed statute with the enrolled bill

in the office of the Secretary of State, and found there was a misprint, the true name of the county being McLean.

"This small incident, although of no consequence of itself, has been an instructive lesson to me in the practice of law ever since, to-wit: Admit nothing, and require my adversary to prove everything material to the success of his cause. Every lawyer's experience teaches him that many good causes are saved and bad causes gained by a strict observance of this rule. During the time I held the office of State's Attorney, I conducted many important criminal prosecutions, and as far as I have been able to learn, acquitted myself in a manner satisfactory to my friends and the public generally.

In August, 1836, I was elected to the legislature from the County of Morgan. The contest was a very spirited one, conducted almost solely upon National politics and party grounds. Each party ran a full ticket and strove to elect the whole ticket. The stump speeches were made principally by General John J. Hardin on behalf of the Whig ticket, and myself in support of the Democratic ticket. The contest resulted in the election of five Democrats and one Whig, General Hardin.

"On the first Monday of December, 1836, I resigned my office of State's Attorney and took my seat in the legislature. It was during this session that Illinois embarked in her mammoth system of internal improvements. Before the election I had announced myself in favor of a general system of internal improvements, and was really anxious to see one of reasonable extent and expense adopted; but never for a moment dreamt of anyone's advocating such a wild and extravagant scheme as the one which was finally adopted.

"When I learned the nature and extent of the bill which the Committee of Internal Improvements was maturing, I attempted to arrest it by introducing resolutions by way of instructions (See House Journal of 1836-7, Page 36) setting forth the kind and extent of a system I thought ought to be adopted. My resolutions proposed, 1st. To finish the Illinois & Michigan Canal; 2d. To construct a railroad from the termination of the canal to the south of the Ohio River; 3d. To make a railroad from the Mississippi River to the Wabash to connect with the Wabash & Erie Canal.

"I was willing and anxious to make these three works on the faith of the state; but was unwilling to go further. I believed the canal to be an important State and National work, which would be useful to the government and people. I entertained doubts whether the plan of construction adopted by the commissioner was the best one that could be pursued, but rather than hazard the success of the work by differences of opinions as to the best manner of doing it, I determined to support and did support the bill which passed that session. In fact the bill passed that session was a compromise bill written by myself and introduced by Captain Joseph Napier of Cook County, from a committee of which we were both members.

"But to return to the Internal Improvements System;—when it was ascertained from my conversation, speeches, and resolutions that I would oppose the mammoth bill, its friends procured me to be instructed by constituents to go for it. It must be remembered that at that day the people were for the system almost *en masse*. So strong was the current of popular feeling in its favor that it was hazardous for any politician to oppose it. Under those circumstances it was easy to obtain in-

structions in favor of a measure so universally popular, and accordingly the friends of the bill got up instructions, which, from my known sentiments in favor of the doctrine of instruction, I did not feel myself at liberty to disobey. I accordingly voted for the bill under these instructions. That vote was the vote of my constituents and not my own. My own sentiments upon this subject are found recorded in the resolutions above referred to. If a limited and reasonable system, such as I proposed, had been adopted, instead of the one which did pass, I have no doubt it would have been entirely completed at this time, would be useful to the state and sustained by the people.

"There was another question which excited much interest during that session. Immense numbers of applications were made for charters of all kinds and descriptions—railroads, canals, insurance companies, hotel companies, steam mill companies, and so forth. I first attempted to arrest this whole system of legislation as unjust, impolitic and unwise. Failing in this I next attempted to cripple it by inserting in each charter a clause 'reserving the right to alter, amend or repeal this act whenever the public good shall require it.' "

The Autobiography, thus quoted from, is abruptly terminated at this point. In the same year that it was written, namely, in 1838, Mr. Douglas made a visit to Chicago. His first speech in this city was made at that time in the "Saloon Building," at the southeast corner of Lake and Clark streets, where courts, public meetings, balls, etc., were held. "It was there," says John Wentworth in one of his historical addresses, "where Stephen A. Douglas and John T. Stuart, candidates for Congress, had a public discussion in 1838."

HIGH LIGHTS IN THE CAREER OF DOUGLAS

The unusually interesting comments made by Judge Carter, whose address on "Lincoln and Douglas as Lawyers" has already been referred to, have a special value in obtaining a clear impression of this remarkable man. "Douglas spent much of his time in politics," says Carter. "For that matter all lawyers at that time in this state who were at all gifted along that line did the same thing. Because of his ability on the 'stump' he was persuaded to run for the legislature in 1836, and resigned as State's Attorney. Before the close of that session of the legislature he was appointed as Registrar of the Land Office.

"The capital had previously been changed from Vandalia to Springfield, and Douglas at once moved to the latter place to perform the duties of his new office which was quite remunerative. He resigned this office in 1838 to accept the leadership of what appeared to be a forlorn hope, an election to Congress. John T. Stuart, a new partner of Lincoln, was his opponent. The district included about two-thirds of the State,—all of the northern part. He was defeated on the face of the returns by five votes, his friends insisting that if the ballots had been correctly counted he would have been elected.

"Douglas, disgusted with the result, announced publicly that thereafter he would eschew politics and give himself entirely to the practice of his profession. Until 1841, he did give much of his attention to law, but he was too much of a politician to keep out of public life. He practically had charge of the Democratic campaign for president in 1840, and largely through his efforts the state was saved

to Van Buren, the rest of the Middle West being carried for William Henry Harrison.

"There can be no doubt that during the two years that he rode circuit, as did Mr. Lincoln for many years thereafter, he established a name for himself as a successful lawyer. He appeared as counsel in six cases in the Supreme Court of the State from 1834 to 1839. The opinions in those cases are found in volume 2 of the Supreme Court reports. In all of them Douglas was successful. In the first case he was associated as counsel with John D. Caton, who afterwards served for many years on the Supreme Bench."

DOUGLAS APPOINTED A JUDGE ON THE SUPREME BENCH

In the early part of 1841, "a law was passed reorganizing the judiciary of the State, abolishing the circuit courts, increasing the membership of the Supreme Court from four to nine, requiring Supreme Court Judges not only to attend to Supreme Court duties, but as individual members of the court to hold circuit court in the various circuits. The Legislature appointed to these five new places on the Supreme Bench Thomas Ford, the next year elected governor, Walter B. Scates, for many years after leaving the bench one of the prominent lawyers of Illinois, Samuel H. Treat, afterward United States Federal Judge, Sidney Breese, one of the most noted judges of this State, and Stephen A. Douglas."

Thus Douglas became a member of the highest court of the State when he was yet under twenty-eight years of age, and "less than seven years from the time he had come here a friendless adventurer." In his busy career he had not been able to devote much time to study or investigation, but while on the bench an opportunity was afforded him to become well grounded in the fundamental principles of the law. During the time that he was a Supreme Court judge he wrote twenty-two opinions. "There was little in any of these cases," says Judge Carter, "that tested his capacity as a judge; enough, however, to justify the conclusion that had he given his life unreservedly to the legal profession he would have been known as an eminent lawyer and judge.

"In view of his subsequent connection with the slavery question it is interesting to note that he was a member of the Supreme Court of Illinois when a majority of that court of his own political faith held in a case in which Shields and Trumbull were opposing counsel, Judge Scates writing the opinion, that the presumption of law in this State was in favor of liberty and every person was supposed to be free without regard to color. Douglas, while on the Bench, wrote an opinion as to the adoption of the common law in this country, which has been frequently referred to with approval in other decisions. In it he said: 'The common law is a beautiful system, containing the wisdom and experience of the ages. Like the people it ruled and protected it was simple and crude in its infancy, and became enlarged, improved and polished as the nation advanced in civilization, virtue and intelligence. Adapting itself to the condition and circumstances of the people, and relying upon them for its administration, it necessarily improved as the condition of the people was elevated. . . . The inhabitants of this country always claimed the common law as their birthright, and at an early period established it as the basis of their jurisprudence.' "

DOUGLAS ENTERS NATIONAL POLITICS

"Douglas resigned as judge of the Supreme Court to run for Congress in June, 1843, after serving two years and a little over three months on that bench; he was elected representative and twice re-elected; shortly after his third election the Legislature of Illinois elected him to the United States Senate, and he served as a member of that body until his death. . . . A public prosecutor before he was twenty-two, leading counsel in some of the most important cases heard in the state during the next few years, a Supreme Court judge at twenty-seven, Douglas' career at the Illinois bar has few parallels for brilliancy in the annals of history."

CLARK E. CARR'S ESTIMATE OF DOUGLAS

Stephen A. Douglas was too broad a man to be judged solely by the part taken by him in the events the recital of which we have given in a preceding chapter. Even the course he pursued during the exciting week in Chicago in the fall of 1850, and the false doctrines he advocated on many occasions afterwards, or even the debates with Lincoln in 1858, do not afford sufficient ground for an unfavorable verdict upon his character and public services. Eventually Douglas showed himself to have the true spirit of a patriot, and hesitated not to sacrifice himself and his political standing with his Southern friends, when it became apparent to him, as it did at length, that such was his duty.

The reader who wishes to understand the character of Douglas may profitably peruse the volume by Hon. Clark E. Carr, published in 1909, in which the career of Douglas is fully set forth and its results estimated. In view of the fact that he was at one time the champion of a losing cause, the author feels that "his nobility and purity of character, his sublime patriotism and transcendent abilities, have not been appreciated as they deserve to be." The grandeur of the character and achievements of Lincoln "became so exalted as to overshadow, for a time, the work of the great senator; but the patriotic people of America," says Carr, "should never forget the public services of Senator Douglas. Great as is the fame of Mr. Lincoln, it may be doubted whether his name would ever have been known to any considerable degree beyond the limits of the State of Illinois, but for his proving himself to be able to meet and successfully cope with the senator in what are known as 'The Lincoln-Douglas debates,' and it may also be doubted whether President Lincoln could have been successful in the mighty work of maintaining the integrity of the Nation but for the timely support of Senator Douglas."

"No man of his time," writes the author of "Bygone Days," "had so many personal friends and so many bitter political enemies as Stephen A. Douglas. The former regarded him almost in the light of a prophet, and under his banner would have undertaken any crusade it might have entered his head to preach. The latter . . . went quite to the other extreme, and regarded the inventor of 'Squatter Sovereignty' in the light of a Judas or Beelzebub, devoid of a single pure motive."

It was Douglas' ambition to become the president of the United States, but it is to his glory and honor that when the peril of disunion was clearly perceived he came to the support of his great opponent, and uttered words of patriotic loyalty to the Union. Himself a defeated candidate, he called on Mr. Lincoln, just after

Fort Sumter had been fired on, and pledged his most earnest and active cooperation toward putting down the rebellion. He sent a telegram to his supporters in Illinois calling upon them to come forward and help save the Union. "There is no better illustration," says Carr, "of the potentiality of Douglas with the rank and file of his party than that presented by the most southern of the Illinois congressional districts, known as 'Egypt,' a district which, in the Presidential election, had given Douglas nearly twenty thousand majority over Lincoln. It was said that that district furnished to the Union army more men, in proportion to population, than any other district in the United States."

THE LAST PUBLIC SPEECH OF SENATOR DOUGLAS

The following report of the last public speech made by Senator Douglas at the Wigwam in Chicago, where Mr. Lincoln had been nominated for the presidency less than a year before, is here inserted. It is due to the memory of Douglas to make a record of the sentiments he expressed in such positive terms on that occasion; and the speech itself, delivered a month before his dying day, is an eloquent appeal to the people to stand by the Union then threatened with dissolution. The report is taken from the New York Tribune of June 13th, 1861, and is as follows:

"Senator Douglas and his wife reached Chicago, Ill., on their return from Washington, on the evening of the 1st day of May, and were met at the depot by an immense assemblage of citizens of all parties, who insisted on escorting Mr. Douglas in procession to the great Wigwam, which was already packed with ten thousand persons. Room having been made for the admission of Mr. Douglas, he was addressed by Thomas B. Bryan, in behalf of Chicago. Mr. Douglas replied:

"Mr. Chairman:—I thank you for the kind terms in which you have been pleased to welcome me. I thank the Committee and citizens of Chicago for this grand and imposing reception. I beg you to believe that I will not do you nor myself the injustice to believe this magnificent ovation is personal homage to myself. I rejoice to know that it expresses your devotion to the Constitution, the Union, and the flag of our country.

"I will not conceal my gratification at the uncontrovertible test this vast audience presents—that what political differences or party questions may have divided us, yet you all had a conviction that when the country should be in danger, my loyalty could be relied on. That the present danger is imminent, no man can conceal. If war must come—if the bayonet must be used to maintain the Constitution—I can say before God my conscience is clean. I have struggled long for a peaceful solution of the difficulty. I have not only tendered those States what was theirs of right, but I have gone to the very extreme of magnanimity.

"The return we receive is war, armies marched upon our capital, obstructions and dangers to our navigation, letters of marque to invite pirates to prey upon our commerce, a concerted movement to blot out the United States of America from the map of the globe. The question is, Are we to maintain the country of our fathers, or allow it to be stricken down by those who, when they can no longer govern, threaten to destroy?

"What cause, what excuse do disunionists give us for breaking up the best Government on which the sun of heaven ever shed its rays? They are dissatisfied

with the result of a Presidential election. Did they never get beaten before? Are we to resort to the sword when we get defeated at the ballot-box? I understand it that the voice of the people expressed in the mode appointed by the Constitution must command the obedience of every citizen. They assume, on the election of a particular candidate, that their rights are not safe in the Union. What evidence do they present of this? I defy any man to show any act on which it is based. What act has been omitted to be done? I appeal to these assembled thousands that so far as the constitutional rights of the Southern States, I will say the constitutional rights of slaveholders, are concerned, nothing has been done, and nothing omitted, of which they can complain.

"There has never been a time from the day that Washington was inaugurated first President of these United States, when the rights of the Southern States stood firmer under the laws of the land than they do now; there never was a time when they had not as good a cause for disunion as they have today. What good cause have they now that has not existed under every Administration?

"If they say the Territorial question—now, for the first time, there is no act of Congress prohibiting slavery anywhere. If it be the non-enforcement of the laws, the only complaints that I have heard have been of the too vigorous and faithful fulfillment of the Fugitive Slave Law. Then what reason have they?

"The slavery question is a mere excuse. The election of Lincoln is a mere pretext. The present secession movement is the result of an enormous conspiracy formed more than a year since, formed by leaders in the Southern Confederacy more than twelve months ago.

"They use the Slavery question as a means to aid the accomplishment of their ends. They desired the election of a Northern candidate, by a sectional vote, in order to show that the two sections cannot live together. When the history of the two years from the Lecompton charter down to the Presidential election shall be written, it will be shown that the scheme was deliberately made to break up this Union.

"They desired a Northern Republican to be elected by a purely Northern vote, and then assign this fact as a reason why the sections may not longer live together. If the disunion candidate in the late Presidential contest had carried the united South, their scheme was, the Northern candidate successful, to seize the Capital last spring, and by a united South and divided North hold it. That scheme was defeated in the defeat of the disunion candidate in several of the Southern States.

"But this is no time for a detail of causes. The conspiracy is now known. Armies have been raised, war is levied to accomplish it. There are only two sides to the question. Every man must be for the United States or against it. There can be no neutrals in this war; only patriots—or traitors.

"Thank God Illinois is not divided on this question. I know they expected to present a united South against a divided North. They hoped in the Northern States, party questions would bring civil war between Democrats and Republicans, when the South would step in with her cohorts, aid one party to conquer the other, and then make easy prey of the victors. Their scheme was carnage and civil war in the North.

"There is but one way to defeat this. In Illinois it is being so defeated by

closing up the ranks. War will thus be prevented on our own soil. While there was a hope of peace I was ready, for any reasonable sacrifice or compromise to maintain it. But when the question comes of war in the cotton fields of the South or the corn-fields of Illinois, I say the farther off the better.

"We cannot close our eyes to the sad and solemn fact that war does exist. The Government must be maintained, its enemies overthrown, and the more stupendous our preparations the less the blood shed, and the shorter the struggle. But we must remember certain restraints on our action even in time of war. We are a Christian people, and the war must be prosecuted in a manner recognized by Christian nations.

"We must not invade Constitutional rights. The innocent must not suffer, nor women and children be the victims. Savages must not be let loose. But while I sanction no war on the rights of others, I will implore my countrymen not to lay down their arms until our own rights are recognized.

"The Constitution and its guarantees are our birthright, and I am ready to enforce that inalienable right to the last extent. We cannot recognize secession. Recognize it once, and you have not only dissolved government, but you have destroyed social order, upturned the foundations of society. You have inaugurated anarchy in its worst form, and will shortly experience all the horrors of the French Revolution.

"Then we have a solemn duty—to maintain the Government. The greater our unanimity the speedier the day of peace. We have prejudices to overcome from the few short months since of a fierce party contest. Yet these must be allayed. Let us lay aside all criminations and recriminations as to the origin of these difficulties. When we shall have again a country with the United States flag floating over it, and respected on every inch of American soil, it will then be time enough to ask who and what brought all this upon us.

"I have said more than I intended to say. It is a sad task to discuss questions so fearful as civil war; but sad as it is, bloody and disastrous as I expect it will be, I express it as my conviction before God, that it is the duty of every American citizen to rally round the flag of his country.

"I thank you again for this magnificent demonstration. By it you show you have laid aside party strife. Illinois has a proud position—United, firm, determined never to permit the Government to be destroyed."

THRILLING EFFECTS OF DOUGLAS' SPEECH

"As he stood before that vast assemblage in Chicago," says Carr, "Senator Douglas was the mightiest and most potential figure in the galaxy of American statesmen. . . . Here patriotic men of every shade of opinion and of every political party listened with breathless interest for every word that fell from his lips, and vied with each other to do him honor. Such enthusiastic greeting, such rapturous applause, had never been accorded to another public man since the days of the fathers. Every one who took part in the great demonstration felt that the Senator's utterances were the expression of the emotions of all the patriotic people of the great nation, from ocean to ocean. . . . Patriotic men who then saw the great Senator, for the last time, recalled in later days the splendors of that great ovation; and as they realized that he had been withdrawn forever from their

view; and that they would never again see his familiar face and form, they felt that they had witnessed his transfiguration."

Thereafter the name of Douglas, as well as his glowing words of loyalty, were fully identified with the Union cause. The names "Douglas brigade," as applied to a body of Illinois volunteers, "Camp Douglas," of Chicago, famous in the annals of that period, are evidences of the recognition given by the people to this fact. A further evidence of the profound respect which the people of Chicago cherish for Douglas is furnished in the names of a beautiful park and a boulevard in the city; and a county of this state, as well as many counties in other states, have been named in his honor. He did not live long to render the invaluable aid which he could have given throughout the coming struggle, for when he left the scene of his triumphant ovation, he did so never to return to the public gaze. The strain upon his physical and mental faculties had been too severe, and from the great hall of the "Wigwam" he was driven to the old Tremont House, which was his home when in Chicago. In a few days thereafter, he breathed his last, on the third of June, 1861. His message to his children was in these words: "'Tell them to obey the laws and support the Constitution of the United States," and these were his last words on earth.

JUDGE CARTER'S COMMENTS

Of Douglas Judge Carter says: "However much we may disagree with his position on the slavery question, it is clear he was against slavery and took the position he did because he believed it was for the best interests of his country. Perhaps the most remarkable triumph ever seen in Congress was that under Douglas' leadership, in opposition to his party and its president, in defeating the Lecompton constitution which had been fraudulently and forcibly foisted upon the people of Kansas by the advocates of slavery.

"During the presidential campaign of 1860, when Douglas saw that his own defeat was certain and that Lincoln was to be elected," continues Carter, "he abandoned his campaign in the North where his main hope of gaining votes lay, and started on a speaking tour through the South, hoping against hope that he could turn the tide of public feeling in that section so that the Southern States would be satisfied to remain in the Union after Lincoln was elected. At Norfolk, Virginia, he was asked,—If Lincoln should be elected would the Southern States be justified in seceding from the Union? He replied instantly: 'No: the election of any man to the presidency in conformity to the Constitution of the United States would not justify an attempt to dissolve the Union.' . . .

"When Lincoln was elected Douglas threw all of his great influence on the side of the Union. While asserting that he was still opposed to Lincoln in party matters he publicly announced that he would assist him in every way possible to preserve the government. He proved this not only by his words but by his actions. It is well known history that when Lincoln was inaugurated Douglas stood close by him upon the platform, and when the president could not readily find a place to put his hat Douglas held it during the inaugural address.

"As soon as Lincoln's family were installed in the White House Mrs. Douglas, who was one of the society leaders of Washington, called upon Mrs. Lincoln, thus setting the stamp of social approval on the new administration.

"A few weeks thereafter at the invitation of the Illinois legislature Douglas visited Springfield and spoke before that body. Some of his life-long political opponents stated that it was one of the most powerful speeches that they ever listened to from the lips of man. Near the close, with the deepest pathos, he said, 'If war must come, if the bayonet must be used to maintain the constitution, I can say before God my conscience is clear. I have struggled long for a peaceful solution of this trouble. I deprecate war, but if it must come I am with my country and for my country in every contingency and under all circumstances. At all hazards our government must be maintained, and the shortest pathway to peace is through the most stupendous preparations for war.' "

COMPARISON BETWEEN LINCOLN AND DOUGLAS

Perhaps no two men in our history have oftener been compared than Lincoln and Douglas. Among these comparisons that of Judge Carter's is one of the most instructive. "These two men," says he, "were not only dissimilar in their physical characteristics, but were most unlike in mental attributes. Douglas was shrewd, keen, analytical, bold and aggressive; a quick and ready debater, capable of thinking as well on his feet as he was after deliberation; marvelously suggestive and fertile as to resources. He rarely cited historical precedents except from American politics. In that field his knowledge was comprehensive and accurate. Nobody knew when he read, yet he could refer to date, page and volume with wonderful accuracy. He was without wit or humor; intensely practical; in no sense a dreamer or follower of ideals. As great an authority as Blaine says of him: 'He was a master of logic. In that peculiar style of debate which in its intensity resembles a physical combat he had no equal. He spoke with extraordinary readiness; he used good English, terse, pointed and vigorous.'

"Lincoln, on the contrary, was in a sense a dreamer, a man of ideals, a prose-poet; slow of thought, not a ready extemporaneous speaker. He was never overbearing or intolerant. While he recognized his intellectual ability and never hesitated to assert himself when necessary, he was usually modest and retiring; honest by instinct, the logical working of his mind made him necessarily reach the true result after deliberation and thought; very strong when he was on the right side; extraordinarily weak when he felt that his side was in the wrong. One of his most effective weapons in leadership of men was his wonderful power of expressing his views in clear, terse English, his arguing from analogy and explaining things hard to understand by maxims, figures of speech and stories.

"His wit and humor, never pointed nor sarcastic, he used always very effectively. He spoke with the most perfect sincerity and simplicity, so that his hearers always felt that he was deeply interested in the moral bearing of the public questions he was discussing. He possessed, as perhaps did no other public man of the country, lucidity, flexibility and simplicity of style. It was because of his high ideals, his moral qualities, that he had such marvelous influence over the men of his time and of all time. He was not a great reader of general literature yet he was always a student. He knew a few books, such as Shakespeare, Burns and the Bible better than any other public man of his time. From his boyhood he had been familiar with them. In the files of the Circuit Court of Menard County, in a case tried in 1847, in which Lincoln was counsel, is found a motion

in the writing of opposing counsel requesting the court to instruct the jury that the passage from Exodus read by Lincoln to the jury was not the law in the case on trial. The instruction was given.

"Lincoln's speeches are filled with biblical references; hardly one of his public utterances or great state papers from the time he was elected president until his death but has a quotation from the Bible or a reference to the fact that God rules in the affairs of nations."

"Men who could meet and cope on equal terms with the great lawyers of Illinois of their time as did Lincoln and Douglas," says Carter, "must have been more than ordinary lawyers. Among the members of that bar were six future United States Senators, eight future members of Congress, a future Cabinet minister, and not less than six who were to be judges of the Supreme Court of the State, to say nothing of many others distinguished in other walks of life."

MRS. DOUGLAS' DEVOTION TO THE UNION

In the Louisville *Journal* of December 20th, 1861, as quoted in Putnam's "Rebellion Record," the following anecdote of Mrs. Douglas is related. "Very few people indeed," runs the account, "have been placed in a more trying position and sacrificed more for the sake of the Union than has Mrs. Douglas. She has persistently refused to entertain the proposition forwarded to her by a special messenger under a flag of truce from the Governor of North Carolina, asking that the two sons of the late Senator Douglas be sent South to save their extensive estates in Mississippi from confiscation. If she refused, a large property would be taken from the children, and, in her present reduced circumstances, they may thereby eventually be placed in straitened circumstances. Here, then, was an appeal made directly to her tender regard for them, which, if she should refuse, would work disastrously against them in after years.

"But her answer was worthy of herself and of her late distinguished husband. If the rebels wish to make war upon defenseless children, and take away the all of little orphan boys, it must be so; but she could not for an instant think of surrendering them to the enemies of their country and of their father. His last words were, 'Tell them to obey the Constitution and the laws of the country,' and Mrs. Douglas will not make herself the instrument of disobeying his dying injunction. The children, she says, belong to Illinois, and must remain in the North. Illinois and the North, we take it, will see to it that they are not sufferers by the devotedness and patriotism of their mother."

FINAL RESTING PLACE OF DOUGLAS

The remains of Senator Douglas are in Chicago, and rest in a marble sarcophagus placed within a crypt under a lofty monument of granite. Surmounting the shaft is a bronze statue of the statesman, the total height to the top of the statue being ninety-six feet. Upon the sarcophagus is an inscription giving the dates of his birth and death, and the words of his last message. The monument is situated on rising ground, overlooking the lake, and is surrounded by an ample lawn space adjoining the right-of-way of the Illinois Central railroad, at Thirty-fifth street. It was completed in 1878 at a cost of about one hundred thousand dollars, the principal share of which having been borne by the state of Illinois.

CHAPTER XXV

EVENTS PRIOR TO LINCOLN'S NOMINATION

THE COOPER INSTITUTE SPEECH—QUOTATIONS FROM THE SPEECH—COMMENTS OF THE HEARERS—LINCOLN'S LABOR IN PREPARING THE SPEECH—LAST APPEARANCE IN COURT AT CHICAGO—THE "SAND BAR" CASE—LINCOLN'S VISIT TO WAUKEGAN—SPEECH INTERRUPTED BY A FIRE—J. W. HULL'S ACCOUNT OF THE SPEECH—TABLETS PLACED IN MEMORY OF THE VISIT—LINCOLN'S VISIT TO EVANSTON—LEONARD W. VOLK'S RECOLLECTIONS—HARVEY B. HURD'S ACCOUNT—RECEPTION AT THE HOUSE OF JULIUS WHITE—MEMORIES OF OLD EVANSTON RESIDENTS—MAJOR LUDLAM'S STORY—INTERESTING SEQUEL OF THE EVANSTON VISIT—SENTIMENT IN FAVOR OF LINCOLN FOR PRESIDENT—COMMENTS OF THE EASTERN PRESS—ROBERT LINCOLN'S LETTER OF INTRODUCTION—UNFAVORABLE CONDITIONS AT CHICAGO—PREPARATIONS FOR THE APPROACHING CONVENTION—HEADQUARTERS OF THE ILLINOIS DELEGATION AT THE TREMONT HOUSE—STRONG FOLLOWING OF RIVAL CANDIDATES—LINCOLN'S MODESTY—PROGRESS OF THE CITY ATTAINED IN 1860—INCIDENTS OF THE PANIC OF 1857—BEGINNING OF STREET CAR LINES—OPENING OF THE RAILROAD ERA—FIRST LINES FROM THE EAST—CHICAGO RAPIDLY BECOMES A RAILROAD CENTER.

THE COOPER INSTITUTE SPEECH

THE address by Mr. Lincoln at the Cooper Institute in New York was delivered on the evening of February 27th, 1860. Mr. Lincoln had been invited by certain of the Republican leaders in New York, through Mr. Charles C. Nott, a representative of the Committee of the Young Men's Republican Union, "to deliver one of a series of addresses which had been planned to make clear to the voters the purposes and the foundations of the new party. His name had become known to the Republicans of the East through the debates with Douglas. It was recognized that Lincoln had taken the highest ground in regard to the principles of the new party, and that his counsels should prove of practical service in the shaping of the policy of the Presidential campaign."

The meeting was presided over by William Cullen Bryant, and a number of the most prominent citizens of New York were present, among them Horace Greeley. In the *Tribune* the next morning Greeley said, "No man ever made such an impression in his first appeal to a New York audience." Greeley was emphatic in his appreciation of the address, "it was the ablest, the greatest, the wisest speech that had yet been made; it would reassure the conservative Northerner, it was conclusive in its argument, and would assure the overthrow of Douglas."

The peroration of the speech is often quoted, and is given here as an example of Lincoln's oratory.

"Wrong as we think slavery is, we can yet afford to let it alone where it is, because that much is due to the necessity arising from its actual presence in the nation; but can we, while our votes will prevent it, allow it to spread into the National Territories, and to overrun us here in these Free States? If our sense of duty forbids this, then let us stand by our duty, fearlessly and effectively. Let us be diverted by none of those sophistical contrivances wherewith we are so industriously plied and belabored—contrivances such as groping for some middle ground between the right and the wrong, vain as the search for a man who should be neither a living man nor a dead man—such as a policy of 'don't care' on a question about which all true men do care—such as Union appeals beseeching true Union men to yield to Disunionists, reversing the divine rule, and calling, not the sinners, but the righteous to repentance—such as invocations to Washington, imploring men to unsay what Washington said, and undo what Washington did.

"Neither let us be slandered from our duty by false accusations against us, nor frightened from it by menaces of destruction to the Government nor of dungeons to ourselves. Let us have faith that right makes might, and in that faith, let us, to the end, dare to do our duty as we understand it."

Perhaps no appeal, uttered from the political platform in those stirring times, breathed a loftier tone or carried convictions so strong as this memorable speech. "As I read the concluding pages of that speech," says Horace White, "the conflict of opinion that preceded the conflict of arms, then sweeping upon the country like an approaching solar eclipse, seemed prefigured like a chapter of the Book of Fate."

RHETORICAL FEATURES OF THE ADDRESS

On the morning following the delivery of the Cooper Institute speech Mr. Lincoln met Rev. John P. Gulliver of Norwich, Connecticut, on a train leaving the city. Mr. Gulliver had listened to the speech the evening before, and the two men presently became engaged in conversation. Mr. Gulliver afterwards became a resident of Chicago and was pastor of the New England Congregational church on the North Side,—from 1865 to 1868,—and president of Knox College at Galesburg for four years following. Mr. Gulliver remarked to Mr. Lincoln that he thought the speech was the most remarkable one he had ever heard. "I learned more of the art of public speaking last evening," said he, "than I could from a whole course of lectures on rhetoric." "I should like very much to know," replied Mr. Lincoln, "what it was in my speech which you thought so remarkable." Mr. Gulliver's answer was, "The clearness of your statements, the unanswerable style of your reasoning, and, especially, your illustrations, which were romance and pathos and fun and logic all welded together." He followed this with a further exposition of the peculiar power of the address. Mr. Lincoln replied, "I am much obliged to you for this. I have been wishing for a long time to find some one who would make this analysis for me. It throws light on a subject which has been dark to me. I can understand very readily how such a power as you have ascribed to me will account for the effect which seems to be produced by my speeches. I

hope you have not been too flattering in your estimate. Certainly I have had a most wonderful success for a man of my limited education."

When they were about to separate Mr. Gulliver said to him, "You have become, by the controversy with Mr. Douglas, one of our leaders in this great struggle with slavery, which is undoubtedly *the* struggle of the nation and the age. What I would like to say is this, and I say it with a full heart: Be true to your principles, and we will be true to you, and God will be true to us all." Mr. Lincoln was touched by the minister's earnestness, and taking his hand in both his own, he exclaimed, "I say amen to that! amen to that!"

From New York he went to New England in order to visit his son Robert, then a student in the Phillips Academy, at Exeter, New Hampshire. He made speeches at various points. Putnam quotes from a letter written by him to his wife, dated March 4th, 1860. "I have been unable to escape this toil. If I had foreseen it, I think I would not have come East at all. The speech at New York, being within my calculation before I started, went off passably well and gave me no trouble whatever. The difficulty was to make nine others, before reading audiences who had already seen all my ideas in print."

COMMENTS ON THE SPEECH

In the Century Magazine for July, 1891, an address by Horace Greeley was printed, which had not, for some reason, previously been published. In this address Mr. Greeley gives his estimate of Lincoln, and, in regard to the great speech at the Cooper Institute, he said: "I do not hesitate to pronounce Mr. Lincoln's speech at Cooper Institute, New York, in the spring of 1860, the very best political address to which I ever listened—and I have heard some of Webster's grandest. As a literary effort, it would not, of course, bear comparison with many of Webster's speeches; but regarded simply as an effort to convince the largest possible number that they ought to be on the speaker's side, not on the other, I do not hesitate to pronounce it unsurpassed." Mr. Lincoln, he said, was "the foremost *convincer* of his day—the one who could do his cause more good and less harm by a speech than any other living man."

In a reprint of the speech, the full text of which is given in George Haven Putnam's "Abraham Lincoln," the following extract from the preface, prepared by the Young Men's Republican Union, appears: "The address is characterized by wisdom, truthfulness and learning. . . . From the first line to the last, from his premises to his conclusion, the speaker travels with a swift, unerring directness that no logician has ever excelled. His argument is complete and is presented without the affectation of learning, and without the stiffness which usually accompanies dates and details. . . . A single simple sentence contains a chapter of history that has taken days of labor to verify, and that must have cost the author months of investigation to acquire. The reader may take up this pamphlet, but he will leave it as a historical treatise—brief, complete, perfect, sound, impartial truth—which will serve the time and the occasion that called it forth, and which will be esteemed hereafter no less for its unpretending modesty than for its intrinsic worth."

Mr. Lincoln's speech had indeed cost him much labor in its preparation. No

former effort had required so much time and thought as this one had done. "The historical study which it involved," says Holland, "study that led into unexplored fields, and fields very difficult of exploration, must have been very great; but it was intimate and complete. Gentlemen who afterwards engaged in preparing the speech for circulation as a campaign document were much surprised by the amount of research that it required to be able to make the speech, and were very much wearied with the work of verifying its historical statements in detail. They were weeks in finding the works consulted by him." Herndon says that Mr. Lincoln obtained most of the facts of his Cooper Institute speech from Elliott's "Debates on the Federal Constitution." When he went to Washington, early in 1861, he gave Herndon a set of six volumes of this work.

While in New York, Mr. Lincoln was photographed by Brady, whose portraits of the distinguished men of that time have become famous. It was a frequent remark of Lincoln's that this portrait and the Cooper Institute speech made him president.

LAST APPEARANCE IN COURT

One of the last cases in which Mr. Lincoln was engaged as a lawyer was that known as the "Sand Bar" case. The title of the case was "W. S. Johnston vs. William Jones and S. Marsh, Ejectment." Mr. Lincoln was engaged as one of the counsel for the defendants. In the Chicago *Press and Tribune* of April 5th, 1860, the case is referred to as "one of the most notable trials in the annals of our courts." The contest was "as to title to the valuable accretions on the lake shore, north of the pier," the property directly and indirectly at issue being valued at over half a million of dollars. This case was tried before Judge Thomas Drummond in the United States District Court, and was the fourth time it had been before the courts, this time ending, after a two weeks' trial, in a verdict for the defendants. The question submitted to the jury was "whether the plaintiff had a water line on the lake on October 22d, 1835, the date of the deed." The court held its sessions in the "Larmon Block," on the northeast corner of Clark and Washington streets.

It was during the progress of this case that the opposing counsel asked Colonel John H. Kinzie (son of Chicago's original settler, John Kinzie), "How long he had resided in Chicago?" when Mr. Lincoln interposed saying, "I believe he is 'common law' here, as one who dates back to the time whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary."

MR. LINCOLN'S VISIT TO WAUKEGAN

While Mr. Lincoln was in Chicago he received invitations to speak on frequent occasions. The citizens of Waukegan had requested his presence there and we find an announcement in the Chicago *Press and Tribune* for Monday, April 2, 1860, as follows: "At the earnest solicitation of citizens of Lake County, Mr. Lincoln, who is at present engaged here in the United States District Court, will speak on political topics at Waukegan this evening. The announcement will of course bring together one of the largest crowds that Waukegan can furnish."

The Waukegan *Weekly Gazette*, in its issue of April 7, 1860, gives this account of what happened on the occasion of Mr. Lincoln's visit to that place.

"This noble Republican standard bearer of 1858 having been engaged attending Court in Chicago, came up to Waukegan on Monday evening last to give us a speech. But he had spoken only a few minutes when the meeting was broken up in consequence of a destructive fire which we mention elsewhere. This is deeply regretted by all save a few of the chivalrous Democracy, who seem to rejoice over the fact that the meeting came to such an untimely end. We think they have reason for it too, for 'Old Abe' had laid the foundation for a speech which would have so completely wiped out the doctrine of Popular Sovereignty, that all candid Democrats who admit that slavery is wrong (and to this class his remarks were specially directed) would have been forced to admit the inconsistency of the position they occupy.

"Whether the fire was a 'democratic trick' or not the democracy will be forced to resort to more desperate tricks than this to defeat Abe next fall should the mantle of the Chicago Convention fall upon him. Although disappointed in not hearing his speech through, yet we had the pleasure of seeing him, which really does one's soul good. We hope he may be induced to come back and give the balance of the speech at some other time. Hon. Norman B. Judd accompanied him from Chicago, who would have favored us with some remarks also had the meeting gone on undisturbed."

The fire which broke up the meeting in this abrupt manner is described in another part of the same issue of the *Gazette*. It is as follows: "About eight o'clock on Monday evening last, when hundreds of our citizens were attentively engaged in listening to the speech of our gallant Lincoln, an alarm of fire was sounded. A rush was made for the door, but the excitement was partially allayed when it was announced that it was a false alarm. This quiet, however, was but momentary, for it soon became apparent that a destructive fire was raging. It proved to be the warehouse and buildings belonging to the North Pier, owned and occupied by Messrs. Case and Bull."

TABLETS PLACED IN MEMORY OF THE VISIT

On the one-hundredth anniversary of Lincoln's birth—namely, February 12, 1909, the people of Waukegan celebrated the occasion by recalling the visit Mr. Lincoln made to their city in 1860. The Waukegan *Daily Sun* printed some reminiscences of the occasion, preceded by a brief account of the meeting as follows:

"On the evening of April 2nd, 1860, Lincoln visited Waukegan, and was the principal speaker at a mass-meeting at Dickinson's Hall, an old-time resort, later burned down, and visited a fire that consumed the old Case warehouse.

"That night he slept in the house at the northwest corner of Julian and County streets, as the guest of Mr. Ferry. The house is now owned by L. H. Prentice and on February 12, 1909, was marked with a bronze tablet inscribed 'April 2, 1860, Abraham Lincoln slept in this house. Tablet placed by the Lake County Historical Society.'

"The building on the site of Dickinson's Hall is marked by a bronze tablet, ten by sixteen inches, inscribed 'This tablet marks the site of Dickinson Hall where Abraham Lincoln spoke April 2, 1860. Lake County Historical Society.'

"Following is a list of people now living in Waukegan who were at this meeting, so far as their names were obtainable in February, 1909: W. E. Sunderlin (who went to the fire with Lincoln), J. W. Hull, Jacob Martin, George Herman, Philip P. Brand (who shaved Lincoln on his visit here), J. M. Simpson, George R. Lyon (who remembers Lincoln's remark 'Slavery is wrong'), Homer Cooke (who also says he went to the fire with Lincoln), W. B. Besley, E. D. Besley, Arthur Blanchard, Mrs. G. H. Stafford, John A. Shea, John Maynard, George S. Wheeler, Clinton Green, D. S. Meade, A. Z. Blodgett, R. J. Douglas, Nicholas Martin, S. S. Greenleaf and Frank Greenleaf.

"J. W. Hull can recall the substance of the speech that Lincoln delivered in the twenty-five minutes before the fire destroyed the Case warehouse, and the meeting broke up. 'I was there when the meeting began,' he said, 'and noted Lincoln moving about the floor, meeting people. When he arose and ascended to the platform I thought he was the humblest man in appearance I had seen in many a day. When he began to speak he did not impress me, perhaps because he had a squeak in his voice that was like a dash of cold water. I can well remember his speech. Lincoln declared that civilization had pronounced human slavery wrong. However, he said that we alone, the United States, with our boasted freedom, gave it the standing of an institution, and that we did wrong. However, he said, he did not blame the slave-holders; he said that most of them had inherited their slaves as chattels or property, and, it seemed, could not help themselves. Then he called attention to the fact that at that time the country was half slavery and half free, and said that no government divided against itself in such manner could stand.

" 'The effect on me, at least, and I believe on others, was little short of miraculous. While he was speaking, such was the sledge-hammer force of his logic, that we forgot the humble appearance and the squeaky voice, and were carried away by the man's simple eloquence, his power of reasoning and his clear exposition of questions we had all debated within our own minds.

" 'Then the fire came; E. P. Ferry arose and stated his belief that the alarm was a Democratic plot to break up the meeting. The shuffling and uneasiness among the people continued, however, and finally Lincoln said, "Well, gentlemen, let us all go, as there really seems to be a fire, and help put it out." ' "

LINCOLN'S VISIT TO EVANSTON

It was on the afternoon of the day following the conclusion of the "Sand Bar" case, that Lincoln visited Evanston and remained over night as the guest of his old friend Julius White. Many particulars of this visit have been gathered from old residents, and the visit forms one of the cherished episodes of Evanston history. At that time Evanston was a village of twelve hundred inhabitants and was becoming important as a suburb of Chicago. An article in the Chicago *Press and Tribune,* which appeared about this time, spoke of Evanston as having the handsomest residences and the best situation of any town in the vicinity of Chicago, and the writer predicted that between the two places would be built up a continuous line of stores and residences. The Chicago and Milwaukee railroad, which afterwards became known as the Chicago and North-Western railway, had then been open five years. Evanston itself had borne that name only six years, though

under older names,—originally Gross Point and afterwards Ridgeville, it could claim a greater antiquity. The Northwestern University had been in existence since 1854, and from the beginning had given a dominant tone to the community life of the place, and many of those who had made their homes there had been attracted by its influence. The University had one building completed and occupied, and the Garrett Biblical Institute, which was affiliated with the University, was about completing its first building.

Mr. Lincoln visited Evanston upon the invitation and as the guest of Julius White, who afterwards became a general in the Union army. Mr. White at that time was a member of the Chicago Board of Trade and was harbor master at Chicago. He lived in Evanston on the northwest corner of Ridge avenue and Church street, in a two-story house, which in later years was moved away, to make room for the larger house now occupied by Mr. Richard C. Lake. Some controversy has arisen from time to time as to the identity of the house in which Mr. Lincoln was entertained. Mr. White resided in several different houses during his long residence in Evanston, each of which has been at one time or another regarded as the house thus honored. But through surviving members of his family and others its identity has been established beyond doubt. When it was moved from its original location it was divided into two parts, and the larger part taken to a lot just south of the Evanston Township High School, now known as 1227 Elmwood avenue. Here it was remodeled and is now occupied by Mr. Albert D. Sanders.

MR. VOLK'S RECOLLECTIONS

A reference to Mr. Lincoln's visit to Evanston is found in an article published in the Century Magazine for December, 1881, by Leonard W. Volk, the sculptor. Mr. Volk had met Mr. Lincoln during the period of the Lincoln-Douglas debates in 1858, and had requested him to sit for a bust. Mr. Lincoln said that he would be glad to do so at the first opportunity. Mr. Volk, in the course of his article, thus relates:

"I did not see him again for nearly two years. I spent most of the winter of 1860 in Washington, finishing a statuette of Senator Douglas, and just before leaving in the month of March, I called upon Mr. Douglas' colleague in the senate from Illinois [this was Lyman Trumbull], and asked him if he had an idea as to who would be the probable nominee of the Republican party for president, that I might model a bust of him in advance. He replied that he did not have the least particle of an idea who he would be, only that it would not be Judge Douglas.

"I returned to Chicago, and got my studio in the 'Portland block' in order and ready for work, and began to consider whose bust I should first begin in the clay, when I noticed in a morning paper that Abraham Lincoln was in town—retained as one of the counsel in the 'sandbar trial.' I at once decided to remind him of his promise to sit to me, made two years before. I found him in the United States District court room (in a building known at the time as the 'Larmon block') his feet on the edge of a table, and his long, dark hair standing out at every imaginable angle, apparently uncombed for a week. He was surrounded by a group of lawyers, such as James F. Joy, Isaac N. Arnold, Thomas Hoyne and others. Mr. Arnold obtained his attention in my behalf, when he instantly arose and met me outside

the rail, recognizing me at once with his usual grip of both hands. He remembered his promise, and said, in answer to my question, that he expected to be detained by the case for a week. He added:

"'I shall be glad to give you the sittings. When shall I come, and how long will you need me each time?'

"'Just after breakfast, every morning, would,' he said, 'suit him the best, and he could remain till court opened, at 10 o'clock.' I answered that I would be ready for him the next morning, Thursday. This was in the early part of April, 1860.

"'Very well, Mr. Volk, I will be there, and I'll go to a barber and have my hair cut before I come.'

"I requested him not to let the barber cut it too short and said I would rather he would leave it as it was; but to this he would not consent. Then, all of a sudden, he ran his fingers through his hair, and said:

"'No, I cannot come tomorrow, as I have an engagement with Mr. W— to go to Evanston tomorrow and attend an entertainment; but I'd rather come, and sit to you for the bust than go there and meet a lot of college professors and others, all strangers to me. And I will be obliged if you will go to Mr. W—'s office now, and get me released from the engagement. I will wait here till you come back.'

"So off I posted, but Mr. W— would not release him, 'because,' he said, 'it would be a great disappointment to the people he had invited.' Mr. Lincoln looked quite sorry when I reported to him the failure of my mission.

"'Well,' he said, 'I suppose I must go, but I will come to you Friday morning.'

"He was there promptly—indeed, he never failed to be on time. My studio was in the fifth story, and there were no elevators in those days, and I soon learned to distinguish his steps on the stairs, and am sure he frequently came up two, if not three, steps at a stride. When he sat down the first time in that hard, wooden, low-armed chair which I still possess, and which has been occupied by Douglas, Seward and Generals Grant and Dix, he said:

"'Mr. Volk, I have never sat before to sculptor or painter—only for daguerreotypes and photographs. What shall I do?'

"I told him I would only take the measurements of his head and shoulders that time, and next morning, Saturday, I would make a cast of his face, which would save him a number of sittings. He stood up against the wall, and I made a mark above his head, and then measured up to it from the floor, and said:

"'You are just twelve inches taller than Judge Douglas, that is, just six feet one inch.'"

In the above extract, which is printed just as it appeared in the Century article, the name of Mr. White is indicated by the initial W, followed by a line standing for the omitted portion of his name. Also it is to be noted that in the last sentence Mr. Lincoln's height is given as "six feet and one inch," whereas the fact was that he was six feet four inches and Douglas was five feet four inches in height. This was an error either on the part of the author or printer.

MR. HURD'S ACCOUNT

When the day arrived for Mr. Lincoln to go to Evanston he was taken in charge by Mr. Harvey B. Hurd, who had been designated to act as his escort. Mr. Hurd has left on record an account of this journey, which is as follows:

"On his return from his stumping tour through New England in the spring of 1860, bringing back with him the fame of his great Cooper Institute speech, he [Mr. Lincoln] was given a reception in Evanston, at the home of my then next door neighbor, General Julius White, and it was my good fortune to be designated to escort him from Chicago to his house. On the way Mr. Lincoln and I occupied the same seat in the railway car, that next to the stove. Putting his long legs up behind the stove and leaning down toward me, he related to me some of the more amusing episodes in his New England tour, such as he thought I would recognize as characteristic of Yankeedom (I had told him I was a native of Connecticut), some of them bringing out in strong light the issues of the campaign and how he had presented them.

"Calling to mind his great debate with Mr. Douglas and how he had grown in popularity all over the country, and that he was being talked of for the presidency, I could not help a passing analysis of his characteristics. The way he impressed me at that time was well summed up by a countryman at another time. 'Not that he knew it all, and that I knew little or nothing, but that he and I were two good fellows, well met, and that between us we knew lots.' His bearing at the reception, while easy, was at the same time dignified and pleasing. It required no stretch of imagination to think of him as the coming president of the United States. He inspired in all a desire to see him nominated and elected to that high office. There was no lurking doubt as to his fitness."

MEMORIES OF OLD RESIDENTS

Many of the old residents of Evanston still vividly remember, after a lapse of half a century, the occasion of Mr. Lincoln's visit here, and the accounts which are here gathered are mainly compiled from their recollections of that most interesting event. They are not all living whose testimony is here given, but the privilege they enjoyed of meeting and grasping the hand of the greatest American of the nineteenth century was a rare one, and the occasion forms one of the most interesting episodes in our history.

On Mr. Lincoln's arrival in Evanston he was taken for a carriage drive about the village by Mr. White and then to the residence of the latter. A general invitation had been extended to the people to come in the evening and shake hands with the distinguished visitor. It was easy to spread the news of anything of the kind in a small community such as Evanston was at that time, and the people were quick to respond to the invitation. The house was well filled with visitors and Mr. Lincoln stood in front of the fireplace in the drawing room and conversed with the people as they arrived. Many did not enter the house, but contented themselves with standing outside on the lawn and giving vent to their enthusiasm by blowing horns, singing and shouting, which was called "serenading" in the parlance of the time. These "doings" were naturally followed by calls for a speech, a request which the visitor complied with by appearing on the front steps of the house and addressing the people assembled on the lawn. "I have a sort of general recollection of his speech," relates Dr. Henry M. Bannister, who was present. "He spoke in a high, clear voice explaining his standpoint in politics and the reasons for it, making a special point that he had been guided by his sense of

right." There was a general handshaking and exchange of greetings usual on such occasions. Afterwards a number of those outside went into the house and were presented to the visitor.

"I remember as though it was but yesterday," wrote Mr. Martin Mohler, a former student at the university, in an article printed in The Evanston Index in 1903, "the tall, lanky form of Lincoln and his expressive countenance as he stood shaking hands with admiring friends, while a stream of wit and humor, and story and laughter, came bubbling up from the great soul within."

MRS. BANNISTER'S ACCOUNT

Mrs. Emma White Bannister, a daughter of General White, wrote recently giving an account of the visit, which she remembers distinctly. "Father told us one day that he would bring Mr. Lincoln up to spend the night, adding, 'he may be our next president.' He arrived on the evening train and dined with us, after which he addressed the Evanstonians from the front porch. Word had been sent to the leading citizens that Mr. Lincoln would speak and they soon assembled in goodly numbers in front of the house. At the conclusion of his address my father invited all who desired to come in and meet Mr. Lincoln. They surged into the house, were introduced by father, and all received a cordial greeting and hand shake from Mr. Lincoln. My father's house at that time was full of children, and during Mr. Lincoln's visit he endeared himself to us all by his individual and kindly notice."

MR. PEARSONS' STORY

Mr. Henry A. Pearsons' memories of the occasion are extremely interesting. At a banquet of the Men's Club at the First Methodist church in February, 1906, he spoke as follows:

"Mr. Lincoln came to Evanston in 1860, soon after he began to acquire a national reputation and had been mentioned as the man whom Illinois would bring out as a candidate for president. Evanston was then only a village of some twelve hundred inhabitants, and, of course, all who could get there went to the house of Julius White to meet the distinguished guest, we boys to cheer and make a welcoming noise, and our elders to shake his hand. I have a photograph of him taken in 1858, which pictures him as I remember him. The characteristics which I remember most distinctly were the pleasant smile and kindly greeting he gave us, the cheerful speech and apt words of his address, the exceeding tallness of the man, and the awkward way he had of turning himself one way or the other and bending his knees a little when emphasizing a point or coming to a climax. A really good quartet, led by our long-time friend and fellow citizen, Charles G. Ayars, called for Lincoln's special commendation; and I recall how he put his arms around Ayars' shoulders, and said: 'Young man, I wish I could sing as well as you. Unfortunately I know only two tunes, one is "Old Hundred," and the other isn't.' Mr. J. Watson Ludlam was then, as he still is, I think, the tallest citizen of Evanston, and Mr. Lincoln stood up against him, back to back, to see which was the taller." Mr. Pearsons on several occasions afterwards, while an officer of the Eighth Illinois cavalry, saw Mr. Lincoln at reviews, and was one of the guard of honor at the time his body lay in state in the Capitol at Washington.

MAJOR LUDLAM'S STORY

Only a short time before his death in the fall of 1908, Major James D. Ludlam wrote his recollections of the visit, in a letter to Mr. Frank R. Grover, to whom he had promised to furnish the details for the records of the Evanston Historical Society. "In redeeming my promise to you," he writes, "to furnish my recollections of Abraham Lincoln's visit to Evanston, I send the following, only reminding you that fifty years is a long time for one's memory to be exactly accurate." He said he received an invitation from Mr. Julius White, "who lived, I think, in the house built by Mr. Judson over on what we then called the ridge." He met there "some twenty or thirty friends," some of whom he mentions by name: Mr. and Mrs. John L. Beveridge, Rev. Philo Judson, Harvey B. Hurd, Mr. and Mrs. N. P. Iglehart, Mr. and Mrs. John A. Pearsons, Mrs. Appleton, Miss Mattie Stewart and Miss Isabel Stewart. "Mr. Hurd led the conversation principally with the help of Mr. Beveridge at the start, but soon Mr. Lincoln had full control, and in conversation and story telling captured the whole company."

Later in the evening some one proposed having some music, and Miss Isabel Stewart was invited to play the piano, which she did in a very delightful manner. Do not let the young readers of this sketch imagine the young lady seated at an "upright," for pianos of that form were not made in those days. Square pianos were in use and the one in Mr. White's house was probably of this pattern, the kind we used to call "megatheriums," which we used to behold with awe and admiration, including the player.

Mr. Lincoln then asked for some vocal music and Mr. J. D. Ludlam was invited to sing. This he consented to do on condition that some one would play for him. He was then introduced to the young lady at the piano, whom he did not know before, and after a song or two the singing became general. It should be noted here that this introduction to the young lady, Miss Isabel Stewart, was more important in its results than seems at first sight, for in about a year after that the singer and the player were married. Thus the Lincoln visit has a peculiar interest as the starting point of a romance.

ASSEMBLAGE OF TALL MEN

James D. Ludlam and J. Watson Ludlam were brothers, both tall men, the latter the taller of the two; John L. Beveridge was over six feet in height, and there was also present another tall man by the name of Homer Curtice, a conductor on the Chicago and Milwaukee Railroad, the name by which the present Chicago and North-Western Railway was then known. (Poor Curtice was killed by the cars up near Kenosha some years later.) Mr. Lincoln, noticing so many unusually tall men present, including himself, remarked upon it and proposed that they should measure with each other. They therefore stood up, as Mr. Pearsons has related in a previous part of this article, and compared their different heights. It was found that Mr. Lincoln and J. W. Ludlam were exactly the same height, namely, six feet and four inches, and were the tallest in the "bunch." The company remained until quite a late hour for so quiet a place as the little town of Evanston was at that time.

INTERESTING SEQUEL

The sequel to Major Ludlam's story is very interesting. During the following year events succeeded each other with startling rapidity. Mr. Lincoln was nominated and elected president, and the tremendous drama of the Civil War had opened. With many other young men from Evanston J. D. Ludlam had joined the army of the Union, and became an officer (finally major) in the Eighth Illinois cavalry. This was the only Illinois regiment in the eastern army in the early part of the war and Mr. Lincoln came out to their encampment near Washington to visit them, and made a short speech to "his boys," as he called them. He recognized Ludlam at once and asked after Miss Stewart, who had furnished such delightful music on the occasion of his visit to Evanston, and invited him to call at the White House. He made calls several times, and after lunch with Mr. and Mrs. Lincoln one day, Mr. Lincoln asked him to sing for Mrs. Lincoln the same songs which he sang when he visited Mr. White's house in Evanston. This echo of the Lincoln visit to Evanston, and the romance that had its beginning at that time, throws a golden haze of sentiment over the event we have been describing, and heightens the interest that the episode otherwise possesses for all who take a pride in Evanston annals.

Mr. Lincoln's visit to Evanston was made when he had reached a period in his life when all was fair. He was at the height of his fame as the most distinguished political orator of his time, he had become the rising hope of the new Republican party, and was often mentioned as a possible presidential candidate. The law case, which had required his presence in Chicago for the preceding two weeks, had just been decided (the day before) in favor of his clients. He was in the full maturity of his manhood, and he was probably as near "care free" as he had ever been in his life.

Six weeks afterwards Mr. Lincoln was nominated for the presidency, and in the following November was elected to that high office. He evidently did not forget his Evanston friends and his visit among them, for soon after he became president he began to show his appreciation of the friends he met here. White and Beveridge became generals in the Union Army, and, as we have seen, the homely songs and good cheer of the house in Evanston where he was so pleasantly entertained were repeated in a charming manner at the White House in Washington.

SENTIMENT IN FAVOR OF LINCOLN

The possibility of Mr. Lincoln becoming a candidate at the next Republican convention to be held in Chicago in the approaching month of May became stronger during the early months of 1860. While, however, the sentiment in his favor was thus increasing in the West, it was by no means looked upon in a favorable light by Eastern politicians and writers. Echoes of the western enthusiasm for Lincoln's candidacy began to reach the Eastern people in ever increasing volume, and after his Cooper Institute speech there was frequent mention and discussion of the possibility of such a thing coming to pass.

"Lincoln's defeat in November, 1858, in the contest for the United States senatorship," says Miss Tarbell, "in no way discouraged his friends. A few days after the November election, when it was known that Douglas had been re-elected

senator, the Chicago *Democrat*, then edited by 'Long John' Wentworth, printed an editorial, nearly a column in length, headed 'Abraham Lincoln.' His work in the campaign then just closed was reviewed and commended in the highest terms."

The editorial printed in the *Democrat* has already been quoted, in part, in a previous chapter. "Up to the opening of the convention in May," says Miss Tarbell, "there was, in fact, no specially prominent mention of Lincoln by the Eastern press. Greeley, intent on undermining Seward, though as yet nobody perceived him to be so, printed in the New York *Weekly Tribune*—the paper which went to the country at large—correspondence favoring the nomination of Bates and Read, McLean and Bell, Cameron, Fremont, Dayton, Chase, Wade; but not Lincoln. The New York *Herald* of May 1st, in discussing editorially the nominee of the 'Black Republicans,' recognized 'four living, two dead, aspirants.' The 'living' were Seward, Banks, Chase and Cameron; the 'dead,' Bates and McLean. May 10th, the *Independent* in an editorial on 'The Nomination at Chicago,' said: 'Give us a man known to be true upon the only question that enters into the canvass—a Seward, a Chase, a Wade, a Sumner, a Fessenden, a Banks.' But it did not mention Lincoln. His most conspicuous Eastern recognition before the convention was in *Harper's Weekly* of May 12th, his face being included in a double page of portraits of 'eleven prominent candidates for the Republican presidential nomination at Chicago.' Brief biographical sketches appeared in the same number —the last and shortest of them being of Lincoln."

LINCOLN BUT SLIGHTLY KNOWN IN THE EAST

As an instance of the limited knowledge among the people of the Eastern states regarding Mr. Lincoln, even after the celebrated debates had brought his name prominently before the nation, it is related that in 1859, Mr. Lincoln sent his oldest son Robert to Cambridge intending to have him enter Harvard College. The young man carried a letter of introduction to Dr. Walker, the president of the college. This letter of introduction was given by Senator Stephen A. Douglas, who, of course, enjoyed a national reputation far beyond that of Mr. Lincoln, and in it he stated that Robert Lincoln was the son of his friend Abraham Lincoln, "with whom I have lately been convassing the State of Illinois."

This story was related by the late Edward Everett Hale. Mr. Hale, it seems, had it from a friend, who in turn had it from James Russell Lowell, at that time a professor at Harvard College. The letter, it would seem, was read at a faculty meeting in the course of routine business. "When this letter, now so curious in history," says Hale, in his work "James Russell Lowell and His Friends," "was read, Lowell said to my friend who tells me the story, 'I suppose I am the only man in this room who has ever heard of this Abraham Lincoln, but he is the person with whom Douglas has been traveling up and down in Illinois, canvassing the State in their new western fashion, as representatives of the two parties, each of them being a candidate for the vacant seat in the Senate.' What is more, my friend says it is probably true that at the moment when this letter was presented by young Robert Lincoln, none of the faculty at Harvard College, excepting Lowell, had ever heard of Abraham Lincoln. This story is a good one," continues Hale, "as showing how far it was in those days possible for a circle of intelligent men

to know little or nothing of what was happening in the world beyond the sound of their college bell."

This episode was recounted in a contribution printed in the Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library, Number 11, for the year 1906, page 292. The contributor adds a note, as follows: "This anecdote arrested attention when it was first published, and I received more than one note explaining to me that it could not be true. All the same it is true. And I took care to verify the dates of the several steps of the story." The contributor's name is Lucia A. Stevens.

UNDESIRABLE CONDITIONS AT CHICAGO

As the time approached for the assembling of the convention "the city was in a tumult of expectation and preparation." The people were wide awake and there was a determination that so far as they were concerned the convention should be a success. "The audacity," remarks Miss Tarbell, "of inviting a National Convention to meet there, in the condition in which Chicago chanced to be at that time, was purely Chicagoan. No other city would have risked it. In ten years Chicago had nearly quadrupled its population, and it was believed that the feat would be repeated in the coming decade. In the first flush of youthful energy and ambition the town had undertaken the colossal task of raising itself bodily out of the grassy marsh, where it had been originally placed, to a level of twelve feet above Lake Michigan, and of putting underneath a good, solid, foundation.

"When the invitation to the convention was extended, half the buildings in Chicago were on stilts; some of the streets had been raised to the new grade, others still lay in the mud; half the sidewalks were poised high on piles, and half were still down on a level with the lake. A city with a conventional sense of decorum would not have cared to be seen in this demoralized condition, but Chicago perhaps conceived that it would but prove her courage and confidence to show the country what she was doing; and so she had the convention come.

"But it was not the convention alone which came," continues Miss Tarbell's spirited narrative. "Besides the delegates, the professional politicians, the newspaper men, and the friends of the several candidates, there came a motley crowd of men hired to march and to cheer for particular candidates,—a kind of out-of-door *claque* which did not wait for a point to be made in favor of its man, but went off into rounds of applause at the mere mention of his name. New York brought the greatest number of these professional applauders, the leader of them being a notorious prize-fighter and street politician,—'a sort of white black-bird,' says Bromley,—one Tom Hyer. With the New York delegation, which numbered all told fully two thousand Seward men, came Dodsworth's Band, one of the celebrated musical organizations of that day.

"While New York sent the largest number, Pennsylvania was not far behind, there being about one thousand, five hundred persons present from that State. From New England, long as was the distance, there were many trains of excursionists. The New England delegation took Gilmore's Band with it, and from Boston to Chicago stirred up every community in which it stopped, with music and speeches. Several days before the convention opened fully one-half of the members of the United States House of Representatives were in the city. To still

further increase the throng were hundreds of merely curious spectators whom the flattering inducements of the fifteen railroads centering in Chicago at that time had tempted to take the trip. There were fully forty thousand strangers in the city during the sitting of the convention.

SCENES AND INCIDENTS IN THE STREETS

"The streets for a week were the forum of the multitude. Processions for Seward, for Cameron, for Chase, for Lincoln, marched and counter-marched, brave with banners and transparencies, and noisy with country bands and hissing rockets. Every street corner became a rostrum, where impromptu harangues for any of a dozen candidates might be happened upon. In this hurly-burly two figures were particularly prominent: Tom Hyer, who managed the open-air Seward demonstration, and Horace Greeley, who was conducting independently his campaign against Seward. Greeley, in his fervor, talked incessantly. It was only necessary for some one to say in a rough but friendly way, 'There's old Greeley,' and all within hearing distance grouped about him. Not infrequently two or three to whom he began speaking increased until that which had started as a conversation ended as a speech."

HEADQUARTERS AT THE TREMONT HOUSE

The Tremont House was chosen as the headquarters of the Illinois delegation, and here were gathered all the influential friends of Lincoln from all over the state. Their determination was to win the day for their candidate, and "men never put more intense and persistent energy into a cause." Seward's cause was championed by Thurlow Weed one of the most sagacious politicians of the country, and by William M. Evarts, one of the most eloquent orators and ablest lawyers of the nation. "But, as has often been the case with 'the wise men of the East,' the vision of Mr. Weed and of Mr. Evarts, and of most of the New York statesmen, was limited in range," says Colonel Carr in his book, "The Illini." "Their horizon was not yet sufficiently extended to give them an adequate idea of the potentiality of the new states of the Mississippi Valley. Many shrewd observers were convinced that Mr. Seward could not be elected, if nominated by the Republican party; and, while he had the respect and admiration of the Republicans of the West, the wisest of our leaders did not regard him as a strong candidate.

"Much as the Republican party owed New York's great statesman, Western Republicans did not regard him as available. He was, as they believed, too radical. To be successful, it was essential for the Republicans to bring together all the elements of opposition to the Democratic party,—old line Whigs, those who had affiliated with the American party, and Free Soilers. . . . Such was the feeling of many of the best Republicans of the West. Much as they admired Mr. Seward, and felt indebted to him, they could not favor his nomination, and vast numbers of them would not have voted for him had he been nominated. It was urged, as has so often been done, that it was imperative that the candidate be able to carry New York, with her large electoral vote, and that this Mr. Seward was sure to do. But it was answered that Fremont had carried that great state four years before, and it was sure to support any worthy Republican candidate."

Thus Abraham Lincoln was the only man whom the Illinois delegates would present, and the delegates from neighboring states became convinced that a victory for the party was assured by joining in the support of the Illinois man. "He himself," says Carr, "was reluctant to allow his name to be used. It is apparent from what he said that he really did not realize how strong a hold he had upon the public." In letters to several editorial friends, written at this time, Mr. Lincoln, referring to their urging his candidacy, said: "In regard to the matter you spoke of, I beg that you will not give it further mention. Seriously, I do not think I am fit for the Presidency."

But with all his humility he had an enduring faith in the success of the cause of which he had become the leader, and keeping in view the straight line of duty ahead of him, he never flinched from the task which Destiny had assigned to him. While on his way to Washington to be inaugurated, he addressed the New York Assembly at Albany, and in the course of his speech he said: "While I hold myself the humblest of all the individuals who have ever been elected to the Presidency, I have a more difficult task to perform than any of them. I bring a true heart to the work. I must rely upon the people of the whole country for support, and with their sustaining aid even I, humble as I am, cannot fail to carry the ship of state safely through the storm."

THE DECADE ENDING WITH THE YEAR 1860

In the year 1860, the United States census showed the population of the city to be 109,206. The population for the year 1850 was 28,269, thus showing an increase of 80,937 in the decade. Nearly all this wonderful increase had actually taken place within the period covered by the years between 1850 and 1857, the later years of the decade showing scarcely any advance. This was owing to the blighting effects of the panic of 1857, which when it burst upon the city put an immediate stoppage to the erection of new buildings. Building operations were in full career at the time and when the means required to continue the erection of the buildings were no longer to be obtained a general cessation of work followed. "Several blocks were left unfinished for years," says Colbert, "and some commenced were never finished by the original owners. As an instance of the severe loss entailed in this direction, we may cite the case of Alexander Loyd, mayor of Chicago in 1840. He was worth $750,000 in 1857, and on the strength of that he borrowed $50,000 to erect an iron front building on the north-west corner of Lake and Wells (now Fifth avenue) streets. The walls were almost up when the crash came. He was obliged to suspend, lost his title to the land and building, and died, some years afterward, an object of charity."

Colbert further says that "great numbers of workers left the city for want of employment, and those who remained were obliged to go into narrowed quarters to reduce expenses. This caused a great many residences and stores to be vacated, and brought about a reduction in rents on those still occupied, which impoverished even those who were able to hold on to their property." Chicago business men stood by each other nobly during this crisis, and hence, though there was wide spread loss, there were but comparatively few failures.

ANOTHER MORE CHEERFUL VIEW

A review of the city's progress in 1858 states that in that year Chicago had attained its majority as a city. When its charter of incorporation was adopted in 1837, it was but a straggling town with a population of 4,179. From that time on its history was one of steady growth and improvement except for the temporary setbacks from the panics of 1837 and 1857. "Its citizens were men of more than ordinary shrewdness and foresight. With wonderful pluck and perseverance they set about conquering natural disadvantages and planning commercial victories." They had raised the grade of the city, they had dredged and bridged the river in the best interests of commerce and of the public welfare, the wharves were thronged with vessels, and railroads were pushing into the heart of the city, and on every hand there were tokens of the vigor and vim which were to characterize the future Chicago.

In 1852 the *Times* stated in a paragraph that "the Galena & Chicago Union Railroad has commenced laying the foundation for a new passenger station at the corner of Wells and North Water streets in this city, into which cars will run, so that passengers will be protected from the weather when taking or leaving the cars." In the same year a correspondent sent to the New York *Tribune* some letters from Chicago in one of which he writes: "Chicago has at least one feature which no city I know of can equal. Along the lake shore for miles stretches a noble avenue, occupied on one side by the houses of wealthy inhabitants. It is to be hoped that there is taste and public spirit enough in Chicago to preserve and finish the avenue, with all the beauty of which it is capable. It may become such a promenade as the world cannot equal. Fancy our Battery extended from two to four miles, and looking out, not upon a bay, but upon the broad and shoreless ocean."

OTHER SIGNIFICANT EVENTS OF THE PERIOD

In the year 1854 the United States government purchased from Dr. Charles V. Dyer for $26,000 the ground at the northwest corner of Dearborn and Monroe streets upon which the first Federal building was erected. There was much popular disapproval of this purchase, and an indignation meeting was held at Bryan Hall where resolutions were adopted declaring that "the location is inconvenient and unsatisfactory to a large majority of our citizens." A resolution was adopted by the Board of Trade asking the State to interfere to prevent the carrying out of the plan.

However, the government erected a building on the site chosen, and after its completion one of the papers remarked upon it in these terms: "The massive architecture of the building, its elegant finish and its imposing proportions make the postoffice one of the finest, as it is the costliest, buildings in Chicago."

"Previous to 1859 the omnibus was the only available vehicle for those who could not command an exclusive conveyance," says Colbert. "In that year the Chicago City Railway Company laid down rails on State street from Lake street south to the city limits," the limits on the south at that time being at Thirty-first street. Rails were also laid on Madison street as far west as Reuben street, now called Ashland avenue; on Randolph street nearly to the city limits which were

then at Western avenue, and on North Clark street from the river to the city limits on the north which were then at Fullerton avenue.

OPENING OF THE RAILROAD ERA

But far and away the most important steps in the growth and development of Chicago were taken in the early fifties, when the first line of railroad from the East was opened, followed in quick succession by lines connecting the city with points south, west and north. The Galena & Chicago Union Railroad began to run trains from Chicago to a point "near the Desplaines river," ten miles distant, over its new road bed laid with strap rails, late in 1848. This line was continued as far as St. Charles in December, 1849, but "owing to the hasty manner in which the track was laid it was announced the trains would be drawn by horses for the present;" and again extended to Elgin which point it reached on January 22d, 1850.

The first line to reach the city from the east was the old Michigan Southern & Northern Indiana Railroad, now a part of the great Lake Shore system. The Michigan Central Railroad had already been in operation for some years between Detroit and Ypsilanti, Michigan; later extended to St. Joseph which for some time was the terminus of rail travel from the east. "Travelers," says Colbert, "generally crossed the lake from St. Joseph to Chicago, and the former point was connected by stage with the moving end of the rail track as it approached from Detroit." The Michigan Southern and Northern Indiana Company were likewise approaching the city, having reached Toledo, Ohio; from which point the company were making strong efforts to reach Chicago before the Michigan Central should do so. It was believed at that time that there never would be traffic enough between Chicago and the East to maintain two competing lines, and whichever line could first make the connection might discourage the other from further attempts. The line was completed to Chicago on the 20th of February, 1852, thus being the first line from the east to reach Chicago.

The Michigan Central Company, however, did not relax its efforts, and the last rail was laid on the 21st of May, 1852, thus being the second line to establish a connection between Chicago and the East. When the Michigan Central was completed to Chicago a temporary depot was constructed on the lake shore near Twelfth street. This depot was used until 1856 when the road made arrangements with the Illinois Central to run their trains to the new depot of the latter at the foot of Lake street, both roads using a line of piling running parallel with the lake shore. This line of piling is shown on the maps and also in all the old engravings of that locality. The filling of the park has since that time gone far beyond this old line of piling, and the surface of the park, being considerably elevated, has left the old road bed, afterward further depressed, almost out of sight from a view point on Michigan avenue.

ENTRANCE OF RAILROADS FROM OTHER POINTS

The Chicago & Rock Island Railroad was completed from Chicago to the Mississippi river, one hundred and eighty-two miles distant, in February, 1854. The Chicago & Alton came in about the same time, having already some portions of its line in operation in the central portions of the state. The Chicago, Burlington

& Quincy Railroad and the Illinois Central Railroad established their terminals in Chicago about the same period. The Chicago *Democratic Press* of January 10th, 1855, announced the arrival of the "first passenger train on the Illinois Central Railroad." The Chicago & Milwaukee had completed its line as far as Waukegan late in 1854.

In a review of the city's progress, made by William Bross in 1857, a list of the railways centering in Chicago, and then in operation, together with their mileage, is given. This shows a total of almost four thousand miles of railroad, comprising "eleven trunk and twenty branch and extension lines." When it is remembered that six years before, says Bross, that but forty miles of the Galena road had been completed, "this result is truly astonishing." It should also be borne in mind that though Chicago was richly benefited by their construction she never in her corporate capacity invested a dollar in railways or loaned her credit in any instance to aid them. "The City of Baltimore," says Ackerman, in commenting upon this fact, "subscribed $3,500,000, and the State of Maryland $500,000, to the construction of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, and both reap the benefit of it today. The City of Philadelphia also materially aided the Pennsylvania Central very early in its organization. Both the cities of Buffalo and Cleveland have extended aid to their railways."

In 1868 John S. Wright wrote a "History of Chicago," in which occur many flowery passages of the wonderful advantages possessed by Chicago. One of these ornate periods may be quoted. Speaking of the railroads tributary to Chicago he says, "Michigan's billowy bosom drew to her all these iron-handed wooers. Because Chicago was the western extremity of this chain of inland seas, which afford ample room for the commerce of the world, and which have such a powerful stretch into the very heart of the continent, and reaching far enough south to supply a port in about the middle of the temperate zone, and in its very richest region,—because it is at the point of natural connection of the Valley of the Great Lakes with the Valley of the Great Rivers,—did Chicago receive her first impetus. As long as the rivers run and the billows roll, must these moving and yet immovable causes be potential in her advancement. The lakes drew hither the railroads, and the railroads abundantly reciprocate, pouring upon their consorts a stream of commerce which has already reached fabulous figures, although the land tributary is yet in the infancy of settlement."

RAILROAD CONDITIONS IN 1861

A graphic picture of the railway service on lines radiating from Chicago a half century ago is shown in a railway guide of 1861, now in the possession of Mr. George J. Charlton of Chicago. This guide entitled "Dinsmore's Railroad and Steam Navigation Guide," which contains the complete schedules of all the trunk and branch lines of the country at that time, is comprised in a small book of two hundred and forty pages, four by six inches in size. By way of comparison it may be mentioned that the corresponding volume of the present day has fifteen hundred pages and is seven by ten inches in size.

There were at that time only four through routes to New York, compared with ten to-day. Over the Pennsylvania, for example, there were two trains from Chi-

cago to the Atlantic coast. One of these, which was designated "fast" and made the record time for its generation, left this city every morning at 6:10, reached Pittsburg the next day at 2:30 a. m., and New York at 5:10 p. m. The time at New York being one hour in advance of that at Chicago, the journey occupied just thirty-four hours, as compared with the time of eighteen hours by the fastest trains of the present day.

The thirty-four hour train was considered a wonder, however, and was advertised especially in the guide. The line claimed to have a "capacity equal to that of any railway in the country, operating three through trains daily from Philadelphia to Pittsburg." The Pennsylvania road also called attention to the fact that "smoking cars are attached to each train, and Woodruff's sleeping cars to express and fast trains."

A traveler from New York bound for Chicago by the Lake Shore route might leave the former city by the Hudson River Railroad upon which he would travel until he reached Albany; there change cars and proceed by the New York Central to Buffalo; change again and go on by the Buffalo & Erie as far as Erie, Pennsylvania; change once more and go on by the Cleveland & Toledo as far as Toledo, Ohio; and making a final change at the latter point proceed by the Michigan Southern & Northern Indiana to Chicago.

ROUTES EAST AND WEST

What is now the Chicago & Alton Railway was known in 1861 as the Chicago, Alton & St. Louis, and its time table showed two trains each way daily between St. Louis and Chicago, the running time between these two cities being fourteen hours. The time by the fast trains of the present day is eight hours.

Towards the north the Chicago & Milwaukee Railroad made the distance between the two cities named in its title in four hours, as compared with two hours at the present day. Extending westward was the Galena & Chicago Union Railroad running as far as Freeport (it was never built to Galena); the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy had a line from Chicago to Quincy; and the Chicago & Rock Island, as it was then called, ran to Rock Island with two trains daily. Chicago was the terminus of thirteen railways, and was thus described in the guide: "Chicago, Illinois, the great commercial entrepot of the lakes and the Upper Mississippi, is located on the southwest shore of Lake Michigan on both sides of the Chicago river. It is the largest of the lake cities, its trade by railroad, lake and canal is immense, and as a grain and lumber market it surpasses any other in the world." The population of the city at that time was about 125,000.

CHAPTER XXVI

REPUBLICAN CONVENTION OF 1860

EVENTS PRECEDING THE NOMINATION—"RAIL SPLITTER" CANDIDATE—THE WIGWAM DESCRIBED—INTERIOR ARRANGEMENTS—ACCOUNT OF THE PROCEEDINGS—PROMINENT MEN IN ATTENDANCE—PLATFORM ADOPTED—WILLIAM H. SEWARD'S NAME PROPOSED—NORMAN B. JUDD PROPOSES THE "RAIL SPLITTER AND GIANT KILLER" OF ILLINOIS—NO LANGUAGE CAN DESCRIBE THE UPROAR—STENTORIAN SHOUTERS FOR LINCOLN—CHORUS OF STEAM WHISTLES AND FIRING OF CANNON—BALLOTING FOR CANDIDATES—LINCOLN CHOSEN ON THIRD BALLOT—ANOTHER SCENE OF WILD APPLAUSE EXTENDING OVER THE CITY—"NEVER ANOTHER SUCH SCENE IN AMERICA," SAID HORACE GREELEY—SPEECH OF WILLIAM M. EVARTS—RATIFICATION MEETING IN THE WIGWAM—ILLUMINATIONS AND PROCESSIONS—WIDE AWAKE CLUBS FORMED—THE NEWS RECEIVED BY LINCOLN—THE ELECTION IN NOVEMBER—LINCOLN'S VISIT TO CHICAGO AFTER ELECTION—MEETS HANNIBAL HAMLIN AT THE TREMONT HOUSE—LINCOLN'S DEPARTURE FOR WASHINGTON.

EVENTS PRECEDING THE NOMINATION

DURING the spring of 1860, the counties of Illinois held their conventions, and, except those in the northern part of the state, where Seward was strong, unanimously recommended Lincoln as the candidate at Chicago. The State Convention met at Decatur, May 9th and 10th, a few days previous to the assembling of the National Convention in Chicago. While the delegates were in session Mr. Lincoln came in as a spectator, and was invited to a seat on the platform. Soon afterward Richard J. Oglesby announced that an old Democrat of Macon county desired to make a contribution to the convention. Thereupon a couple of weather-worn fence-rails were borne into the hall, decorated with flags, and bearing the inscription, "Abraham Lincoln, the Rail Candidate for President in 1860." The two rails were described as "from a lot of three thousand made in 1830 by Thomas Hanks and Abe Lincoln, whose father was the first pioneer of Macon County."

A storm of applause greeted the appearance of the fence rails thus decorated and inscribed. For fifteen minutes, cheer upon cheer went up from the assembled delegates. Lincoln was called upon and said, "I suppose I am expected to reply to that. I cannot say whether I made those rails or not, but I am quite sure I have made a great many just as good." He followed this with some reminiscences of the pioneer days. George Schneider, of the *Staats Zeitung* in Chicago, was one of the delegates and an ardent supporter of Seward as a presidential candidate, but after witnessing this demonstration he remarked to his neighbor, "Seward

has lost the Illinois delegation." Soon afterward John M. Palmer moved a resolution that "Abraham Lincoln is the choice of the Republican party of Illinois for the Presidency, and the delegates from this state are instructed to use all honorable means to secure his nomination by the Chicago Convention, and to vote as a unit for him." The resolution was enthusiastically adopted.

"Lincoln did not believe in 'stage tricks,'" says Noah Brooks, "and he was not greatly pleased with the rail incident, although he was gratified by the enthusiam of his friends when they saw this evidence of his humble and youthful toil. . . . But for all that, from that day forward Lincoln was hailed as 'the Rail-Splitter of Illinois.'"

THE CONVENTION AT THE "WIGWAM"

When Norman B. Judd, chairman of the State Republican Committee, secured the Convention for Chicago, he contributed effectively by this manoeuvre to Lincoln's nomination. Following this the action of the State Convention held at Decatur, May 10th, 1860, instructing the delegates to the National Convention "to use all honorable means to secure his [Lincoln's] nomination" strengthened his prospects greatly. State pride was thoroughly aroused, and as the time for the Convention approached it was seen that the party in Illinois had organized for victory. "Lincoln banners," says Miss Tarbell, "floated across every street, and buildings and omnibuses were decorated with Lincoln emblems. When the Illinois delegation saw that New York and Pennsylvania had brought in so many outsiders to create enthusiasm for their respective candidates, they began to call in supporters from the neighboring localities. Leonard Swett says that they succeeded in getting together fully ten thousand men from Illinois and Indiana, ready to march, shout or fight for Lincoln, as the case required." [1]

In making plans for the Convention it was at first thought that Metropolitan Hall would be the place in which it would be held. It was decided later to erect a building for the especial use of the Convention. The building thus erected was called the "Wigwam," and by that name it has become famous. It was built on the lot situated on the southeast corner of Lake and Market streets, where the old Sauganash hotel had formerly stood, which had been destroyed by fire nine years before. The Wigwam cost five thousand dollars to construct, the funds being raised by a general subscription. The builder employed to do the work was Peter Page, well known as the builder of the County Court House which was destroyed in the Great Fire. The land was owned by the Garrett Biblical Institute of Evanston, having been bequeathed to that institution by the will of Mrs. Eliza Garrett, who died in 1855. Mrs. Garrett was the widow of Augustus Garrett, who had been mayor of the city in 1845. The lease of the land had been secured at a comparatively nominal rental by the projectors of the Wigwam, the property being regarded by the trustees of the Institute as "unproductive," [2] and like much other Chicago property was awaiting the future growth of the city to add to its value. The Wigwam was sold in March, 1861, to the Garrett Biblical Institute, which as stated already owned the site, for nine hundred and fifty dollars. It was

[1] Tarbell, II, 138.
[2] Willard: "A Classic Town," p. 37.

demolished soon afterwards, and a block of stores built on the land. This block was consumed in the fire of 1871. It may be stated here that the land still remains in the possession of the Institute, and upon it stands a large business block.

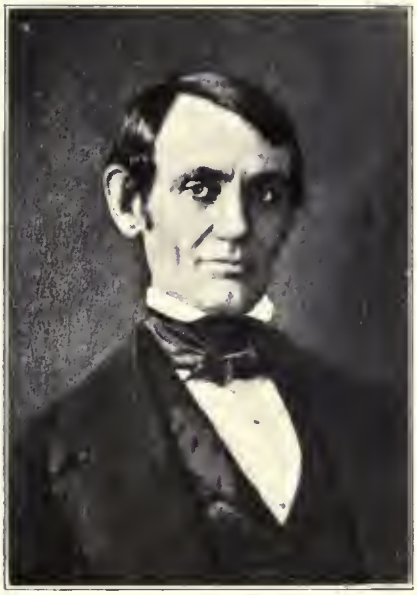
On this lot was erected the immense structure known as the Wigwam built by the Chicago Republican Club.[3] It was about one hundred and eighty feet long by one hundred feet wide. While the exterior was plain the interior was admirably adapted to its purpose, well ventilated, well lighted and well arranged for speaking. One-third of the space was assigned for the use of the delegates, a great floor one hundred and forty feet long and thirty-five feet wide, with two committee-rooms, one at either end. Within this space the delegations were provided with settees and the location of each delegation was designated by placards with the names of the states represented. The speaker's chair was at the front of the platform, and toward it all the seats looked; extending around three sides of the hall were spacious galleries appropriated to the use of ladies and their escorts, and these were well filled with occupants. On the front of the galleries were painted the coats of arms of all the states. The roof was arched and well supported by posts and braces, as were also the galleries, and around all these were twined evergreens and flowers. The whole space over the platform was festooned with evergreens and drapery showing the National colors, the red, white and blue. The vast structure had been decorated "through the energetic efforts of the committee, assisted by the Republican women of the city, who, scarcely less interested than their husbands and brothers, strove in every way to contribute to the success of the convention," says Miss Tarbell. "They wreathed the pillars and galleries with masses of green, hung banners and flags, brought in busts of American notables, ordered great allegorical paintings of Justice, Liberty, and the like, to suspend on the walls; borrowed the whole series of Healy portraits of American statesmen—in short, made the Wigwam at least gay and festive in aspect. . . . The chair placed on the platform for the use of the chairman of the convention was donated by Michigan, as the first chair made in that state. It was an arm-chair of the most primitive description, the seat dug out of an immense log and mounted on large rockers. Another chair, one made for the occasion, attracted a great deal of attention. It was constructed of thirty-four kinds of wood, each piece from a different State or Territory, Kansas being appropriately represented by the 'weeping willow,' a symbol of her grief at being still excluded from the sisterhood of states. The gavel used by the chairman was more interesting even than the chair, having been made from a fragment of Commodore Perry's brave Lawrence."[4]

Robert R. Hitt, who as we have seen was one of the pioneers in short hand reporting, had accompanied Mr. Horace White in attendance upon the great debates between Lincoln and Douglas, reported the proceedings of the convention for the *Press and Tribune;* while George P. Upton performed the same service for the Chicago *Journal.* Mr. Upton soon afterward became a member of the editorial staff of the Tribune at about the time that the latter newspaper resumed its former name.[5]

[3] Tarbell, II, 142.

[4] Tarbell's "Life of Lincoln," Vol. II, p. 143.

[5] The Tribune and the Democratic Press were merged July 1st, 1858, and continued under the name of the Press and Tribune. On the 25th of October, 1860, the paper resumed its former name of Tribune, and has so remained to the present time.



From Tarbell's "Life of Lincoln"

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

From Tarbell's "Life of Lincoln"

THE "WIGWAM,"—THE BUILDING IN WHICH THE REPUBLICAN CONVENTION OF 1860 WAS HELD

ACCOUNT OF AN EYE-WITNESS

An account of the proceedings at the assembling of the Convention was written within a week after its occurrence, by a citizen of Litchfield, Illinois, by the name of Dr. Humphrey H. Hood, who attended as a spectator. The account was published in the *Free Press,* a Republican newspaper at Hillsboro, Illinois; and has been printed in "Publication Number Nine" of the Illinois State Historical Society. On entering the Convention hall he found a large audience assembled, listening to the Hon. Anson Burlingame. "When I entered," he writes, "he was speaking of the certainty of a Republican triumph next fall, no matter who the standard-bearer might be. Of all possible candidates he spoke in terms of appropriate eulogy, paying just tribute to the talents and virtues of each. Of Lincoln he spoke as 'the gallant son of Illinois, who fought that wonderful battle of 1858, the like of which had not been known since the time when Michael encountered and subdued the Arch Fiend.' "

Dr. Hood was much impressed with the size and admirable interior arrangements of the Wigwam, and of the immense audience which crowded it. "It was worth a visit to the Garden City," he said, "to view the Wigwam and the assembled throngs." "It was announced in the morning papers of the 16th," he writes, "that the doors would be open at eleven o'clock. Two hours before that time the crowd was sufficient to fill the vast building, assembled on Lake and Market streets; and when the doors were opened, the rush and pressure were terrific. I was in the center of the crowd and thought myself fortunate in escaping with whole bones. Nevertheless, I tried the experiment again in the afternoon, but that sufficed me. And indeed, my subsequent experience proved that the better way to obtain an eligible position was to wait till the rush was over, and then quietly insinuate one's self through the crowd. In this way I never failed to obtain a position where the whole proceedings of the convention were open to me."

The convention would have consisted of six hundred and six delegates if all the states had been represented. It was decided that a majority of the delegates present would be required to nominate. "A full, eager, and enthusiastic representation was present from all the free states, with representatives from Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, Missouri and Virginia, and some scattering representatives from some of the other slave states; but the Gulf states were not represented," says Arnold. "Indeed, few of the slave states were fully and perfectly represented. On motion of Governor Morgan, Chairman of the national executive committee, David Wilmot, author of the 'Wilmot proviso,' was made temporary chairman, and George Ashmun, of Massachusetts, permanent president." [6]

PROMINENT MEN IN ATTENDANCE

There was a vast crowd of strangers in the city. Holland, in his "Life of Lincoln," says there were twenty-five thousand people who had assembled in the city as delegates and interested observers. There were as many as ten thousand in the Convention Hall at one time. Of these some five hundred were delegates, but the newspaper representatives outnumbered them nearly two to one. On the plat-

[6] Arnold: Life of Lincoln, p. 163.

form and floor were many of the notable men of the country,—William M. Evarts, Thomas Corwin, Carl Schurz, David Wilmot, Thaddeus Stevens, Joshua R. Giddings, George William Curtis, Francis P. Blair, Andrew H. Reeder, George Ashmun, Gideon Welles, Preston King, Cassius M. Clay, B. Gratz Brown, and George S. Boutwell.[7] Some of the Illinois men present were: David Davis, Elihu B. Washburne, John M. Palmer, Richard J. Oglesby, Orville H. Browning, Clark E. Carr, Burton C. Cook, Norman B. Judd and Leonard Swett.[8] Among the newspaper men and reporters, "a body of men scarcely less interesting than the convention itself," were Thurlow Weed, Horace Greeley, Samuel Bowles, Murat Halstead, Isaac H. Bromley, Joseph Hawley, Henry Villard, Alexander K. McClure, Joseph Medill, Horace White, and a throng of others. These men among the spectators expressed their approval or disapproval of the proceedings frequently and emphatically, swaying and, to some extent, controlling the delegates.[9]

While officers of the convention were formally elected and a platform adopted, "the real interest," says Miss Tarbell, "centered in the caucuses, which were held almost uninterruptedly." "No man ever worked as our boys did," wrote Mr. Swett; "I did not the whole week, sleep two hours a night." From one delegation to another they passed arguing, pleading, promising. "Our great struggle," said John M. Palmer, "was to prevent Lincoln's nomination for the vice-presidency."[10] This was what the Seward men were willing to favor, and in fact they seemed determined this should be done. "The Seward men recognized in Lincoln their most formidable rival, and that was why they wished to get him out of the way by giving him second place on the ticket."

THE PLATFORM

The platform was adopted by the convention, as usual on such occasions, before the balloting for candidates began. The convention resolved "that the new dogma that the Constitution carried slavery into all the territories, was a dangerous political heresy, revolutionary in tendency, and subversive of the peace and harmony of the country; that the normal condition of all the territories is that of freedom; that neither Congress, the territorial legislature, nor any individual, could give legal existence to slavery; that Kansas ought to be immediately admitted as a free state; that the opening of the slave trade would be a crime against humanity." The platform also declared in favor of a homestead law, harbor and river improvements, and the Pacific railroad.[11]

The reading of the platform brought forth thunders of applause, particularly the sections in which freedom was affirmed to be the normal condition of the territories. "The people could not be satisfied with one reading," writes Dr. Hood, "but after shouting till one might suppose their lungs, if not their enthusiasm, were exhausted, they would demand the reading of them [the sections of the platform]

[7] Tarbell, II, 143.
[8] Carr: "The Illini," p. 270.
[9] Tarbell, II, 144.
[10] Ibid., II, 144.
[11] Arnold: "Life of Lincoln," p. 164.

again, when they would again applaud with all the vehemence of the first demonstration." [12]

The importance of this declaration of principles justifies a more complete synopsis of the platform than that given above. The following abridgement made by Professor George W. Smith, and printed in his recent work entitled "A Student's History of Illinois," will aid the reader in obtaining a better grasp of the subject matter of that document.

"The past four years have justified the organization of the Republican party. The causes which called it into existence are permanent.

"The principle of equality, stated in the Declaration of Independence, is essential to the preservation of our Republican institutions.

"The wonderful development of the nation is the result of the union of the states.

"The lawless invasion of any state or territory by armed force is among the gravest of crimes.

"The dogma that the constitution carries Slavery into the Territories is a dangerous political heresy.

"We deny the right of Congress, or of any territorial legislature, or of any individuals, to legalize slavery in any territory of the United States.

"The recent reopening of the African slave trade is a crime against humanity.

"Kansas should of right be admitted as a state under the constitution recently formed.

"The party favors a protective tariff.

"The party favors liberal homestead laws.

"The party pledges efficient protection to all classes of citizens.

"All citizens who can unite on this platform of principles are invited to give it their support."

THE NOMINATIONS

On the morning of the third day of the convention the names of candidates were presented, Hon. William M. Evarts proposing William H. Seward of New York as the nominee for President. The delegation from that state had prepared a tremendous *claque,* which now broke forth in deafening shouts and for a moment appalled the hearts of Lincoln's friends.[13] But the Illinois Committee had foreseen this contingency and were prepared with a "spontaneous demonstration" that included voices of stentorian proportions. Whenever Lincoln's name was mentioned these voices would fill the air with shouting which quite overwhelmed anything of the kind at the convention. "There was then living in Chicago," says Arnold, "a man whose voice could drown the roar of Lake Michigan in its wildest fury; nay, it was said that his shout could be heard on a calm day, across that lake; Burton C. Cook, of Ottawa, knew another man, living on the Illinois River, a Dr. Ames, who had never found his equal in his ability to shout and huzza. He was, however, a democrat. Cook telegraphed to him to come to Chicago by the first train. These two men with stentorian voices met some of the Illinois delegation at the Tremont House, and were instructed to organize each a body of men to cheer and shout, which they speedily did out of the crowds which were in attendance

[12] Illinois State Historical Library Publication, No. 9, p. 370.
[13] Tarbell, II, 147.

from the Northwest. They were placed on opposite sides of the 'Wigwam,' and instructed that when Cook took out his white handkerchief, they were to cheer, and not to cease until he returned it to his pocket. Cook was conspicuous on the platform, and, at the first utterance of the name of Lincoln, simultaneously with the wave of Cook's handkerchief, there went up such a cheer, such a shout as had never before been heard, and which startled the friends of Seward, as the cry of 'Marmion' on Flodden Field 'startled the Scottish foe.' The New Yorkers tried to follow when the name of Seward was spoken, but, beaten at their own game, their voices were instantly and absolutely drowned by cheers for Lincoln. This was kept up until Lincoln was nominated, amidst a storm of applause never before equalled.

"Ames was so carried away with his own enthusiasm for Lincoln, that he joined the republican party, and continued to shout for Lincoln during the whole campaign; he was afterwards rewarded with a country postoffice." [14]

After the Seward demonstration had subsided so as to permit further progress, Norman B. Judd, taking his stand on a chair, proposed as a candidate for the nomination, "The Rail Splitter and Giant Killer of Illinois, Abraham Lincoln." [15] The applause, reinforced by the shouters within and without the building, was prolonged for half an hour. Thousands of people leaped to their feet, "and the wild yell made soft vesper breathings of all that had preceded," said Leonard Swett. "No language can describe it;" said another, "a thousand steam whistles, ten acres of hotel gongs, a tribe of Comanches, headed by a choice vanguard from pandemonium, might have mingled in the scene unnoticed." [16]

In Clark E. Carr's book of reminiscences, entitled "The Illini," he describes the scene in these graphic sentences: "I remember," he says, "how happily Mr. Evarts placed Mr. Seward's name before the convention, and the applause it received. But this applause was as nothing compared with the deafening cheers and shouts, prolonged for nearly half an hour by the vast assemblage, when Norman B. Judd, standing upon a high chair, proposed as a candidate for the nomination 'The Rail Splitter and Giant Killer of Illinois, Abraham Lincoln.' As the cheers would die away they would again break out in some remote part of the great building, and swell to a grand chorus. It seemed as if all the people of Illinois were assembled outside, and I remember how their acclamations resounded through the apertures between the single rough board walls of the great building."

The Lincoln men outside, to whom everything that was going on inside was instantly communicated, were a hundred in favor of Lincoln to one in favor of any other candidate. "There was force in the declaration of the Seward men," says Carr, "that if the convention had been held anywhere else but at Chicago the result would have been different."

THE BALLOTING

On the first ballot Seward received 173½ votes, and Lincoln 102. On the second, Seward's vote was increased to 184½, while Lincoln's jumped up to 181.

[14] Arnold: "Life of Lincoln," p. 167.
[15] Carr: "The Illini," p. 284.
[16] Tarbell, II, 148.

On the third ballot, Lincoln's vote had run up to 231½, far outstripping his competitors, but still not quite enough to secure the nomination.[17] It lacked only one and one-half votes to win the victory. "An instant of silence followed," says Miss Tarbell, "in which the convention grappled with the idea, and tried to pull itself together to act. The chairman of the Ohio delegation was the first to get his breath. 'Mr. President,' he cried, springing on his chair, and stretching out his arm to secure recognition, 'I rise to change four votes from Mr. Chase to Mr. Lincoln.'

"It took a moment to realize the truth. New York saw it, and the white faces of her noble delegation were bowed in despair. Greeley saw it, and a guileless smile spread over his features as he watched Thurlow Weed press his hand hard against his wet eyelids. Illinois saw it, and tears poured from the eyes of more than one of the overwrought, devoted men as they grasped one another's hands and vainly struggled against the sobs which kept back their shouts. The crowd saw it, and broke out in a mad hurrah. 'The scene which followed,' wrote one spectator, 'baffles all human description. After an instant's silence, as deep as death, which seemed to be required to enable the assembly to take in the full force of the announcement, the wildest and mightiest yell (for it can be called by no other name) burst forth from ten thousand voices which we ever heard from mortal throats. This strange and tremendous demonstration, accompanied with leaping up and down, tossing hats, handkerchiefs, and canes recklessly into the air, with the waving of flags, and with every conceivable mode of exultant and unbridled joy, continued steadily and without pause for perhaps ten minutes.

" 'It then began to rise and fall in slow and billowing bursts, and for perhaps the next five minutes these stupendous waves of uncontrollable excitement, now rising into the deepest and fiercest shouts, and then sinking like the ground swell of the ocean into hoarse and lessening murmurs, rolled through the multitude. Every now and then it would seem as though the physical power of the assembly was exhausted and that quiet would be restored, when all at once a new hurricane would break out, more prolonged and terrific than anything before. If sheer exhaustion had not prevented, we don't know but the applause would have continued to this hour.'

"Without, the scene was repeated. At the first instant of realization in the Wigwam a man on the platform had shouted to a man stationed on the roof, 'Hallelujah; Abe Lincoln is nominated!' A cannon boomed the news to the multitude below, and twenty thousand throats took up the cry. The city heard it, and one hundred guns on the Tremont House, innumerable whistles on the river and lake front, on locomotives and factories, and the bells in all the steeples, broke forth. For twenty-four hours the clamor never ceased. It spread to the prairies, and before morning they were afire with pride and excitement."

A full length portrait of Lincoln, which his friends had in readiness, was displayed on the platform. Mr. Greeley telegraphed to the *Tribune*:—"There was never another such scene in America."

[17] Holland: "Life of Lincoln," p. 224, and Carr 284.

CARR'S ACCOUNT OF THE SCENE

Clark E. Carr's account of this memorable scene is equally graphic. Carr was there and in his book of reminiscences he describes what took place during the progress of the third ballot when 231½ votes had been cast for Lincoln, lacking but one and a half votes to secure the nomination which required 233. "I remember," he says, "the bursts of applause when the convention realized that Mr. Lincoln was so near the goal, and the hush and stillness and solemnity when Mr. Carter of Ohio arose and changed four votes of that state from Chase to Lincoln; and how uproariously and wildly men cheered, and yelled, and screamed, and danced, and sang, and hugged each other. Hats and umbrellas and coats and vests were thrown as high as strength would permit, in a perfect orgie of rapturous enthusiasm.

"And I remember," he continues, "how the motion to make the nomination unanimous brought those men, delirious with joy, back to their senses, and with what depths of emotion they listened to the solemn cadences of the voice of Mr. Evarts, representing his crushed associates of the New York delegation, to whom the blow had been no less cruel than it was to their great leader. I shall never forget the pathos and tenderness with which Mr. Evarts uttered the sentiment, 'The name of William Henry Seward will be remembered when Presidents are forgotten;' and how, in the name of their great leader and of the entire delegation of the great State of New York, he seconded the motion to make the nomination of Abraham Lincoln of Illinois unanimous, which was instantly adopted, and the vast crowd moved slowly out, leaving the delegates to continue their work by placing that sagacious statesman and wise counsellor, Hannibal Hamlin of Maine, in the second place on the ticket."

THE CLOSING SCENES OF THE CONVENTION

Dr. Hood, in his account of the proceedings, describes the closing scene. "Before the vote was counted State after State rose and changed its vote to Lincoln. Mr. Evarts, of New York, demanded: 'Can New York have the silence of the convention?' Instantly every voice was hushed. He stated that he desired to make a motion and would inquire if the result of the ballot was announced. If it was not, he would await that announcement. When the result was declared he took the floor, or rather a table, and in a speech which won the admiration of all that heard it; which was characterized alike by dignity, earnestness and deep devotion to the great statesman of New York, he pronounced a most glowing eulogy upon William H. Seward. It might be deemed honor enough to be accounted worthy of such devoted friendship. At the close he moved that the nomination of Abraham Lincoln be declared unanimous; at the same time elevating high above him a life sized portrait of 'Honest Old Abe.'

"The motion was first seconded by Blair, of Michigan. He said: 'We give up William Henry Seward with some beating of the heart, with some quivering of the nerves, but the choice of the convention is the choice of Michigan.' He was followed by Anderson of Massachusetts and Carl Schurz of Wisconsin. This closed the morning session.

"The convention re-assembled at 5 o'clock and at once proceeded to vote for

vice-president. Hannibal Hamlin was chosen on the second ballot. It may seem somewhat remarkable that Texas should vote steadily in the morning for Seward and in the afternoon cast six votes for Sam Houston. After appointing the committee the convention adjourned sine die."[18]

SUBSEQUENT PROCEEDINGS

In the evening a grand ratification meeting was held in the Wigwam, and addresses made by Pomeroy, Giddings, Yates, and others. Bonfires, processions, torch-lights, fireworks, illuminations of every description, and salutes, "filled the air with noise and the eye with beauty." The Illinois delegation, before it separated, says a writer, "resolved that the Millenium had come." Decorated and illuminated rails surrounded the newspaper offices, and became a leading feature of the ensuing campaign. "Rail Splitter Battalions" were formed everywhere. "Wide-Awake Clubs," bands of torch-bearers in a simple uniform of glazed cap and cape, carrying lanterns or torches, paraded the streets of nearly every town of the North throughout the summer and fall, arousing everywhere the wildest enthusiasm. Down in Washington Douglas said when he heard the news. "There won't be a tar barrel left in Illinois tonight."

The origin of the "Wide-Awakes," says Miss Tarbell, "was purely accidental. In February, Cassius M. Clay spoke in Hartford, Connecticut. A few ardent young Republicans accompanied him as a kind of body guard, and to save their garments from the dripping of the torches a few of them wore improvised capes of black glazed cambric. The uniform attracted so much attention that a campaign club formed soon afterward in Hartford adopted it. This club called itself the Wide-Awakes and their example was followed by many other clubs having a similar purpose throughout the country.

"A great many fantastic movements were invented by them, a favorite one being a peculiar zig-zag march—an imitation of the party emblem—the rail-fence. Numbers of the clubs adopted the rules and drills of the Chicago Zouaves—one of the most popular military organizations of the day. In the summer of 1860, Colonel Ellsworth, the commanding officer of the Zouaves, brought them East. The Wide-Awake movement was greatly stimulated by this tour of the Zouaves."[19]

HOW LINCOLN RECEIVED THE NEWS

While the Convention was in progress Mr. Lincoln remained in Springfield, where he was kept informed constantly by his friends at Chicago. "He was apprised of the result of every ballot," says Holland, "and, with his home friends, sat in the *Journal* office receiving and commenting upon the dispatches. It was one of the decisive moments of his life—a moment on which hung his fate as a public man, his place in history. He fully appreciated the momentous results of the convention to himself and the nation, and foresaw the nature of the great struggle which his nomination and election would inaugurate. A moment, and he knew

[18] Publication No. 9, Illinois State Historical Library, p. 372.
[19] Tarbell, II, 164.

that he would either become the central man of a nation, or a cast-off politician whose ambition for the nation's highest honors would be forever blasted." [20]

At length, he was handed a telegram by a messenger boy from the telegraph office, who shouted at the same time, "Mr. Lincoln, you are nominated." The crowd soon gathered—he was in the street when the messenger found him—and he was overwhelmed with congratulations. "For a few minutes," says Miss Tarbell in her description of the scene, "carried away by the excitement, Lincoln seemed simply one of the proud and exultant crowd. Then remembering what it all meant, he said, 'My friends, I am glad to receive your congratulations, and as there is a little woman down on Eighth street who will be glad to hear the news, you must excuse me until I inform her.' " When he arrived he found that other friends had outstripped him, and the "little woman" was already in possession of the news.

A hundred guns roared a salute when the news became public in Springfield, just at the same time that a similar salute was being fired in New York, in honor of the nomination. Lincoln's house was thronged with visitors, and, in the evening, the State House was thrown open, and an enthusiastic meeting was held by the Republicans. At its close they marched in a body to the Lincoln house, where they were received with a brief and modest speech. The people remained until a late hour, and finally left the excited household to their rest.

LINCOLN OFFICIALLY INFORMED OF HIS NOMINATION

The next day, Saturday, Mr. Ashmun, the president of the convention, at the head of a committee, visited Springfield to apprise Mr. Lincoln officially of his nomination. After Mr. Ashmun had concluded his address, Mr. Lincoln expressed his thanks to the committee and to the convention for the high honor done him, and promised to consider the platform adopted by the convention and to respond in writing, "without any unnecessary or unreasonable delay," "not doubting that the platform will be found satisfactory, and the nomination gratefully accepted."

Judge William D. Kelley of Pennsylvania was a member of the notification committee, and, like Lincoln, was a very tall man. When it came his turn to shake hands Mr. Lincoln inquired at once, "What is your height?" "Six feet three," replied the judge. "What is yours, Mr. Lincoln?" "Six feet four," responded Mr. Lincoln. "Then sir," said the Judge, "Pennsylvania bows to Illinois. For years my heart has been aching for a president that I could look up to, and I've found him at last, in the land where we thought there were none but little giants."

Mr. Lincoln's letter of acceptance was written on the 23d of June, and is addressed to Hon. George Ashmun, the president of the convention and a member of the committee, and was as follows: "Sir:—I accept the nomination tendered me by the convention over which you presided, of which I am formally apprised in a letter of yourself and others, acting as a committee of the convention for that purpose. The declaration of principles and sentiments which accompanies your letter meets my approval, and it shall be my care not to violate it, or disregard it in any part. Imploring the assistance of Divine Providence, and with due re-

[20] Holland: "Life of Lincoln," p. 227.

gard to the views and feelings of all who were represented in the convention, to the rights of all the states and territories and people of the nation, to the inviolability of the Constitution and the perpetual union, harmony and prosperity of all, I am most happy to co-operate for the practical success of the principles declared by the convention."

"Thus was Abraham Lincoln," says Dr. Holland, "placed before the nation as a candidate for the highest honor in its power to bestow. It had been a long and tedious passage to this point in his history. He was in the fifty-second year of his age. He had spent half of his years in what was literally a wilderness. Born in the humblest and remotest obscurity, subjected to the rudest toil in the meanest offices, gathering his acquisitions from the scantiest sources, achieving the development of his powers by means of his own institution, he had, with none of the tricks of the demagogue, with none of the aids of wealth and social influence, with none of the opportunities for exhibiting his powers which high official position bestows, against all the combinations of genius and eminence and interest, raised himself by force of manly excellence of heart and brain into national recognition, and had become the focal center of the affectionate interest and curious inquisition of thirty millions of people at home, and of multitudes throughout the civilized world."

DISAPPOINTMENT OF SEWARD'S FRIENDS

The disappointment of the friends of William H. Seward over his failure to secure his nomination at the Chicago Convention was deep and widespread, especially in the Eastern states. "I remember," says a Republican of 1860 (quoted by Miss Tarbell), "that when I first read the news on a bulletin board as I came down street in Philadelphia, that I experienced a moment of intense physical pain, it was as though some one had dealt me a heavy blow. . . . I believed our cause was doomed." At Auburn, New York, the home of Mr. Seward, there was not a Republican newspaper man in town who had the heart to write approvingly of the nomination of Lincoln after the news had been received. Mr. Seward himself, seeing what the situation was, wrote a paragraph which appeared in an evening issue. "No truer exposition of the Republican creed could be given," he said, "than the platform adopted by the convention contains. No truer or firmer defenders of the Republican faith could have been found in the Union, than the distinguished and esteemed citizens on whom the honors of the nomination have fallen. Their election, we trust by a decisive majority, will restore the Government of the United States to its constitutional and ancient course. Let the watchword of the Republican party be 'Union and Liberty,' and onward to victory!"

Very soon afterward Mr. Seward wrote Mr. Lincoln extending congratulations and promising to give him his support. So also did the other rivals for the nomination. These letters reassured Mr. Lincoln, and in one of his replies, the one to Mr. Chase, he said: "Holding myself the humblest of all those whose names were before the Convention, I feel in special need of the assistance of all; and I am glad—very glad—of the indication that you stand ready." Many sought interviews with him after the nomination, and among others Thurlow Weed of Albany, New York, paid him a visit. Miss Tarbell quotes from Weed's account, as follows: "I found Mr. Lincoln sagacious and practical. He displayed throughout

the conversation so much good sense, such intuitive knowledge of human nature, and such familiarity with the virtues and infirmities of politicians, that I became impressed very favorably with his fitness for the duties which he was not unlikely to be called upon to discharge. This conversation lasted some five hours, and when the train arrived in which we were to depart, I rose all the better prepared to go to work with a will in favor of Mr. Lincoln's election, as the interview had inspired me with confidence in his capacity and integrity."

FEATURES AND INCIDENTS OF THE CAMPAIGN

After the nomination of Mr. Lincoln at the Chicago Convention the Eastern press printed descriptions of him colored, of course, by their political views. The opposition declared that he was a "third-rate country lawyer," that "he could not speak good grammar," that, in short, he was "not a gentleman." On the other hand the Republican press replied to these disparaging comments, and one editor wrote of him as follows: "A man who by his own genius and force of character has raised himself from being a penniless and uneducated flat boatman on the Wabash River to the position Mr. Lincoln now occupies is not likely to be a nullity anywhere." Reporters were sent to his home in Springfield and described his home, his family, his manner of life, showing that he lived in "an elegant two-story dwelling," habitually "wore a broadcloth suit," that Mrs. Lincoln "spoke French fluently," and that his son was a student at Harvard College.

On the other hand the people of the West took an especial pride in his record as a "Rail Splitter," and this view of the candidate caught the fancy and won the approval of the Eastern people as the campaign progressed. The story of Lincoln's life deeply stirred the hearts of men everywhere. "Here was a man," writes Miss Tarbell, "who had become a leader of the nation by the labor of his hands, the honesty of his intellect, the uprightness of his heart. Plain people were touched by the hardships of this life so like their own, inspired by the thought that a man who had struggled as they had done, who had remained poor, who had lived simply, could be eligible to the highest place in the nation. They had believed it could be done; here was a proof of it. They told the story to their boys; this, they said, is what American institutions made possible,—not glitter or wealth, trickery or demagogy is necessary,—only honesty, hard thinking, a fixed purpose. Affection and sympathy for Lincoln grew with respect. It was the beginning of that peculiar sympathetic relation between him and the common people which was to become one of the controlling influences in the great drama of the Civil War."

One who witnessed as a boy the torch light processions of this remarkable campaign wrote in later years of the impressions he received. "The friends of the Rail Splitter walked with calm bearing and cool heads, shouting with a will, fixed, determined, with the consciousness of power and pre-ordained victory. On went the procession winding in and out, the flickering lights passing like a fiery dragon as far as one could see, the whole city receiving a symbolical visitation by fire, a baptismal warning of what was coming within the short space of a year from that hour."

A GREAT PROCESSION AT SPRINGFIELD

There was a great rally at Springfield on the 8th of August, on which occasion fully 75,000 people passed Lincoln's home in a procession eight miles long. By far the greater number came across the prairies on horseback or in wagons. Mr. Washburne was with Mr. Lincoln on that day and afterward said of the occasion: "It was one of the most enormous and impressive gatherings I had ever witnessed. Mr. Lincoln, surrounded by some intimate friends, sat on the balcony of his humble home. It took hours for all the delegations to file before him, and there was no token of enthusiasm wanting. He was deeply touched by the manifestations of personal and political friendships, and returned all his salutations in that off-hand and kindly manner which belonged to him. I know of no demonstration of a similar character that can compare with it except the review by Napoleon of his army for the invasion of Russia, about the same season of the year in 1812."

LINCOLN ELECTED TO THE PRESIDENCY

"From May until November," says Miss Tarbell, "this work for the ticket went on steadily and ardently. Mr. Lincoln during all this time remained quietly in Springfield. The conspicuous position in which he was placed made almost no difference in his simple life. He was the same genial, accessible, modest man as ever, his habits as unpretentious, his friendliness as great. The chief outward change in his daily round was merely one of quarters. It seemed to his friends that neither his home nor his dingy law office was an appropriate place in which to receive his visitors, and they arranged that a room in the State House, which stood on the village green in the center of the town, be put at his disposal. He came down to this office every morning about eight o'clock, always stopping on his way in his old cordial fashion to ask the news or exchange a story when he met an acquaintance. Frequently he went to the postoffice himself before going to his office and came out his arms loaded with letters and papers." [21]

The election took place on the 6th of November, and the result showed that Lincoln had received one hundred and eighty electoral votes, out of a total of three hundred and three for all the states. There were four presidential candidates in the campaign, and besides Lincoln's electoral vote, as given above, Breckenridge received seventy-two, Bell thirty-nine, and Douglas twelve. The popular and electoral votes are shown in the following table:

	Popular Vote.	Electoral Vote.
Lincoln	1,866,352	180
Douglas	1,375,157	12
Breckenridge	845,763	72
Bell	589,581	39
Total	4,676,853	303

An analysis of the popular vote shows that Lincoln did not have a majority of all the votes, though his electoral vote was a majority over all. While the popular vote for Douglas was nearly three-fourths that of Lincoln's he only

[21] Tarbell, II, 166.

received the electoral votes of Missouri, nine in number, and three out of the seven electoral votes of New Jersey. Thus while Breckenridge received six times as many electoral votes as Douglas he had only a little over sixty per cent of the popular vote for Douglas. "The electoral vote of Douglas was small," says Carr, in commenting on the subject, "on account of Lincoln's vote being just sufficient in several states to give him a majority and carry to him the electoral vote."

VISIT TO CHICAGO AFTER ELECTION

Lincoln visited Chicago after his election, says Holland, "and met with a magnificent welcome. One or two little incidents of this trip will illustrate especially his consideration for children. He was holding a reception at the Tremont House. A fond father took in a little boy by the hand who was anxious to see the new President. The moment the child entered the parlor door, he, of his own motion, and quite to the surprise of his father, took off his hat, and giving it a swing, cried, 'Hurrah for Lincoln!' There was a crowd, but as soon as Mr. Lincoln could get hold of the little fellow, he lifted him in his hands, and tossing him toward the ceiling laughingly shouted: 'Hurrah for you!' To Mr. Lincoln it was evidently a refreshing episode in the dreary work of hand-shaking.

"At a party in Chicago, during this visit, he saw a little girl timidly approaching him. He called her to him, and asked her what she wished for. She replied that she wanted his name. Mr. Lincoln looked back into the room and said: 'But here are other little girls—they would feel badly if I should give my name only to you.' The little girl replied that there were eight of them in all. 'Then,' said Mr. Lincoln, 'get me eight sheets of paper, and a pen and ink, and I will see what I can do for you.' The paper was brought, and Mr. Lincoln sat down in the crowded drawing-room, and wrote a sentence upon each sheet, appending his name; and thus every little girl carried off her souvenir." [22]

MEETING WITH HANNIBAL HAMLIN

After his election the first letter written by Mr. Lincoln was to Hannibal Hamlin, the vice-President elect, asking for an interview. On November 23d, the interview took place at the Tremont House in Chicago. Mr. Hamlin afterwards gave an account of the interview to Mr. C. J. Prescott, of New York, which Mr. Prescott wrote out for Miss Tarbell to be used in her "Life of Lincoln." The account is as follows:

"Mr. Hamlin was for many years a member of the Board of Trustees of Waterville College, now Colby University, Waterville, Maine. On one of the annual commencement occasions, I found him one afternoon seated on the piazza of the Elmwood, for the moment alone and unoccupied. Taking a chair by his side, I said: 'Mr. Hamlin, when did you first meet Mr. Lincoln?' 'Well,' said he, 'I very plainly recall the circumstances of our first meeting. It was in Chicago. Some time before the inauguration, I received a letter from Mr. Lincoln, asking me to see him before I went to Washington. So I went to Chicago, where I was to meet Mr. Lincoln. Sending my card to Mr. Lincoln's room, I received word to "come

[22] Holland: 246.

right up." I found the door open, and Mr. Lincoln approaching with extended hand. With a hearty welcome, he said, "I think I have never met you before, Mr. Hamlin, but this is not the first time I have seen you. I have just been recalling the time when, in '48, I went to the Senate to hear you speak. Your subject was not new, but the ideas were sound. You were talking about slavery, and I now take occasion to thank you for so well expressing what were my own sentiments at that time."

"'"Well, Mr. President," said I, "this is certainly quite a remarkable coincidence. I myself have just been recalling the first time I ever saw you. It must have been about the same time to which you allude. I was passing through the House, and was attracted by some remarks on the subject of slavery from one of the new members. They told me it was Lincoln, of Illinois. I heard you through, and I very well remember how heartily I endorsed every point you made. And, Mr. President, I have no doubt we are still in perfect accord on the main question."'"

"The result of the Chicago interview," continued Miss Tarbell, "was a cordial understanding between the two men which lasted throughout their administration. This was to be expected, for they were not unlike in character and experience. The same kind of democratic feeling inspired their relations with others. Both 'marched with the boys.' Both were eminently companionable. Hamlin liked a good story as well as Lincoln, and told almost as many. He had, too, the same quaint way of putting things. Like Lincoln, Hamlin had been born poor, and had had a hand-to-hand struggle to get up in the world. He had worked on a farm, chopped logs, taught school, studied law at night; in short, turned his hand cheerfully and eagerly to anything that would help him to realize his ambitions. Like Lincoln, he had gone early into politics, and, like Lincoln again, he had revolted from his party in 1856 to join the Republicans."[23]

DEPARTURE FOR WASHINGTON

On the 11th of February, Mr. Lincoln and his family left Springfield for Washington, never again to return to the West alive. The day previous to his departure he went to his office and taking a final glance over his papers he said to Herndon: "Billy, how long have we been together?" "Over sixteen years," answered Herndon. He then started to go, but before leaving he requested that the sign-board which swung at the foot of the stairs should remain. "Let it hang there undisturbed," he said; "give our clients to understand that the election of a president makes no change in the firm of Lincoln and Herndon. If I live, I am coming back some time, and then we'll go right on practising law as if nothing had happened."

Judge Gillespie remarked to Mr. Lincoln a few days before his departure, that he thought it would do him good to get down to Washington. "I know it will," replied Mr. Lincoln, "I only wish I could have got there to lock the door before the horse was stolen. But when I get to the spot I can find the tracks." He referred to the traitorous actions of some of the members of Buchanan's cabinet,

[23] Tarbell: II, 192.

in removing arms from Northern to Southern arsenals, and transferring troops and warships to distant stations. On the platform of the car he turned to the multitude of neighbors and friends who had gathered at the station to bid him farewell, and said: "My friends, no one, not in my situation, can appreciate my feeling of sadness at this parting. To this place, and the kindness of these people, I owe everything. Here I have lived a quarter of a century, and have passed from a young to an old man. Here my children have been born and one is buried. I now leave, not knowing when or whether ever I may return, with a task before me greater than that which rested upon Washington. Without the assistance of that Divine Being who ever attended him, I cannot succeed. With that assistance, I cannot fail. Trusting in Him who can go with me, and remain with you, and be everywhere for good, let us confidently hope that all will yet be well. To His care commending you, as I hope in your prayers you will commend me, I bid you an affectionate farewell."

The history of Lincoln from this period, is a history of the country; and for the next four and a half years of his life, his connection with this history will become interwoven with the events of the Civil War.

CHAPTER XXVII

CIVIL WAR MEMORIES

BEGINNING OF THE CIVIL WAR—THE PRESIDENT'S FIRST CALL FOR TROOPS—ILLINOIS ASKED TO FURNISH SIX REGIMENTS—PROMPT RESPONSE BY CHICAGO CITIZENS—FIRST MILITARY OPERATIONS—BATTERY A—NINETEENTH ILLINOIS REGIMENT—THE FAMOUS CHARGE AT STONE RIVER—ELLSWORTH'S ZOUAVES—DEATH OF ELLSWORTH—BOARD OF TRADE BATTERY—JOHN A. BROSS—HIS DEATH AT PETERSBURG—THIRTY-SEVENTH ILLINOIS—THIRTY-NINTH ILLINOIS—SEVENTY-SECOND ILLINOIS REGIMENT—GENERAL STOCKTON'S DIARY—FRANK AND JULES LUMBARD AT VICKSBURG—NEGRO REFUGEES—THE IRISHMEN'S RESPONSE TO THE CALL—COLONEL JAMES A. MULLIGAN—TWENTY-THIRD ILLINOIS REGIMENT—MULLIGAN'S HEROIC DEATH—GERMAN REGIMENTS—TWENTY-FOURTH ILLINOIS REGIMENT—COLONEL FREDERICK HECKER—THE "HECKER SONG"—SOUTHERN SYMPATHIZERS—"COPPERHEADS"—CHICAGO TIMES—ITS SUPPRESSION BY THE MILITARY AUTHORITIES—ORDER REVOKED—WILBUR F. STOREY—UNION LEAGUE OF AMERICA—FREDERICK F. COOK'S "BYGONE DAYS."

THE BEGINNING OF THE CIVIL WAR

WHEN the news of the first stirring events which inaugurated the tremendous drama of the Civil War began to reach Chicago, the people, like those of most Northern communities, were profoundly moved. But notwithstanding that loyalty to the Union was greatly in the ascendancy among the people of Chicago, there was by no means a unanimity of sentiment on the subject. There were many among the adherents of the old Democratic party who still clung to their ancient party traditions and had strong leanings toward the cause of the South. A sharp line of cleavage, however, began to be observed in the ranks of the Democracy, one part, known under the general name of "War Democrats," giving their sympathies and support to the Union cause, the other opposed to Federal interference with the Southern states or their "peculiar institution." The latter faction became known as "Copperheads," and their most conspicuous champion and spokesman was Wilbur F. Storey, the editor of the Chicago *Times,* of whom we shall have more to say further along in this history.

The great National Convention which had been held at Chicago in May of the previous year, upon which occasion Abraham Lincoln had been nominated for the presidency by the Republicans, had increased the strength of the new Republican party in this city, on account of the enthusiasm created on that occasion, which had extended to a large majority of the population. This strength and enthusiasm grew constantly during the exciting political campaign which followed. At the end of the campaign the Republicans won by good majorities at the fall elections,

as indeed was to have been expected from the fact that the Democratic ascendancy had disappeared since 1852, before which time Chicago had always elected Democrats to office.

THE CALL FOR VOLUNTEERS

We have seen how Mayor Wentworth issued a proclamation on the occasion of Major Anderson's refusal early in January to give up Fort Sumter on the demand of the Secessionists of South Carolina, ordering that a day should be set apart, on which the people should assemble to declare their attachment to the Union, and that appropriate salutes be fired. It was soon after this event that President-elect Lincoln went to Washington and was duly inaugurated. On the 12th day of April, 1861, Fort Sumter was fired on, and on the 15th the president issued his first call for seventy-five thousand volunteer troops. The spontaneous wave of patriotism which swept over the country was such that, as General Grant said in his "Memoirs," "there was not a state in the North, of one million inhabitants, that would not have furnished the entire number."

Illinois was asked to furnish six regiments and the response was so prompt that many more men offered their services than could be accepted. Richard Yates was governor of Illinois, "one of the noblest war governors among the loyal states," and four days after the call had been made the governor telegraphed General Richard K. Swift at Chicago to have "as strong a force as you can raise" ready to march at a moment's warning. The first companies to assemble were the Chicago Light Artillery, afterwards known as "Battery A, First Illinois Light Artillery," the old Ellsworth's Zouaves, and some other volunteer organizations. On the 21st these companies were ready for service, and the next day they started for Cairo, Illinois, where it was thought an attempt would be made to run boats down the Mississippi with arms and ammunition for the South. The Battery was assigned the duty of "bringing to" all downward bound boats, to be searched for contraband goods, before proceeding farther.

"On the 24th of April," says Charles B. Kimbell, in his "History of Battery A," "the steamer 'Baltic,' in passing Cairo, disregarded the blank shot summoning her to land, when a solid shot was fired across her bow which had the desired effect. These shots, fired by 'squad one,' under command of Lieutenant John R. Botsford, were the first fired from a field piece in the war for the Union, and the first on the banks of the mighty river." Soon after a challenge was received to "mortal combat" by the Battery, from the Washington Light Artillery of New Orleans. "The challenge was accepted," writes Kimbell, "but not until the terrible battle of Shiloh did the trial take place, which was decided in our favor." [1] Visitors to Rosehill Cemetery will recall the beautiful and appropriately designed monument, erected near the entrance on a commanding elevation, in memory of the members of Battery A. It is made in the form of a field piece partially hidden under a flag draped over it, and placed on a pedestal, the whole carved in stone.

Some account will be given here of the various military organizations which in whole or in part were composed of men from Chicago, and from Cook County in general. It is quite true that our young men were found in many regiments,

[1] Kimbell: "History of Battery A," p. 19.

both in this state and elsewhere, other than those which will here be mentioned. An account of the companies and regiments found here will therefore not include all of the men who, at one time or another, joined the armies of the Union from Chicago. Indeed some of our people joined the cause of the Confederacy, being influenced by ties of family relationship or political sympathy with Southern friends and their cause.

It is a strong temptation for a writer to follow the fortunes of the soldier boys in their campaigns. Indeed their adventures abound with interesting details, but for the sake of keeping within proper limits in a work of this kind a lengthy narrative must be avoided. Therefore only a cursory account of their experiences on their campaigns will be attempted, and only incidents of striking interest mentioned.

BATTERY "A," CHICAGO LIGHT ARTILLERY

Some further details regarding Battery "A" may here be related. The records of the Chicago Light Artillery, the name by which it was originally known, show that the organization dated back to 1854, in which year it began its existence, with Captain James Smith as its chief officer. After the first call made by President Lincoln for seventy-five thousand volunteers, in April, 1861, all the militia organizations of the city were filled to their maximum number within three days, and their services offered to the governor of the state. These troops were accepted by the governor, and on the night of April 21st, the first body of Illinois troops left the city bound for Cairo.

The full number required to complete the company was enrolled within twenty-four hours after the call had been received. The company reached Cairo on the 22d of the month. "Our reception by the citizens," writes C. B. Kimbell, one of the members of the Battery, "was not the most cordial, and it was plainly evident that they would have been better pleased if the occupying forces had come from the opposite direction." The Battery, which had thus far been known as the Chicago Light Artillery, was regularly mustered into the service for three years, "or during the war," on July 16, 1861, as Battery "A," First Regiment of Illinois Artillery, and soon after became actively engaged in the campaigns of the western armies. The Battery took part in the siege and capture of Fort Donelson, and the bloody battle of Pittsburg Landing, where its losses were severe.

Afterwards the Battery was engaged in the Vicksburg campaign, and with Sherman's army in Tennessee. General Sherman held a high opinion of the Battery's services, and in the course of a letter written by him to one of the men of the battery, who had sent him a present of a "beautifully stitched breast-strap and martingale," he said, "as Battery 'A' was one of the first to fire a hostile shot in the war in the great valley of the Mississippi, I hope it will be the last, and that its thunder tones will in due time proclaim the peace resulting from a war we could not avoid, but which called all true men from the fancied security of a former long and deceitful peace."

ARTILLERY ORGANIZATION

It is well known that the twelve companies or batteries forming an artillery regiment are seldom found in service together, as their usefulness in the field is

greatest while on duty separately, either as batteries, usually of six guns, or sections of batteries. The First Regiment of Illinois Artillery was as usual composed of twelve batteries, but the history of each is quite distinct from those of the others. The various batteries or companies of this regiment were mustered in at various times, the earliest one being Battery "A."

The field officers of the First Artillery were J. D. Webster, of Chicago, Colonel, who served until May 6, 1863; and Captain Ezra Taylor, also of Chicago, who was promoted to be colonel on the same date. The Rev. Jeremiah Porter, whose name is often met with in the early annals of Chicago, was the chaplain of the regiment. Dr. Edmund Andrews was the regimental surgeon.

Company "A," First Illinois Artillery, was mustered in July 16, 1861. Its officers were almost entirely Chicago men, Charles M. Willard being the first captain. Company "B" was likewise mostly officered by Chicago men, Ezra Taylor, afterwards colonel, being the captain.

THE NINETEENTH ILLINOIS REGIMENT

After the first call of troops was made in April, 1861, the regiment, afterwards known as the Nineteenth Regiment of Illinois Volunteers, was formed at Chicago with John B. Turchin as its colonel, and Joseph R. Scott as lieutenant-colonel. The regiment was mustered into the service June 17, 1861. John B. Turchin, the colonel of this regiment, was a native of Russia, where he received a training in a military school. He was at first a lieutenant in the Russian army, and afterwards promoted to higher rank. He distinguished himself particularly as an engineer officer and planned some important fortifications for the Russian government, but having become democratic in his views he came to America and located in Chicago. At the time of the breaking out of the Civil War he was in the employ of the Illinois Central Railroad.

Six of the companies of the Nineteenth were from Chicago, the remaining four coming from other parts of the state. The regiment, after being mustered in, left Chicago on the 12th of July, reaching Quincy on the Mississippi river the next day. It was in service at various places on the river in the state of Missouri, where it remained until September, when it was ordered to join the army of the Potomac.

On the 17th of September, the regiment was placed on board the cars of the Ohio & Mississippi Railroad, and began its eastward journey. While crossing a river the bridge gave way, precipitating six cars filled with soldiers into the channel of the river, killing and injuring a large number. There was a greater number of fatalities in this accident than in any one of the battles in which the regiment was subsequently engaged. Twenty-five men were killed outright and one hundred and five injured. Seven of the latter afterwards died of their injuries. In Colonel Turchin's written account of this disaster he says:

"Out of three companies that suffered most, hardly one company could be formed. One-third of the arms of those companies were entirely ruined, and knapsacks, blankets, and accoutrements greatly damaged. One captain and twenty-four men were killed, and over one hundred men, including one lieutenant, wounded —of whom, perhaps, thirty or forty will not be fit for service. Out of three com-

panies one hundred and thirty men have left the ranks—a number hardly possible to be lost in the most severe battle. I am an old soldier, but never in my life have I felt so wretched as when I saw by moonlight, my dear comrades on the miserable pile of rubbish, below agglomerated cars, and heard the groans of agony from the wounded."

Many of the soldiers had enlisted from Galena, and after the accident the mayor of that city, Robert Brand, made a report to a meeting of citizens, in which he paid a tribute to Colonel Turchin and his wife, both of whom were on the scene. He said that the wounded men spoke especially of the heroic conduct of the brave Mrs. Turchin, "how when the dead, dying and mutilated lay in one mass of ruin; when the bravest heart was appalled, and all was dismay, this brave woman was in the water, rescuing the mangled from a watery grave, and tearing from her person every available piece of clothing to use as bandages for the wounded." The mayor further declared that this woman was "a fit consort for the brave Turchin in leading the gallant sons of Illinois to battle."

Detained by this lamentable accident, the regiment did not continue its journey eastward, but was ordered into service with the western armies. During the following year its field of activity was in Kentucky, Tennessee and Alabama.

THE FAMOUS CHARGE AT STONE RIVER

At the battle of Stone river, otherwise called the battle of Murfreesboro, the Nineteenth Illinois gave a good account of itself. On the 2d of January, 1863, at that battle, General Negley was holding the left of the Army of the Cumberland, General Rosencrans in chief command, and among the forces under Negley was the Nineteenth Illinois of which Joseph R. Scott was then the colonel. The following spirited account of the part played by this regiment in the battle is quoted from Eddy's "Patriotism of Illinois," with some slight changes: "At four o'clock in the afternoon the fierce cannonading which had prevailed for some time on the left was accompanied by a deafening crash of musketry, and it was evident that the battle was renewed in earnest. The enemy advanced three of its divisions and hurled them against the Union left. The men bravely withstood the onset, but were literally overwhelmed by superior numbers, and two brigades out of three standing together were broken to pieces. The third stood its ground for a time, but in order to save themselves from being surrounded they were obliged to retreat.

"The Confederate troops were preparing to follow when Negley suddenly appeared with fresh troops from the reserves ranged in line of battle. His practised eye at once saw the danger unless an almost superhuman effort was made. He rode rapidly to the front and in his clear voice shouted: 'Who will save the left?' In an instant came back the reply from the gallant Scott, 'The Nineteenth Illinois!' 'The Nineteenth Illinois it is then; by the left flank, march,' was the command. Scott put his cap on his sword and shouted, 'Forward!'

"The men advanced with alacrity and fired a volley, after which they fixed bayonets, and started on that grand charge which saved the day, immortal as the charge of Balaklava. Into the river they plunged waist deep, although by that time a whole division of the enemy's troops was disputing the passage, up the

precipitous bank, bristling with bayonets, exposing themselves to the pitiless rain, against bayonets, shot and shell, regardless of the storm that was tearing through their ranks, unmindful of the brave fellows falling in the bloody track they made, they swept on resistless as a Nemesis. At the top of the hill the rebels try to make a stand, but they are shivered like a glass, as the Nineteenth strikes them. They hesitate, they stand as if almost dumb with amazement at the terrible charge. Their ranks waver, they break and flee, the Nineteenth, closely followed by the Eleventh Michigan and the Seventy-eighth Pennsylvania, pouring destruction through their fugitive ranks.

"Across the open fields they rush to the protection of their batteries beyond, but the march of the Nineteenth is like the march of fate. Regardless of the fact that the field is swept by the battery, they still roll back the foe. Over the cornfields, up to the very muzzles of the guns, in spite of their belching fury and sheeted flame, over the parapet, and the battery belongs to the Nineteenth! The left is saved; the day is ours; the victory is won! Thus the Nineteenth made one of the grandest and most glorious charges of the war."

The regiment lost one hundred and twenty-four men killed and wounded out of three hundred and forty, the strength of the regiment in that battle. Colonel Scott was seriously wounded and died from the effects of his wounds some months afterwards. He was not yet thirty years of age at the time of his death.

LATER SERVICE OF THE REGIMENT

At the battle of Chickamauga, in September, 1863, the Nineteenth was heavily engaged, and lost sixty-two men in killed, wounded and missing. Still later in the year, at the battle of Missionary Ridge, the Nineteenth was in the line that made the grand charge upon the heights, and was among the first of the troops to plant the colors on the summit of the ridge. The losses suffered in the battle of Missionary Ridge were twenty-five killed and wounded.

On July 9, 1864, the term of service for which the men had enlisted had expired, and the regiment was mustered out at Chicago.

ELLSWORTH'S ZOUAVES

In a previous chapter an account was given of the brief but brilliant career of the military company known as the "Ellsworth's Zouaves," or more properly the "United States Zouave Cadets." A short rehearsal of the history of this company will be given here as its sequel belongs to the history of our own part in the war. It will be remembered that there had been a voluntary military organization in existence in Chicago for some years before the outbreak of the Civil War, called the "National Guard Cadets." E. Elmer Ellsworth, a young man but little past twenty-one years of age, had succeeded to the command of this company in 1859, and had reorganized it entirely, changing its name to that of "United States Zouave Cadets." A new uniform was adopted, modeled after the famous Zouave corps in the French army, consisting of a loose jacket of dark blue cloth and red Turkish trousers. In this picturesque costume the company visited many cities, giving exhibition drills in which its members had attained to a remarkable degree of

proficiency, and had won much applause everywhere. On the return of the company to Chicago after its trip it was received with great enthusiasm by the people. Mayor Wentworth made a speech, and a banquet was provided for its members at the Briggs House. Soon afterward the company was disbanded.

When President Lincoln issued his first call for troops the Zouaves were reorganized, and were among the first to respond to the call. In due course of time this company became a part of the Nineteenth Regiment of Illinois Volunteers, and came under the usual army regulations as to uniforms and drill. Ellsworth, however, went to New York and there organized a Zouave regiment of which he became the colonel. It was one of the first regiments to arrive at Washington, and its brilliant young commander was the first officer to sacrifice his life for his country. "While passing through Alexandria," says Cook, in "Bygone Days," "he caught sight of a rebel flag. Indignant at this flagrant display of disloyalty, he rushed forward to haul it down, and was shot in the act by its embittered defender. Ellsworth's death under such appealing circumstances gave an indescribable shock to the country, and went far to open Northern eyes to the bitterness of the struggle before them."

The particulars of this tragedy may be more explicitly related. Ellsworth had gone up to the roof of the house, the proprietor of which was a man named Jackson, closely followed by one of his own men, Frank H. Brownell, and had hauled down the obnoxious flag. While descending the stairs with the flag under his arm he was shot and instantly killed by Jackson. Brownell, who was near Ellsworth, shot Jackson immediately afterwards, killing him on the spot. When Lincoln was informed of the tragedy he directed that the body of the young commander be brought to the White House, where it was laid in the East Room. Mr. Lincoln was deeply grieved and said as he looked at the cold form lying before him, "Was it necessary that this sacrifice should be made?" Brownell was at once hailed everywhere as "Ellsworth's Avenger," and soon afterward a regiment was called during the recruiting period the "Ellsworth Avengers," later known as the Forty-fourth New York Volunteers.

"There is little doubt," says Cook, "that in the untimely death of this brilliant tactician the cause of the Union lost a man who, through the exceptional opportunities before him, would have risen to high distinction." Ellsworth was the first officer killed in the Civil War.

It has long been the habit of writers on Chicago history to give Ellsworth's name in full as Elmer E. Ellsworth. His name was Ephraim Elmer Ellsworth. He was born in New York State, April 23, 1837. At the breaking out of the Civil War Ellsworth, as we have already stated, went to New York City and was active in the formation of a regiment composed principally of firemen, the regiment being called the New York Fire Zouaves. The uniform adopted was somewhat similar to that formerly worn by the Chicago company which Ellsworth commanded in the year before the war. The regiment afterwards became known as the Eleventh Regiment of New York Volunteers. "The rank and file," says a writer in the *Daily News*, "embraced as fine a lot of young men as could be seen under any flag—intelligent, alert, well set up, trained by their former calling to rapid and strenuous movements, and filled with a bubbling enthusiasm for war."

THE BOARD OF TRADE BATTERY

The Chicago Board of Trade, at a meeting held on July 21, 1862, resolved to recruit a battery of artillery, to be called the "Board of Trade Battery," to serve for three years, and that the same be tendered to the government. A bounty of sixty dollars was offered each man who enlisted, and in order to provide the funds necessary for the purpose it was resolved that the Board make an appropriation of ten thousand dollars, and that the members be invited to subscribe to this fund such amounts as their patriotic feelings might prompt them to do. The members pledged themselves to any among their employes who should join the battery that, on their return with an honorable discharge, they would be reinstated in their former situations, if within their employers' power, and that all so enlisting should receive half wages from the Board, until discharged.

In a few days seventeen thousand dollars had been raised, and the company was filled by young men, principally in the employ of members of the Board. So successful were these efforts that it was determined to gather recruits to form a complete regiment of infantry, to be called the "Board of Trade Regiment." The Young Men's Christian Association, through John V. Farewell, tendered five companies towards making up the required number. In fact throughout the entire period of the war the Chicago Board of Trade showed the utmost liberality and a high degree of patriotic enthusiasm in support of the Union cause.

JOHN A. BROSS

When the Second Board of Trade Regiment, the Eighty-eighth Illinois Regiment of Volunteers, was formed in August, 1862, John A. Bross was commissioned captain of Company A. He was a younger brother of William Bross, at that time one of the owners of the Chicago *Tribune*. John A. Bross was a lawyer by profession, practicing in Chicago, and was thirty-six years old when he entered the army. During his service he took part with his regiment in the battles of Perryville, Murfreesboro' and Chickamauga, and in many other actions of lesser note.

On Governor Yates' call for the recruiting of a colored regiment in Illinois, Bross resigned his command in the Eighty-eighth to assume the task of forming a colored regiment, which afterwards was designated the Twenty-ninth Regiment of United States Colored Troops. Bross was commissioned as Lieutenant-Colonel in this regiment in April, 1864, and in the following June joined the Army of the Potomac with his regiment before Petersburg, which at that time General Grant was besieging. When the famous mine explosion took place on the 30th of July, the colored troops were ordered to lead the assault through the breach immediately following the explosion. Colonel Bross was at the head and during the charge five color bearers were shot down, when the intrepid leader seized the flag and carried it to the top of the ascent, and planted it upon the highest point. When, at length, it was found that all their efforts were of no avail, and that the attack had become hopeless, the order was given to retire; and while striving to extricate his faithful and heroic followers, who had gallantly made the charge under his leadership, he was struck by a ball and killed on the spot.

The death of Colonel Bross was similar in several respects to that of Colonel Robert G. Shaw, at the head of the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts Colored Regiment

the year before in the assault on Fort Wagner. Colonel Shaw was a young man like Colonel Bross, both men being brave and impetuous. Both died in fruitless attacks while leading colored troops. Shaw's Memorial on Boston Common perpetuates the memory of Colonel Shaw and his men, but here the parallel fails; there is no memorial to Colonel Bross in Chicago.

THE THIRTY-SEVENTH REGIMENT OF ILLINOIS VOLUNTEERS

The "Fremont Rifle Regiment," afterwards known as the Thirty-seventh Regiment of Illinois Volunteers, was recruited in Chicago. It was organized by Julius White, who was at that time collector of customs at Chicago. Three of the companies were composed of men from Chicago, the other companies of the regiment coming from other sections of the state. One of the companies from Chicago was called the "Manierre Rifles," Captain John W. Laimbeer; another was called the "Turner Rifles," Captain Henry N. Frisbie; and the third was a company of which Ransom Kennicott was the Captain.

The regiment was mustered into the service of the United States on September 18, 1861, and at the same time was presented with a banner of blue silk containing a portrait of General Fremont, painted by G. P. A. Healy, the well known portrait artist. Colonel White was presented with a fine black horse by Chicago business men, and Lieutenant George R. Bell, of Company G, a sash and sword by the members of the Chicago bar.

The first service of the Thirty-seventh was in Missouri, where it joined the division of General Pope. In the following spring the regiment became a part of General Curtis' army, and participated in the hard fought battle of Pea Ridge. In this battle the regiment suffered heavy losses, out of four hundred and fifty men who went into action one hundred and thirty-four were killed and wounded. The men of this regiment withstood five charges in succession from a superior force of the Confederates, and in the last charge the enemy captured a battery which the Thirty-seventh at once recaptured in the most gallant manner. The battle was a Union victory. In this battle Major John C. Black was severely wounded. In the accounts of this battle it is mentioned that "Oscar Howe, the little drummer boy of the regiment, although severely wounded, would not leave the field, but carried ammunition to the men for seven hours, in the midst of shot and shell. On the return of the regiment to Chicago, he was made an honorary member of the Board of Trade, and later was sent to the Naval Academy by the President."

Colonel White was soon after promoted to be Brigadier General for services at the battle of Pea Ridge, and was transferred to the Department of the Shenandoah Valley. The regiment, under Lieutenant Colonel Black, at length joined General Grant's forces in the siege of Vicksburg, and were present at the capitulation of that city. Afterwards it transferred its field of operations to the Southwest. In the spring of 1865, the regiment, having re-enlisted at the expiration of its term of service, was ordered to Pensacola, Florida, and thence to Mobile, where it joined other forces in a charge on the enemy's works. This charge took place on the 9th of April, 1865, about six o'clock in the evening. It was on the forenoon of that same day that General Lee surrendered to General Grant at Appomattox.

The defensive works at Mobile, says Andreas in his history, "comprised a vast system of redoubts and connecting curtains, that stretched along the left bank of the Tensas (Alabama) River like a crescent, with its horns withdrawn and resting on the banks. It was manned by three thousand, four hundred troops, had some forty guns in position, was protected by ravines and abattis in front and an elaborate system of torpedoes, which covered the whole plain with their unseen dangers—the entire defense being supported by the gunboats that had, up to this time, escaped Farragut's fleet. The Thirty-seventh Illinois, under command of Colonel Black, was on the extreme left of the assaulting lines. Next in order was the Twentieth Iowa, Lieutenant-Colonel J. B. Leake, afterward general, commanding.

"The necessary orders having been given, the various brigades and regiments, at five o'clock, took position in the trenches and awaited the signal for attack, which was given by six shotted guns, fired at 5:50 p. m. on the right. Immediately ten thousand men were in motion, driving straight for the front. Their onset was greeted by every gun, small and great, on the rebel side, the right of the lines being most fiercely opposed. The center and left reached the earth-works simultaneously, and, in ten minutes from the firing of the signal, they 'held the fort.' Every gun, all the battle-flags, an immense amount of war material, a mile of fortifications, three thousand prisoners of war, and the city of Mobile were the immediate fruits of the victory. But all this was not accomplished until six hundred of our men had been killed and wounded; yet during the ten minutes from the time the signal gun was fired until the last hostile flag went down, not the slightest wavering took place. The flag of the Thirty-seventh was among the first over the walls."

The Thirty-seventh remained at or near Mobile until June 28th, when it was sent to Texas, arriving at Galveston July 2d. The regiment was stationed at various points in Texas during the succeeding year, its service consisting of restoring order in that extensive section of country. In this service it continued a full year after the return of peace, and it was not until the 15th of May, 1866, that the regiment was at length mustered out and sent home. Thus many of the veterans of this regiment spent almost five years in the service.

THE THIRTY-NINTH ILLINOIS REGIMENT

During its recruiting stage the regiment afterwards known as the Thirty-ninth Regiment of Illinois Volunteers, was called the "Yates Phalanx," so named in honor of our patriotic war governor, Richard Yates. The first steps in its formation date from April 24th, a few days after the President's call for troops; but its services, though promptly offered, were not accepted, the state's quota being already filled. After the battle of Bull Run, July 21, 1861, the regiment was again offered and this time was accepted. Meantime its preliminary organization was broken up, but little delay occurred in enlisting the full number required to fit it for service. The regiment was mustered into the service of the United States, October 11, 1861, Colonel Austin Light being the first commander. Colonel Light was dismissed from the service, however, in the following November, on charges connected with his former army experience. He was succeeded by Colonel Thomas O. Osborne. Later in the war, Osborne was promoted to be Brigadier-General.

Orrin L. Mann, of Chicago, was Major in this regiment when it was mustered in, and afterward was advanced to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel. He was brevetted Brigadier-General before the close of the war. The service of this regiment was at first with the army of the Potomac, operating in the Shenandoah Valley. It also took part in the battle of Malvern Hill, and the assault on Fort Wagner in Charleston harbor, where it captured the identical gun which had opened fire on Fort Sumter at the beginning of the war. The regiment was with General Butler at Bermuda Hundred, taking part in a severe engagement in which its losses were very heavy, the number of killed, wounded and missing in the regiment reaching a total of about two hundred. Other engagements on this line of operations resulted in further severe losses to the regiment. Captain Homer A. Plimpton commanded the regiment in the successful storming of Fort Gregg during the siege of Petersburg. This exploit is described as follows:

"The charge of the Thirty-ninth," says the account in Andreas' history, "was made across an open swamp, with a heavy fire from front and sides ploughing through the ranks. Just at the base of the fort was a ditch twelve feet wide and ten feet deep, with clean, slippery sides. Into this the men rushed, and climbing the opposite side, by digging footholds in the bank with their bayonets, gained the fort, and, after a hand-to-hand struggle of half an hour, triumphantly planted their flag on the parapet. As a testimonial to the exceptional bravery displayed, a magnificent bronze eagle, cast for the purpose, was presented to the regiment for its colorstaff."

The regiment was with the army of Grant in its pursuit of the retreating Confederates, and aided in preventing the escape of the enemy. After witnessing the surrender at Appomattox, the regiment was sent to Richmond, where it remained until August, and was finally mustered out of service at Norfolk, on December 6, 1865.

THE SEVENTY-SECOND ILLINOIS

The first Board of Trade regiment was formed in Chicago during the summer of 1862, and was mustered into service August 21st of the same year as the Seventy-second regiment of Illinois Volunteers, with Frederick A. Starring as its colonel. This regiment was composed almost exclusively of Chicago men. In recruiting for the volunteer service it was frequently the case that names were adopted for the companies and regiments, which after mustering in received the regular designations used in the army. Thus the "Hancock Guards," named in honor of John L. Hancock, president of the Board of Trade, was mustered in as Company "A"; the "Scripps Guards," named in honor of John L. Scripps, who was postmaster at that time; the "Havelock Guards," composed of men from the Young Men's Christian Association; and other companies were designated in like manner.

This regiment went into the service with a total strength in officers and men of nine hundred and sixty-seven. During the three years' service in which the regiment was engaged one hundred and eighty-five men were killed, and one hundred and thirty-three died of disease. Seventy-nine members of the regiment were taken prisoners at different times, and with other losses of men from disability and by transfers to other branches of the service, the number of officers

and men who returned with the regiment at the end of the war was reduced to three hundred and thirty-two. The regiment took part in seven battles besides many actions and skirmishes of lesser note. A diary was kept by Joseph Stockton, who went out as captain, was afterwards promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, and at the close of the war brevetted Brigadier-General. This diary has been printed recently and a perusal of it affords a general view of the leading events in which the regiment participated. General Stockton is so well known by Chicago people, and the regiment with which he was identified bore so conspicuous a part in the Civil War, that it will be interesting to follow the fortunes of the Seventy-second in its campaigns as related in the diary.

After its arrival at the theatre of war in the West, which was then in Kentucky, the regiment was on duty at Paducah and Columbus for some months. In the following November, the regiment went to Tennessee and Mississippi, forming a part of General Grant's army of the West. During the winter of 1862-3, the regiment was engaged in military operations in and around Memphis. In March the field of activity was transferred to the Yazoo river, by which route the army was endeavoring to reach the rear of Vicksburg. It was while on this arduous service that an extensive revival of religion occurred among the troops. Captain Whittle of Company G, of the Seventy-second, was the leading spirit in the numerous revival meetings which were held. Captain, afterwards Major, Whittle was well known in Chicago as an effective revivalist for many years. He was spoken of by Stockton in the diary as a "brave and good man." In the meetings the chaplains of other regiments assisted, "particularly an Indiana chaplain, who," says the diarist, "is a regular camp-meeting Methodist, and understands his business." In another place the General observes, "Men are pious when danger threatens, but somewhat lax when it is past."

Slowly working the steamers along the obstructed channels of the river and bayous the men made sometimes not more than two or three miles a day. The trees overhung the boats and the branches swept the decks. The boats' guards were carried away while the men were obliged to lie prone on the decks in order not to be swept off. Sometimes their course lay through a bayou in which were standing trees, and these had to be removed by sawing off many feet below the water line. In some places the channel was obstructed by fallen trees which the enemy had chopped down so as to fall crosswise of the stream or bayou. "The transports of the whole division," says the diary, "are close together, and at times have to pull each other around the bends in the bayou. The patience of pilots and engineers is sorely tried. It is certainly a tortuous way, and were it not that the country is pretty well overflowed the 'Rebs' could harass us terribly, while we could do them but little harm."

One night when they had gone ashore there was a dreadful storm of wind and rain which played havoc with trees and branches. "Our lives were in constant danger from falling branches and trunks of trees. In Ross' division, just adjoining ours, there were five men killed by trees falling on them. I have never passed through a more trying or frightful scene. There was no chance of getting away, for one place was as bad as another, and the rain poured in torrents."

The Yazoo river line of approach to Vicksburg, however, was abandoned in view of the great difficulties and the dangers attending it, and General Grant, the

eventual conqueror, soon had his forces in motion on other lines of attack. The troops were shifted to the other side of the Mississippi river, and landed at Milliken's Bend, from which point they marched in a circuit and once more reached the river below Vicksburg. Thus the forces of which the Seventy-second was a part were closing in upon the doomed stronghold, and by the 19th of May the enemy was effectually hemmed in to escape no more until the surrender of the city on the succeeding 3d of July, with thirty-one thousand prisoners and one hundred and seventy-two pieces of cannon.

An interesting episode of this campaign was the visit made by the Lumbard brothers, Frank and Jules, to the camp of the besiegers at Vicksburg. Mr. Jules G. Lumbard, now a resident of Chicago, relates the story which the writer recorded in September, 1909, substantially as follows: He and his brother Frank were guests of General Grant during the siege of Vicksburg. Grant had invited them down there from Chicago to cheer the men with their patriotic songs, the singing of which on many public occasions had already made them famous. They sang in the camp and in the trenches close up to the rebel lines, where their voices could easily be heard by the enemy. During an interval of the singing a voice from a Confederate within the intrenchments was heard calling out, "We know who's singing over there; it's the Lumbard boys of Chicago. Come over here and sing for us." The story is told sometimes to the effect that they accepted the invitation and went inside the Confederate lines, but as a matter of fact they did not go. Jules says positively that they did not.

It may not be inappropriate to remark at this point that on the day that General Pemberton raised a flag of truce on the ramparts of Vicksburg, namely on the 3d of July, the battle of Gettysburg resulted in a great Union victory, the two events occurring simultaneouly, and sounding the death knell of the Confederacy. It was indeed still nearly two years before the war was finally closed by the surrender of General Lee's army at Appomattox, but the fighting henceforth was generally speaking in the nature of a stubborn resistance to the inevitable.

On the day of the surrender of Vicksburg the troops marched into the city passing long lines of Confederate soldiers with their arms stacked in rows near them. "There were no cheers as we passed by these men," says Colonel Stockton in his diary, "but the salutations were, 'How are you Yank?' 'How are you Reb?'" followed by generous gifts of hard tack and coffee to the half-starved prisoners. The day was terribly hot, and Stockton says that he never saw men so seriously affected by the heat as on that day.

When the guards were placed that evening Colonel Stockton was ordered on duty as "officer of the day," and he relates that while making the "grand rounds" the following night he would sometimes come upon groups of rebel prisoners sitting by their camp fires discussing their fate. They were anxious to know whether they were to be sent North, which they feared, or whether they were to be paroled. Many of them said they had been afraid of what the besieging troops would have done on the 4th, and well they might, says Stockton, "for in the morning orders had been issued for a national salute of thirty-four rounds, shot from every gun in position around Vicksburg, and several mines were to have been exploded blowing up their forts. Taking it all in all, it was well for both sides, as many thousands of lives would have been sacrificed in the assault."

A few days after these events had taken place the regiment, with other troops, went down the river in transports, and soon found themselves engaged in active campaign work in Mississippi and Louisiana. On one occasion the force was sent on an expedition a few miles into the interior of the latter state, under command of Colonel Stockton. He writes in his diary that it was one of the most exciting days he spent in the service. On July 14th the troops began their march at four o'clock a. m. "My orders," he says, "were to capture all the horses, mules and cattle I could, together with all arms and ammunition. The country is a beautiful one, splendid plantations just blooming with cotton, the first I have ever seen in such an early stage." He then proceeds to give a graphic description of the excitement their coming caused among the slaves whom they found on these plantations in great numbers. "The march was a perfect ovation from the darkies who for the first time in their lives saw Yankee soldiers, and when they saw them they knew that they were free. They rushed to the road, fell on their knees praying with all the fervor and feeling of their race, exclaiming 'Glory be to God, Freedom's come at last!'

"We marched about fifteen miles into the country, and then started back on our march towards the river. Such a sight as met my gaze. All along the road were the negroes with their families, household goods, everything they could gather in the short time, piled up in their immense cotton wagons as high as they could get them. There must have been thousands of them, and no end to the children; such a happy set of beings I never saw before. They were, to use their own words, 'Going to Freedom.' They knew nothing else, they cared for nothing else, they were now free; what they had looked forward to for years had come upon them in a moment, and nothing could induce them to stay on the plantations." They were told plainly that there were not enough provisions for them, but they cared not, they sang and danced, and gave way to extravagant demonstrations of joy.

In November, 1864, the Seventy-second received orders to join the army of General Sherman, then preparing to start on the famous "march to the sea," but by reason of unexpected delays, the regiment was not able to do so. It then joined the army of General Thomas and took part in the battle of Franklin. In this battle the losses of the regiment were heavy, one hundred and sixty-one officers and men being either killed, wounded or missing. Colonel Stockton was wounded in this battle, and was not able to be with his regiment for some months thereafter. The regiment was sent down the Mississippi river and stationed for a time at New Orleans. From there it was ordered to Mobile, then besieged by Union troops. Mobile was evacuated on the 12th of April, 1865, three days after the surrender of General Lee in Virginia.

This marked the close of the war, and soon after the troops began their march towards the North, pausing for a time in the interior of Alabama doing post duty. On July 19th, the regiment started on its homeward journey by way of Vicksburg, where on the sixth of August it was mustered out of the service.

The members of the regiment, now having ceased to be soldiers, became once more citizens of the Republic, and returned to their homes in Chicago. Here they met with an enthusiastic reception. They were greeted with a salute of thirty-six guns, and a committee of the Board of Trade escorted them to Bryan

E. ELMER ELLSWORTH

In command of a Zouave regiment which served in the Civil War

COL. JAMES A. MULLIGAN

Of the Twenty-third Regiment of Illinois Volunteers

Original owned by Chicago Historical Society

COL. FREDERICK HECKER

Of Twenty-fourth Illinois Volunteers, War of the Rebellion

Hall, where a banquet was provided for them, and they were welcomed home with every demonstration of affection and regard.

After the war had closed Senator Richard Yates, in a speech at Chicago reviewing his experiences while he was governor of the state during the war period, spoke of the part Illinois had taken in raising troops for the armies of the Union. He took occasion to pay this special tribute to our oldest and greatest commercial organization: "While I was engaged in raising Illinois troops, in attempting to discharge the duties of my position the most efficient co-operation which I received from any quarter whatever was from the Board of Trade of Chicago."

RALLY OF THE CLANS

"No class," says Cook, "was apparently more enthusiastic for the defense of the flag which symbolized the Union of States, when fired upon at Sumter, than the Irish. Few regiments were more quickly filled than those recruited under Irish auspices; and that this enthusiasm was not a mere 'flash in the pan,' is well shown by the spirit in which discouragements were disregarded and obstacles overcome. As soon as war was a certainty, this call was issued:

"'Rally! All Irishmen in favor of forming a regiment of Irish volunteers to sustain the Government of the United States, in and through the present war, will rally at North Market Hall, this evening, April 20th. Come all! For the honor of the Old Land rally for the defense of the New." The signers to this call were James A. Mulligan, Alderman Comiskey, M. C. McDonald, Captains M. Gleason, C. Moore, J. C. Phillips, Daniel Quirk, F. McMurray, Peter Casey, citizens Daniel McElroy, John Tully, Philip Conley, T. J. Kinsella.

COLONEL MULLIGAN

James A. Mulligan lived as a boy on his stepfather's farm near the present village of Gross Point, one mile west of Wilmette, and, after a brief and eventful career, he lies buried in Calvary cemetery within the limits of the City of Evanston. He was the son of Irish parents, born in Utica, New York, June 25th, 1830. His father having died when he was very young, his mother married Michael Lantry, and the family removed to Gross Point, where Lantry engaged in farming business, at the same time conducting a teaming business in Chicago. In the latter business he was very prosperous. The boy James was provided with a good education by his step-father, and, after graduating at the University of St. Mary's in Chicago, he studied law, and afterwards entered upon its practice. He also engaged in editorial work and won a high reputation as a writer and speaker.

At the breaking out of the Civil War in 1861, Mulligan was one of the earliest to respond to the call for troops. He raised a company which was called the "Mulligan Guards." This company was joined by other companies and formed the Twenty-third Regiment of Illinois Volunteers, of which he became colonel. This regiment was popularly known as the "Irish Brigade," and was engaged in many campaigns, both in the western and eastern armies. Wherever Colonel Mulligan went his devoted wife followed him as closely as she could, and often joined him at his campaign headquarters.

Almost at once after its formation the regiment was sent to Missouri and

assisted in the defense of Lexington, which was besieged with a large force of Confederates under Gen. Sterling Price. Here they formed a part of a Union force of four or five thousand men, but the opposing force was many times greater, and after a noble defense of some ten days, Mulligan was obliged to surrender. In this he was fully justified by the military authorities. His entire regiment was taken prisoners, but soon afterwards the men were exchanged and the regiment was then reorganized and joined the Army of the Potomac, with which it continued during the remainder of the war.

The siege of Lexington inspired a poet, whose verses were printed in one of the newspapers of the day, and are quoted in "Putnam's Rebellion Record." Here are three stanzas of this stirring poem:

"The Irish boys are bold and brave,
The Irish boys are true;
They love the dear old stars and stripes,
The spangled field of blue.

" 'Tis Mulligan can tell the tale
Of how they fought that day,
When with the foe at Lexington
They met in bloody fray.

"Fast flew the shot and murderous shell,
The bullets fell like rain;
But dauntless stood his brave brigade—
The heroes of the plain."

Later in the war Colonel Mulligan served with the eastern armies, and was engaged in opposing the advance of the forces under General Early in the Shenandoah valley, when he met his death on the 24th day of July, 1864, at Kernstown, Virginia. Some of Mulligan's men came to his assistance when he fell, but seeing that the Confederates were rapidly advancing in overwhelming numbers, and that every man was needed to oppose their advance, he gave orders to his men to leave him where he lay. "Never mind me, boys," said he, "but save the flag of the Irish Brigade." He fell into the hands of the enemy, who moved him to a farm house, where he lingered two days before he expired.

Mrs. Mulligan was at Cumberland, Maryland, when the news reached her that her husband had been desperately wounded. She purchased a conveyance, and, accompanied by her nephew, Martin J. Russell, drove through the enemy's lines, which were opened by order of General Early, but did not reach her husband's side until a few hours after he had breathed his last. She accompanied the remains to Chicago, where they were laid in state in Bryan Hall and were visited by thousands. The funeral was the largest ever held in Chicago and the body was taken to Calvary cemetery for interment. Here it lay unmarked for many years, but, in 1883, the Legislature of this state made an appropriation of twenty-five hundred dollars for a monument, and this amount was doubled by the sub-

scriptions of generous citizens. The monument stands near the entrance to the cemetery.

There is a song, composed by George F. Root soon after the death of Colonel Mulligan, entitled "Lay Me Down and Save the Flag." These were not the exact words used by the hero, but they answered the purpose of the composer, and the song became immensely popular. There was an air of romance and heroism that surrounded the name and career of Colonel Mulligan, which always appealed to the popular heart. As was said of him by the Hon. E. D. Cooke in the Legislature, when the bill for erecting the monument was before that body, he was a man "spotless in life, distinguished in ability, a lion in courage, a hero in battle, and his memory should not die. His was no claptrap devotion, no simulated patriotism born of sordid motives or personal ambition. It had its promptings and inspiration in a more solid and generous foundation. It was based upon an earnest and intelligent love of his country, a loyal attachment to principle and a love of liberty."

Colonel Mulligan was thirty-four years old at the time of his death, and in the flower of his manhood. He had always declined promotion, preferring to remain with his regiment as its colonel; but a commission creating him a Brigadier-General was signed by President Lincoln a few days before he fell in battle, though he was not aware of it. No part of the history of the Civil War has greater interest for the youth of Chicago and Evanston than the career of Colonel Mulligan, and there is no hero of that war whose memory we can cherish more fittingly on our annual Memorial Days.

Mrs. Mulligan remained a widow, an honored and beloved resident of Chicago, until her death on the 11th of May, 1908. "Mrs. Mulligan was one of the most respected and revered women in Chicago," said a writer in the *Record-Herald,* the day after her death. "Beautiful and cultured, she lived from her young widowhood, which came at the age of twenty-three years, until her final summons yesterday, ever sacrificing for her three daughters, who were infants at their father's death. After forty-four years of widowhood she was laid by her husband's side, and the noble monument of white marble marks the resting place of the hero and his devoted wife."

THE GERMAN REGIMENTS

The German element of our population was, in the main, strongly for the Union cause, though Cook in his volume, referred to above, recalls from his store of war memories, that there was a district lying between Archer and Blue Island avenues, having a numerous German population, where the spirit of loyalty to the national government was either lukewarm or entirely lacking. Be that as it may, there were two regiments of volunteers sent from Chicago that were almost entirely composed of Germans.

Among the earliest troops to leave Chicago were two companies of Germans who accompanied Battery A and the Ellsworth Zouaves to Cairo, Illinois, on the 19th of April, 1861. They continued in service there until June, when they were joined by eight other companies, six of which were recruited in Chicago, and two from other parts of the state. They were formed into a regiment under Colonel Frederick Hecker, and were known as the "Hecker-Jaeger regiment,"—Jaeger being the German equivalent of Ranger,—and were mustered in as the Twenty-

fourth Illinois volunteers. Colonel Hecker was fifty years old at this time; he had left Germany in 1848, where he had been a leader in a movement of a revolutionary character, and, since his arrival in Illinois, had taken a deep interest in politics, and was earnestly opposed to slavery.

The Twenty-fourth Illinois Regiment was engaged in campaigns in Missouri and Kentucky, making a brilliant record. Colonel Hecker resigned his command and returned to Chicago, where he engaged in the formation of another regiment which was mustered in, October 23d, 1862, as the Eighty-second Illinois Volunteers. Hecker was made colonel of this regiment, which became a part of General Sigel's army in Virginia, and participated in many battles. Colonel Hecker was wounded near Fredericksburg, but soon after returned to service, and was given command of a brigade. The "Eighty-second" was with Sherman in his famous "March to the Sea," and took part in the grand review at Washington after the war was ended.

SKETCH OF COLONEL HECKER

Friederich Karl Franz Hecker, as his full name appears in the German form, was born in Baden, September 28, 1811. He was carefully educated and was created a Doctor of Laws by the University of Heidelberg. He devoted himself to the practice of law, but became drawn into politics and was one of the leaders in the movement for free institutions. In 1842, he was elected a member of the Chamber of Deputies, and so strongly urged a representation of the people of Baden in the German Diet, "which then was simply a permanent convention of the representatives of princes," says a writer in Andreas' history, "that he was pronounced revolutionary and dangerous." He resigned his seat in the Chamber of Deputies and went abroad. Returning to Baden he was again elected a representative and led the opposition, but the cause did not prosper. He then raised the standard of revolt in the Duchy of Baden, proclaiming Germany a republic. He and his following were attacked by Government troops, his force was obliged to disband, and he sought refuge in Switzerland, afterwards extending his flight to the United States.

"For years afterwards, he was the idol of the people of Baden; his name, above all others, was the one to conjure with in all South Germany and wherever liberty was struggling to gain a foothold," says Charles W. Dahlinger, in his volume "The German Revolution of 1849." So popular was Hecker with his fellow countrymen, that, when a second insurrection broke out in Baden, messengers were sent to New York to recall him, and he bravely made an attempt to rejoin his friends in the struggle, but before he reached France on his way the insurrection had been quelled, and once more he returned to America.

The name of Hecker was an inspiration to the German patriots, and his name was cheered whenever mentioned in their meetings. The "Hecker Song" was popular with all classes, sung even by the government troops in spite of their officers; students sang it in the streets, and, alternated with the "Marsellaise," the people, in great numbers, joined in singing the "Song of Hecker." His career in America was watched with the keenest interest by his friends in the Fatherland, and when in good time the cause of German liberty triumphed, he returned on a visit to his native land, in 1873, where he was received with the honors due to his distinguished services and the sacrifices made in behalf of the great cause.

Lorenz Brentano, the civil leader in the Baden uprisings, was also one of those who found a refuge in the United States, as Hecker and Carl Schurz likewise did. Brentano first engaged in farming in Michigan, afterwards became a lawyer in Chicago, and later was editor of the *Staats Zeitung*. He also served as a member of the state legislature of Illinois, a member of Congress, and United States consul at Dresden, Germany.

SOUTHERN SYMPATHIZERS IN CHICAGO

Throughout the War of the Rebellion there was always an element of the population in the Northern states who were strongly in sympathy with the Southern cause. This was often as much for the reason that these sympathizers were opposed to the anti-slavery men, who they regarded as abolitionists, as for any positive sentiment in favor of the slave holders and their rebellion. In the general exchange of epithets that always takes place in a time of great political excitement, these Southern sympathizers were called "Copperheads," which became a term of reproach, and was a fair offset to the epithet "Black Abolitionists" often applied to the supporters of the Union.

During the first year of the war, Wilbur F. Storey came to Chicago, and assumed charge of the Chicago *Times*, a paper which had been published for several years under a Democratic management. From that time no newspaper in Chicago, or even the West, passed through a career so spectacular, sensational, and stormy as did the Chicago *Times* under Wilbur F. Storey. Storey was a man of great force, but with little principle. He espoused the cause of the South, probably more because of his disposition to oppose the rising tide of Unionism throughout the North than from any sympathies he may have felt. He became the apostle of Copperheadism in the city. Storey at that time was a man forty-two years old, and had previously conducted a newspaper in Detroit; on his arrival in Chicago, he at once took strong grounds against everything and everybody engaged in the struggle to save the Union. The *Times* soon earned the designation of "Copperhead sheet," and there was an intense hostility aroused against it and its owner. It was a time of terrible passion, and the conduct of his paper became so outrageous that the military authorities at Washington took notice of it. General Burnside, in command of the department of the Northwest, issued an order in June, 1863, "for the suppression of the *Times*, and the commander at Camp Douglas was charged with the execution of the order." The *Times* establishment was taken possession of by the military forces, and its future publication was forbidden. This action, however, was thought to have been too extreme and in contravention of the principle of "free speech and a free press." A meeting of prominent Republicans and business men in Chicago was held who agreed that the action of General Burnside was untimely and should be revoked. This meeting was composed of such men as Wm. B. Ogden, Van H. Higgins, Corydon Beckwith, Judge H. T. Dickey, Samuel W. Fuller, Wirt Dexter, James F. Joy, Senator Lyman Trumbull, and Isaac N. Arnold. "A petition to the President to revoke the order was signed by all present, and Trumbull and Arnold telegraphed personally to the same effect. Judge David Davis was also active in procuring the revocation. The order was revoked by the President." On the fifth publication of the paper was resumed.[2]

[2] Andreas II, 495.

Strange to say these events proved of great financial benefit to the *Times*. Its circulation and advertising patronage were larger than ever before, although in later years Mr. Storey felt that his course during the war had been a mistake, as is evidenced by the remark he once made; "After this the *Times* will support all wars the country may undertake."

The "Copperhead" *Times* and its editor, "Old Storey," as he was called, were greatly hated, and personally he was many times in danger. "His office was manned by a voluntary fire department, and was equipped with guns, grenades, and ammunition. It was also supplied with pipes containing steam which might have been turned into any crowd attacking the doors." Among the newspaper men of the time there is not one with whom Storey may be compared. He was a type in himself, a class by himself, having no sympathies with the gentler side of humanity. He lived a life of tempestuous triumph in Chicago journalism, and reached the very pinnacle of unenviable notoriety. Storey accumulated a fortune by methods that even a low order of commercial standards would not justify. He failed afterwards "to stamp the impress of nobility and character upon his world, and his fortune faded as his brilliant intellect tottered and fell." [3] Storey died in 1884, after several years of waning mentality, apparently without a friend in the world.

THE UNION LEAGUE OF AMERICA

To oppose the malign activities of the disloyal societies formed from time to time throughout the Northern states, there was organized, in 1862, the "Union League of America." Numerous councils were formed in the Northwest, by means of organizers employed for that purpose. In a small printed manual for the use of these agents or organizers is stated the object of the League, which was as follows: "The object of this League shall be to preserve Liberty and the union of these United States; to maintain the Constitution thereof, and the supremacy of the laws; to put down the enemies of the Government and thwart the designs of traitors and disloyalists; and to protect and strengthen all loyal men, without regard to sect, condition or party."

In the ritual prepared for the use of the councils the presiding officer addresses the candidate for membership to some length. This striking sentence is quoted from the ritual; "It is a strange and sad necessity which impels American citizens to organize themselves in this manner to sustain the Constitution and the Union; but the Government under which we live is threatened with destruction."

Mr. Eli R. Lewis, well known in Grand Army circles, possesses copies of the manual and ritual, and when the Union League of America began its work he was one of the organizers, Mr. Joseph Medill being the president of the order. Mr. Lewis says that "no one knew the number of those who were members of the order except Mr. Medill."

The order exercised no marked influence, however, the principles for which it was organized becoming merged into the general tide of Union sentiment, which of course was overwhelmingly predominant.

[3] Chicago Newspapers, in Illinois Blue Book for 1907, p. 572.

MR. COOK'S VOLUME

In a volume recently published, entitled "Bygone Days," written by Mr. Frederick Francis Cook, the author gives many graphic descriptions of the stirring times of the Civil War in Chicago. Mr. George P. Upton, himself a veteran journalist and author, in an introductory note to the volume, says of the author: "It is my pleasure to have known Mr. Cook during the period he recalls in this volume. It is an advantage, in judging of its merits, that I was a fellow worker in journalism during the same period, and that we saw and heard and did much together. Mr. Cook, in those days, half a century ago, was an alert, keen, observant, well equipped reporter. . . . In preparing this transcript of Chicago's past, therefore, Mr. Cook has been not only well equipped for his task, but he could truthfully say, in marshalling events, '*Magna pars fui.*' As I have already intimated, half a century ago Mr. Cook and I were reporters together, bent upon the same assignments or enthusiastically competing for 'scoops.' . . . His book recalls to me the stirring events of the 'sixties' forcibly, accurately, and interestingly. It will furnish valuable material for any future history of Chicago, and to this extent it is a distinctly important public service."

A literary enterprise engaged in by Cook while on the staff of the Chicago *Times* shortly after the Great Fire was a series of articles of great historical interest. In his introduction to the volume previously referred to he says: "It is a gratifying reflection that, shortly after the fire, I felt moved to go about among the older settlers to revive and preserve their impressions of the early days; and these reminiscences, to something like four score issues, were published in the *Times* of Wilbur F. Storey (with which paper the writer was then connected) under the uniform heading of 'Bygone Days.' The series included the recollections of Gurdon S. Hubbard, then far and away the oldest inhabitant—his advent dating back to 1818—when, outside of the stockade known as Fort Dearborn, the only white family's habitation was John Kinzie's. These reminiscences were prepared with care; and as much then recorded was still matter of firsthand knowledge, and hence subject to contemporary correction, the series may be accepted as embodying fairly trustworthy data. Later a file of these published memoranda, together with a rare volume or two about early Chicago, was deposited with the Chicago Historical Society, where the historian of the future may find it worth his while to consult them."

CHAPTER XXVIII

CHICAGO IN WAR TIME

CAMP DOUGLAS ESTABLISHED BY GOVERNOR YATES—FIRST USED FOR INSTRUCTION OF RECRUITS—BECOMES A MILITARY PRISON IN 1862—CAMP FRY ESTABLISHED—THE PRISONERS OF WAR AT CAMP DOUGLAS—DISCIPLINE WITHIN THE CAMP—UNION PAROLED PRISONERS AT THE CAMP—NUMBER OF CONFEDERATE PRISONERS AT THE CAMP—EXPERIENCES OF A PRIVATE SOLDIER—OCCUPATION OF THE PRISONERS—ATTEMPTS AT ESCAPE IN 1862—CONDUCT AND APPEARANCE OF THE PRISONERS—CONSPIRACY AMONG THE PRISONERS IN 1864—OTHER ATTEMPTS TO ESCAPE—THE MILITARY COMMISSION—LAST YEAR OF THE PRISON CAMP—MONUMENT AT OAKWOODS CEMETERY—FREDERICK F. COOK'S ACCOUNT.

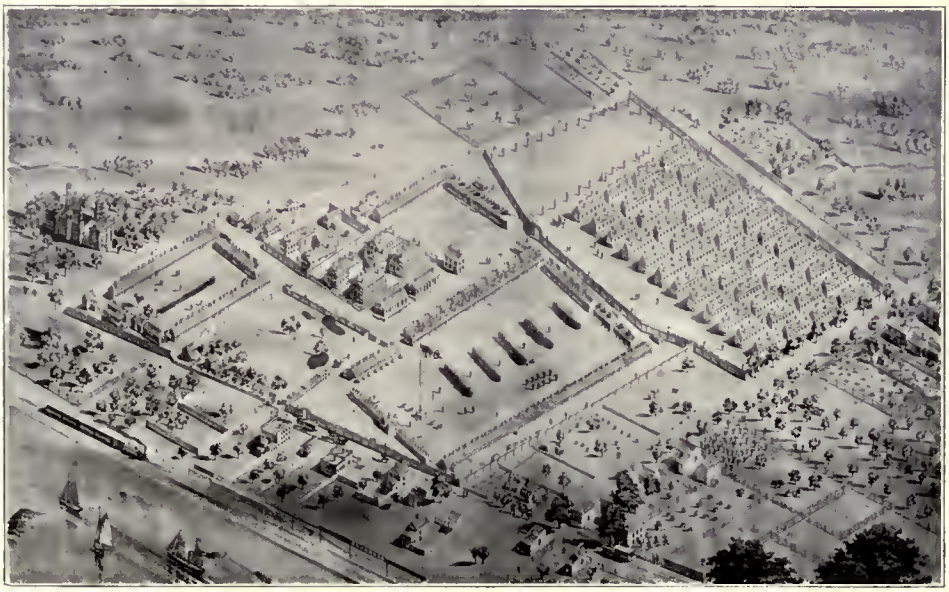
CAMP DOUGLAS IN THE CIVIL WAR

IN THE month of September, during the first year of the war, Governor Yates established a camp in Chicago named for the great senator who had passed away in the previous July, for whose loss the country was still mourning. Its location was on Cottage Grove avenue, between Thirty-first and Thirty-fourth streets, extending west to what is now Forest avenue. It comprised an area of about sixty acres, and was at that time just beyond the southern city limits. The camp was used at first for instruction purposes, for assembling troops, the formation and mustering in of regiments, and their drill and equipment for the field.

In the following year it was used as a place of confinement for the military prisoners who began to arrive in great numbers from the South, after the Fort Donelson campaign. Almost the entire number captured by General Grant in that campaign were sent to Camp Douglas and suitable quarters built for them. There were at this time some nine or ten thousand prisoners within the limits of this camp, guarded by two regiments of three months' men enlisted for that service; the Sixty-seventh and Sixty-ninth Regiments of Illinois Volunteers. These regiments were composed mostly of young men anxious to get a taste of a soldier's life and still not abandon their regular employments or studies. They found, however, that the duties were sufficiently arduous, though not so dangerous, as service at the front. Many of them, indeed, found the life so attractive that they re-enlisted in the three year service upon the expiration of their term of enlistment.

The formation of the new regiments went on without regard to these duties, and the armies operating in the South were rapidly supplied with the regiments fitted out at this point. The streets of Chicago were often alive with marching troops on their way to the Illinois Central Railroad depot, where they took the trains to the South. The cars on the Illinois Central used for the transportation of soldiers

VIEW IN FORT SHERIDAN, ABOUT TWENTY-SIX MILES NORTH OF CHICAGO



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VIEW OF CAMP DOUGLAS DURING THE WAR
CHICAGO UNIVERSITY AT THE LEFT

were usually ordinary box cars fitted with seats consisting of planks arranged transversely. The rolling stock of this and the other north and south lines was taxed to the utmost, in transporting both men and freight, throughout the whole period of the war.

Passenger traffic between the central part of the city and Camp Douglas at that time was maintained by a line of old fashioned horse cars, the line beginning at Randolph street, going south on State street to Twenty-second street, thence southeast on Cottage Grove avenue, and reaching its southern terminus at Thirty-first street; the time occupied in making the journey requiring about one hour. Later in the war the line was extended to Thirty-ninth street. At this point there were a few unimportant buildings, but beyond to the south extended a country road, along which was laid a single line of rails, and over this track the "Hyde Park Dummy," propelled by steam, ran occasionally, perhaps once an hour. On the east side of the road were thick woods with no sign of habitations beyond, so far as one could see, though of course the village of Hyde Park lay to the south on the line of the Illinois Central Railroad. Camp Douglas, in those days, was a very busy place, and the work of supplying the prisoners and troops with food and other necessaries kept all means of transportation taxed to their full capacity.

ANOTHER CAMP ESTABLISHED

At a later period in the war another camp was established on the north side, called Camp Fry, at the corner of North Clark and Diversey streets, the locality then being known as "Wright's Grove." This camp was used only for the assembling and mustering in of recruits, and as fast as the regiments were formed they took up the line of march south on Clark street to Wells, and thence along that street to Lake street. Lake street at that time had recently been paved with the Nicholson wooden block pavement, then very popular, on the level of the newly established grade, was free from car tracks, and was in fine condition for these stirring displays. Those who were living in the city at that time distinctly remember these frequent passages of troops along Lake street, the favorite route to and from the Illinois Central depot. In fact all through the war there was a continual coming and going of troops through Chicago, and the streets often rang with the cheers and applause of the crowds during their transit from one railroad station to another. Camp Fry, however, never attained the historical distinction enjoyed by Camp Douglas in the southern part of the city. It had a pleasant situation in the midst of the original white oak forest, then being rapidly cleared for the fast advancing improvements, vestiges of which still remain in that vicinity.

At various times during the following years there were frequent exchanges of military prisoners effected, so that large numbers of the prisoners were sent to their homes in the South, and corresponding numbers of Union prisoners, then within the Confederate lines, likewise released. It was a spectacle long to be remembered to see these multitudes of men in gray and "butternut" garb, ragged and threadbare, trooping to the long lines of freight cars drawn up on the lake front, from which point they started on their journey in hilarious spirits. The departing ones, however, would be soon replaced by fresh arrivals, so that the population of the camp was maintained at high figures, except at short intervals, throughout the entire period of the war.

In the later period of the war, it will be remembered, there were no exchanges of prisoners, and there was great discontent among the prisoners in view of their long confinement. This discontent became so acute that a number of plots and conspiracies were hatched among them to secure their liberty, and on several occasions were very nearly successful. It had frequently been the case that a few of the Confederates had succeeded in running past the guards, and though some had been recaptured, there were on the whole a great many who escaped, finding shelter and concealment among sympathizers in the city.

MILITARY PRISONERS AT CAMP DOUGLAS

Few persons, except those who have endured them, can properly appreciate the hardships suffered by prisoners of war. To be deprived of their liberty, without definite hope of release, suffering from homesickness, without occupation or amusement, with practically no opportunities for instruction or reading or exercise, quartered in a manner little better than are cattle, their lot was indeed one not to be envied. In ancient times military captives were sold into slavery if not put to the sword. In later times the lives of prisoners have been spared, but the dreadful suffering that has taken place, even as late as the period of our Civil War, among such unfortunates as fell into the hands of their adversaries, calls for our sympathy, no matter what their allegiance may have been.

The usual method of caring for prisoners of war was to provide an enclosure sufficiently large to shelter them within it. Here at Camp Douglas, the privates and non-commissioned officers were provided for as comfortably as possible in barracks. Commissioned officers were usually provided with better quarters in the same enclosure, although sometimes separately detained in forts in other parts of the country. Thus the famous "Libby Prison," in Richmond, was used by the Confederates as a place of confinement for Union officers only, while the privates and non-commissioned officers taken prisoners were established in large camps, the most famous one being that at Andersonville, Georgia. Owing to the limited resources of the Confederates, prisoners of war in the South suffered many hardships from want of food and shelter, which was not the case in Northern prisons to anything like the same extent.

At Camp Douglas the space marked out for the quarters of the prisoners was without any barrier during the first two years of the war, simply a raised causeway completely surrounding the entire space. Upon this causeway the soldiers guarding the prisoners were placed on beats about fifty feet in length. The number of guards was usually about one-tenth of the number of prisoners confined, which in most cases was found to be amply sufficient, though in times of trouble this force was frequently increased temporarily. The regulations regarding the prisoners were stringent, and by them were often regarded as oppressive and cruel, but one can well imagine that a large number of men confined in such a manner without regular occupation would easily become discontented, no matter how considerate their treatment might be.

LOCAL SYMPATHY FOR THE PRISONERS

The sympathy of the Chicago people was awakened in behalf of the prisoners confined at Camp Douglas, and soon after the arrival of a large number, some

eight or nine thousand, from Fort Donelson, a meeting was held in Bryan Hall, of which Rev. E. B. Tuttle was chairman and Thomas B. Bryan treasurer, where liberal contributions were made for their benefit. "Collections were taken in the churches" says Andreas, "and medicines were sent to the camp by the wagon load." [1] A relief committee was organized by the citizens who aided the authorities in supplying necessaries for the sick captives.

In addition to the prisoners the paroled Union troops from Harper's Ferry, some eight thousand in number, were brought to Camp Douglas, where they remained until exchanged. The paroled Union soldiers, however, were much more difficult to keep in proper restraint than the Confederate prisoners. General Daniel Tyler, who was in command of this class of soldiers, became exceedingly unpopular, owing to his alleged harshness, always a serious matter with our volunteer soldiery; "and the paroled men," says Andreas, "not knowing exactly how far they were amenable to military discipline under these conditions, became almost ungovernable." Their dissatisfaction culminated in attempts to burn the barracks and escape. Colonel Daniel Cameron of the Sixty-fifth Illinois soon afterwards succeeded Tyler, and was successful in restoring order and discipline among the paroled troops, whose lot indeed was almost as hard as that of the Confederate prisoners. By the following spring, March and April, 1863, all the Confederate prisoners had been exchanged and removed, most of the paroled troops had been discharged, and the camp was used for drilling and equipping new regiments for the field.

CAMP DOUGLAS IN 1863

In the summer of 1863, the camp was once more filled with Confederate prisoners, in preparation for which many alterations and improvements in its sanitary condition were made. A fence twelve feet high was built entirely around the camp, with a narrow platform, some four feet from the top, for the use of the guards. Sewers and water pipes were laid, and hospital accommodations increased. On account of attempted escapes by tunnelling, the authorities, during the year following, had the barracks raised on posts several feet high, so that a clear view beneath could be obtained at all times.

In May, 1864, Colonel Benjamin J. Sweet became commanding officer at Camp Douglas, and remained in command there until the end of the war. Soon after General Sweet's appointment, the number of prisoners, by reason of fresh arrivals from the field, increased to nearly twelve thousand.[2]

The Adjutant General of Illinois, Isham N. Haynie, in his report after the war had closed, gives a complete account of Camp Douglas, and of the prisoners confined there at different times. "As the prisoners were always arriving and departing," he says, "it is somewhat difficult to tell the exact number of prisoners confined in Camp Douglas during its existence as a military prison. . . . On the whole, there have been more than thirty thousand upon the prison roll, and of these nearly half that number were here together at one time."

An account derived from another source repeats some of the details given above, adding, however, others of interest.

[1] Vol. II, p. 301.
[2] Moses & Kirkland I, 177.

NUMBERS CONFINED AT CAMP DOUGLAS

At first, we read in the account, Camp Douglas was not a military prison. It was established as a rendezvous for the various regiments while being organized and where they could remain until they had received their marching orders. As such it was exclusively used until the latter part of February, 1862, when the prisoners taken at the surrender of Fort Donelson were quartered within its precincts. The Adjutant General's Report says that there were about five thousand prisoners confined at Camp Douglas after their arrival, and later in the year the prisoners taken in the Union victories at Pittsburg Landing and Island Number Ten added largely to the number. By the beginning of the year 1863, there were about nine thousand within the camp. During the ensuing winter and spring exchanges were freely made and the camp was nearly depopulated. In the fall of that year the capture of General John H. Morgan's raiding force in Ohio brought about five thousand to the camp, and during the next year (1864), prisoners arrived in great numbers from the scenes of General Sherman's operations.

On the first of January, 1865, the total number of prisoners confined within the camp was nearly twelve thousand. As the collapse of the Confederacy was seen to be almost at hand, and that further resistance was useless, large numbers of the prisoners recognized this fact and accepted the offer of liberation on condition of taking the oath of allegiance to the United States. In the month of May alone eight thousand, four hundred prisoners were released and sent to their homes in the South, and very soon the camp was almost completely deserted. A few still remained however. There were some two hundred who had determined never to take the required oath, but even these faithful adherents to the "Lost Cause" eventually changed their minds and accepted the same conditions as those who had already been released.

EXPERIENCES OF A YOUNG VOLUNTEER

It will be interesting to give a few extracts from the recollections of a young man, then eighteen, who served on guard duty in one of the regiments at Camp Douglas during the summer and fall of 1862. "This part of the city," he says, "was an open prairie and none of the streets in that vicinity had as yet been laid out. It was the second year of the war when this camp began to be used for the purpose of caring for prisoners of war, and it was about this time that two regiments of three months' volunteers, the Sixty-seventh and Sixty-ninth Regiments of Illinois Volunteers, were assigned to duty there. The Sixty-seventh Regiment was the one to which I belonged as a private, and had been recruited for this special purpose of guard duty in order to relieve the more experienced troops, previously on duty, for service at the front. Some may think that this was not a very arduous service and that those who were engaged in it were looking for a military campaign without the usual dangers and hardships attending such. It was found, however, that at the end of their terms of service many of these short term volunteers reenlisted in the regular three years' service, showing that the military spirit once aroused found its proper exercise in the more serious work of campaigning in the field.

"As for myself," continues the narrator, "I was not yet eighteen years of age, and fearing that the war would soon be ended without my being able to take any part in it, I seized the opportunity and enlisted in the three months' regiment

mentioned, considering that this short term of absence from home would not be so great as to cause distress to my parents who made strenuous objections to my entering the service. The term of three months, however, stretched out to five months before we were mustered out of the service. In order to give some idea of the expectations of the people regarding the war at that time, one must bear in mind that we had been looking for its early termination during the first year, and when I enlisted in the Sixty-seventh Regiment it was considered to be about the last chance one would have to see military service. These expectations, however, were far astray, as the event proved, and the war continued nearly three years beyond the expiration of this short term of service, and I had the opportunity of entering the service again, which I did in the following year, and participating in a campaign in the Southern states. As we read the history of the war in these years it does not seem to have covered so long a period as it did to the people of that time, who before half of the time had expired, began to long for the return of the 'piping times of peace.' This feeling was eloquently expressed by Mr. Lincoln in his second inaugural message: 'Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray; that this scourge of war may speedily pass away.'

"A song which enjoyed wide popularity was entitled, 'When This Cruel War is Over;' and when the closing events of the great struggle were taking place, nothing could exceed the joy of the people everywhere at the prospect of the early return of peace.

"The discipline among the guarding troops was the same as that in the field. They were most of them quartered in an encampment on an open piece of prairie, now covered with buildings, west of Camp Douglas. The guards were changed in the usual manner every two hours during the day and night, the following morning a new detail relieving the one on duty; and so changing until the third day usually brought back the ones on duty three days previously. The prisoners made little trouble during the first summer of their confinement. I imagine that after the hardships of the campaigns through which they had passed, most of them found it a season of rest and recuperation. They were well fed and comfortably housed. They were provided with clothing which was made of material called 'Kentucky jeans,' generally of a butternut color, and they were apparently far more comfortable than if in actual service. It was because of the color of their clothes that we termed them 'Butternuts,' by which term we usually addressed them. As there were about ten times as many prisoners as there were armed guards, they were of course very much in evidence. It was against the regulations to mingle with the prisoners, and hence they associated very much by themselves. They could be seen in great numbers engaged in sports of various kinds, running, jumping, and other games. Some spent the time in walking for exercise, some in making speeches to their fellows. In the evening, songs, violin-playing, dancing, and much hilarity and good spirits were indulged in. They had no occupation outside of keeping their own grounds in good order and their barracks clean and healthy."

ATTEMPTS AT ESCAPE

"I remember, on one occasion," continues the narrative, "that much alarm was caused by the sudden discovery of an extensive plot to liberate the prisoners. This

was in 1862. Among the Copperheads then in Chicago were many who were ready to join in any scheme which might give aid and comfort to their friends in the South. One very dark night, while serving the usual twenty-four hour term of guard duty,—that is, 'two hours on and four hours off' during that term,—I was sleeping at the guard house during the four hour interval, when the guard was suddenly awakened by the discharge of a cannon which was always kept ready for giving an alarm. I well remember the haste and agitation of the men as we fell into the usual order and adjusted our muskets for instant use. When thus 'sleeping on our arms,' as it was called, we kept the gun loaded but removed the percussion cap which would take but a moment to place in position. One man's nerves were so shaken that in putting the percussion cap in place his gun was discharged though, fortunately, without doing any injury to anyone, but which added greatly to the excitement.

"We went off in the darkness at a 'double quick,' and soon arrived at the point of disturbance just in the nick of time to prevent a general escape. Some 'sympathizers' outside had arranged with the prisoners by some means that at a certain signal a rush on the guard line should be made. The signal was the burning of an old soap factory about half a mile off. The flames lighted the sky and the rush was made. Our arrival, however, prevented a general escape, though a number succeeded in getting through and were no doubt quickly sheltered by their friends skulking in the darkness.

"I know of no severer test of the 'two o'clock in the morning courage' than a night alarm of this kind. The babel of voices, officers giving commands, the undisciplined clamor of the men in the ranks, the running about with torches and lanterns, the steady rolling of the drum, and the occasional shots on the guard line, tried the courage and put to the proof the youngsters who mainly composed the rank and file of the volunteers. A few skulkers were usually discovered at such times, for such alarms were not infrequent, and afterwards, they suffered for their cowardice among their comrades when they were exposed as they usually were. But generally they stood the test well, and those who at first became victims of their fears, often made steady and brave soldiers afterwards. Later in the war large numbers of these young volunteers, many of whom suffered from fright and a few of whom actually concealed themselves, became well-seasoned troops and gave a good account of themselves on many a bloody field.

"At a later period of the war, the authorities, warned by the occasional 'rushes' made by the prisoners over the guard line, had a fence built, twelve feet high, entirely around the camp, which served as a barrier to these sudden movements; and upon a raised platform along the fence the guards paced their beats. After the fence was built there were some determined attempts made to escape, one by tunneling through about fifty feet of earth directly underneath the sentinel's beat. There were some seventy who escaped in this manner during the month of November, 1863. Those who used this method of escape were called 'gophers.' They would remove the floor in their barracks, go down a few feet into the earth, and then burrow in a direct line outward until they had reached a point beyond the barrier. After the tunnel was completed some seventy of the prisoners escaped through it; but their operations having been detected the most of them were re-

captured, and effective measures were taken to prevent further escapes in that manner.

CONDUCT AND APPEARANCE OF THE PRISONERS

"The prisoners usually wore low-crowned slouch hats, and had long hair, like the Lacedaemonians of old. Not a blade of grass was visible within the space assigned to the prisoners, as the ground was worn bare from their continual movements. They made many trinkets which they found means to sell to visitors, such as canes, watch charms, and finger rings, the latter often whittled out of rubber buttons, and inlaid with small silver hearts and crosses. I often sympathized with the prisoners in their weary moving about, simply killing time. Still their lot was a pleasant one compared with that of the Union prisoners in the South, whose sad and tragic experiences have been so often described.

"In the center of the camp was a large square open space which was used as a parade ground. In the center stood a tall flag pole, and near it was ranged a battery of brass six-pounders, polished bright, and close by an ample supply of ammunition was placed. The prisoners were permitted to gather inside of a prescribed line, and every morning at 'Guard Mount,' and in the afternoon at dress parade, the square was heavily fringed with the crowds of prisoners who were interested in the spectacle. It was a fine sight there as it is anywhere to witness a guard mount or a dress parade. At the guard mount, which takes place according to military regulations every morning at nine o'clock, the companies are assembled, and stretch out in two lines across the field facing the commanding officer. The regimental adjutant is active on these occasions, going from company to company along the line, prompting the officers, criticising the formations, 'dressing' the front, and when all is found correct and the men standing at 'order arms,' he turns and salutes the colonel. The colonel then takes command, gives a few orders in the manual of arms, and hands over the further conduct of the ceremonies to the line officers. Following this the practical work of detailing the men for guard duty for the next twenty-four hours is attended to, the guard being divided into three divisions or 'reliefs,' and the whole line then breaking up and marching off to their different quarters to the lively music of the fife and drum.

"Meantime the men who are on guard duty are anxiously awaiting the arrival of the detachment which is to relieve them. This is soon accomplished and the old guard are then marched off to a convenient place and their guns, which had been loaded for the preceding twenty-four hours, are discharged. I remember well the frequent visits we made to the shore of the lake near where the Douglas monument now stands, where we were drawn up in line and discharged our muskets in volleys. The points where the balls would strike the surface of the lake could be seen as a jet of water would shoot upward. The ball would then skip along the surface for a long distance throwing up a line of jets all apparently at the same instant. This repeated by seventy-five or a hundred muskets made a very pretty display. Sometimes men would gather in groups on the tracks of the Illinois Central as a train was approaching, and remain, to the great alarm of the engineer, until the train was stopped after much whistling and bell-ringing. They would then slowly retire while fusillades of forcible language were exchanged between the engine crew and the soldier boys."

THE CONSPIRACY OF 1864.

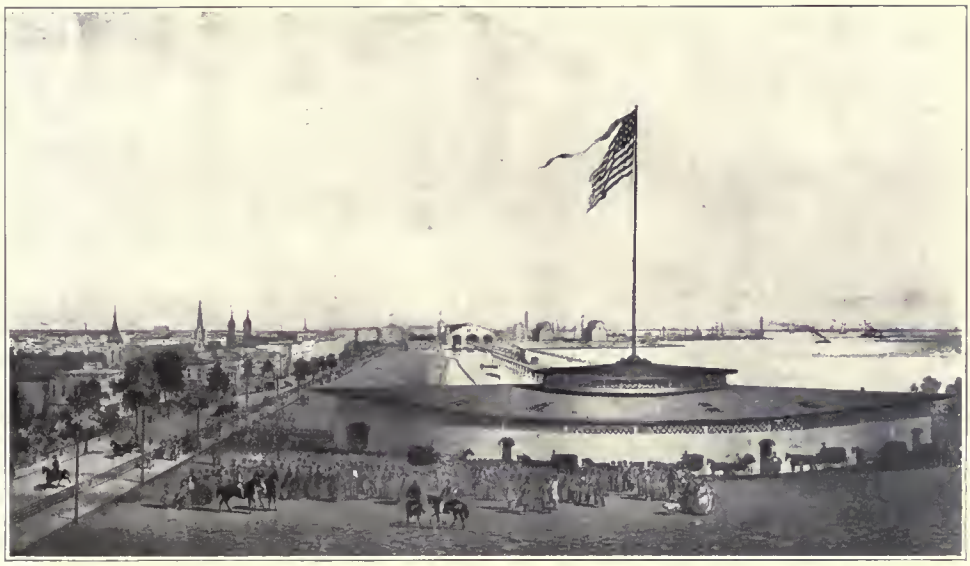
In connection with this subject it will be interesting to recount an episode which occurred during the fourth year of the war. It is referred to as the "Chicago Conspiracy," and it resulted in a trial of the offenders by a Military Commission followed by various sentences, as will be related later on.

While the war was in progress there was an element among the Northern people who were in sympathy with the rebels. The "Sons of Liberty" was an organization which had for its purpose, it was believed, the subversion of the Federal government. There were about two thousand members of the organization in Chicago, in 1864, and it held secret meetings at various places in the city. The Confederate government was in communication with this organization and sent agents by way of Canada, well provided with money to supply its members with arms, and direct its operations. The plan of the conspirators, as it afterwards became known at the trial, was to attack Camp Douglas, overpower the guard and release the prisoners. With their help they were to burn and destroy the city, to take away everything in the shape of movable property and escape to the South. The time selected was the date of the fall elections of 1864, when President Lincoln was a candidate for a second term, with General George B. McClellan at the head of the Democratic ticket. There was a growing sentiment that the war had continued long enough, and that some kind of a treaty should be made with the seceding states recognizing their independence. Those who held to this belief were popularly called "Dough-faces."

During the canvass which preceded the election the "Sons of Liberty" caused it to be widely proclaimed that there was an intention on the part of the government to interfere by military force at the polls against the Democratic party. This was made an excuse by the members of the organization to arm themselves, as they posed as champions of a free ballot, while at the same time they themselves were making the attempt to use force. They obtained and concealed arms and ammunition for themselves and the prisoners when released.

A few days before the election, a large number of persons of suspicious character arrived in the city from southern Illinois. The attention of the military authorities at Camp Douglas was called to the appearance of so many strangers, many of whom were known as Southern sympathizers, and among them some Confederate officers were also recognized. At that time there were only about eight hundred troops on duty, and the commandant, Colonel Sweet, now fully alarmed, determined on prompt action. On the night of November 6th, two days before the election, a detachment of troops arrested Colonel G. St. Leger Grenfell, of the rebel army, together with the other leaders in the movement who had reached the city secretly and were in hiding until the time should arrive for action. There was captured at the same time a large quantity of arms and ammunition, shot guns, revolvers and muskets, loaded and capped.

During the next day, the city was patrolled by a volunteer force, hastily assembled for the purpose, and the provost marshal and the city police arrested during the day something over a hundred of the rank and file of the conspirators, and imprisoned them at Camp Douglas. Among them were found deserters from the Federal army and those who had run away from the draft, besides



Original owned by Chicago Historical Society

DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL AMPHITHEATRE
Situated on Michigan Avenue, near Twelfth street

escaped rebel prisoners. The result was the complete collapse of the conspiracy. Soon after a military commission assembled to try the leaders for conspiracy in violation of the laws of war. This commission held its sessions at Cincinnati, at that time the military headquarters of the department, and continued three months, from January to April, 1865. Among the sentences was one for three years' imprisonment, one for two years, and one, that of Colonel Grenfell, the extreme penalty—death. The war then just reaching its termination seemed to have had an influence on the authorities, for these sentences were only partially carried out. Colonel Grenfell escaped execution by having his sentence commuted to imprisonment, and the others were pardoned.

THE CONFEDERATE PRISONERS

"The many thousand men who, at one time or another were then our unwilling guests, were on the average a brave and high-spirited class of men, as would be expected among troops who had been engaged in the defense of their homes from invasion," says the narrative. "Doubtless many of these men are still living whose memories of those days it would be interesting to record, were it possible to do so. While but little communication took place between the prisoners and their guards,—there should not in fact have been any if the regulations had been strictly observed,—there was a feeling of respect entertained towards the captives by the men whose duty it was to keep them in restraint. I do not recall anything that was ever said of an ill-natured character, or words uttered to injure their feelings."

The Union prisoners in the South were not treated with as much consideration in this regard as those above referred to, to judge by the numerous accounts we have of prison life in Dixie. However, as showing the sentiment of the Confederate soldiers towards the men whom they met in conflict, the following anecdote is related: Some Union prisoners captured at Chickamauga were being transported on a railroad train to Richmond. At one of the stations on the line of the railroad an elderly gentleman examined the prisoners with great attention, and presently remarked to some of them, "Yankees can't stand up against our Southern soldier. We whip you on every battle-field." "Look here," said one of the rebel guards who had accompanied the prisoners, "Look here, old man, I can't have you talking to these men like that. You never saw a Yank on the battle-field. I tell you they're *hard to ketch.* Now you stand back!"

ANOTHER ACCOUNT OF THE CONSPIRACY OF 1864

We have already quoted from the record kept of actual service by a young volunteer, and the account he gives of the Chicago conspiracy. The following more formal account, derived largely from Andreas' "History of Chicago," and from other sources, is inserted, which though repeating some of the details there given will, no doubt, be found interesting.

There was a plot formed in 1864 for the liberation of the Confederate prisoners of war at Camp Douglas, and also at other points in the state of Illinois—Rock Island, Alton and Springfield. It was to be the preliminary step in the execution of a design said to have been fostered and encouraged by the Confederate government. This design was nothing less than an extensive conspiracy to seize the gov-

ernments of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, and the formation of a Northwestern Confederacy. There were a number of secret societies in the North during the war, composed of persons disaffected toward the national government. One well known society of this kind was called "Knights of the Golden Circle." Its secrets, however, having been partially disclosed, this body ceased to exist, and later in the war was reorganized under the name of "Sons of Liberty." The society, or order, was virtually a military organization. The maintenance of slavery, and opposition to a coercive policy by the government in dealing with secession, were the main principles of the order. Its methods and purposes were to discourage enlistments and resist a draft; to aid and protect deserters; to disseminate treasonable literature; and, in general, to give aid and comfort to their friends in the South.

The Confederate government had sent three so-called "peace commissioners" to Canada, whose activities largely consisted in counseling and encouraging these treasonable societies, and furnishing them with funds, of which they appeared to have an abundant supply. The general management of the plot was under the charge of Captain Thomas H. Hines, who had formerly been an officer in the Confederate service. Colonel Vincent Marmaduke of Missouri, and Colonel G. St. Leger Grenfell, an Englishman, were selected to carry out the military part of the program.

There was to be a draft in July, 1864, and it was determined to arm the "Sons of Liberty" for resistance to its enforcement. This part of the scheme was, however, abandoned, and a later date chosen for an uprising. On the 29th of August, 1864, the National Democratic Convention was to assemble at Chicago, when it was expected that the city would be so crowded with strangers that the presence of a force of the "Sons of Liberty" would not excite comment. There were at this time some twenty-six thousand Southern prisoners in the state, of whom eight thousand were at Camp Douglas. The plan was to liberate these and form them into an army, march upon the military prisons in other parts of the state, and, with the aid of the liberated prisoners from them, to carry out their nefarious plans. Suspicions were aroused, however, and the military authorities reinforced the camp with a regiment of infantry and a battery of artillery. The organization of the conspirators was very imperfect when it was actually put to the test, not as many of them reported for service as was expected, and the project was, for the time, abandoned.

There was also another reason why the plot failed. The delegates assembled at the Democratic Convention were in sympathy with the Union cause though in opposition to the Republican party. It was at this convention that General George B. McClellan was nominated for the presidency as a War Democrat, in opposition to Abraham Lincoln for a second term, Lincoln having been nominated by the National Republican Convention at Baltimore in the preceding July. The Democratic delegates "could not fail to receive hints of the designs of the conspirators," says Moses and Kirkland in their "History of Chicago," "which they at once denounced, declaring that if any warlike disturbance occurred it would ruin whatever prospect of success the Democratic party might have before the people. Imperative orders were accordingly issued that order must be preserved, and they were, however reluctantly, obeyed." [3]

[3] Moses & Kirkland, "History Chicago," Vol. I, 179.

THE ATTEMPT AT ESCAPE IN OCTOBER

In October the authorities frustrated a well laid plan to escape, formed among the prisoners themselves. The plot was discovered through a prisoner who gave the information. An organization had been formed, reported the spy, of about one hundred men, who had taken an obligation to lead the way and attack the guard at a weak point on the line west of the camp, which if successful would have opened the way for the escape of the entire eleven thousand prisoners then in confinement. The Post Adjutant, Captain E. R. P. Shurly, in an account written in later years, said that eight o'clock in the evening of the day in which the prisoner gave the information, was the time appointed for the attempt to be made. When word was brought it was already six o'clock. It was a cloudy evening, looking like rain, and favorable for an enterprise of that kind.

"After dismissing the prisoner," relates Captain Shurly, "I started for the prison square. The officer in charge told me there seemed to be an unusual activity among the prisoners, and advised me not to go round without a guard. This I knew would attract attention, if not suspicion. At this time, the barracks occupied by the prisoners were in rows, raised on posts, and each barrack contained from one hundred and fifty to two hundred men. I noticed that there was an unusual stir among the prisoners in the barracks. After completing the tour, I returned to headquarters, satisfied that there might be some truth in the statement of my spy."

Colonel Sweet was absent at this time and Captain Shurly carried out the plan prepared for such an emergency. "I at once sent an order," continues Captain Shurly in his narrative, "to the commanding officer of the Eighth regiment to take post on the south and west of the camp. I ordered the Pennsylvania regiment on the rear of that and around it. I had notified the officer in command of the guard of what might be expected, and at the same time had strengthened the guard by turning out the other two reliefs. The rain began to fall, and it seemed to me that the camp was unusually quiet. The disposition of the troops had been made so quietly that the prisoners had not suspected it. . . .

"Eight o'clock had scarcely sounded, when crash went some of the planks from the rear fence, and the one hundred men rushed for the opening. One volley from the guard, who were prepared for them, and the prisoners recoiled, gave up, and retreated to their barracks. Eighteen of the most determined got out, but in less time than I can relate it, quiet was restored. I had the Pennsylvania regiment gradually close in from the outer circle of the race-course to the camp, and recaptured all of those that had escaped. I think eight or ten were wounded, but they all gradually recovered." [4]

THE GRAND AND FINAL ATTEMPT

The "Sons of Liberty" now prepared to carry into execution a much more elaborate plan than had been formed at any previous time. The day decided upon to carry out the plot was November 8th, the day of the fall elections. By this time the conspiracy had become much wider in its scope. It was now proposed to burn the

[4] Andreas: "History of Chicago," Vol. II, p. 308.

city and pillage the banks. Detachments were designated to apply the torch, others to open the fire plugs everywhere at the same time so that no head of water would be available to extinguish the flames, and others still to plunder the hardware stores of their arms and ammunition, and the banks of their money. But already the military authorities had become fully informed of the plans of the conspirators. Representatives of the government secret service had become members of the order, and regularly revealed their plans to Colonel Sweet, the commandant at Camp Douglas. Other valuable aid was received from Dr. T. Winslow Ayer of Chicago, also from Colonel Langhorne, an ex-Confederate who had taken the oath of allegiance, and Colonel J. T. Shanks, also formerly of the Confederate service. These men, after learning the plans of the conspirators, were appalled at the horrible nature of the details unfolded to them, and determined to reveal the plot to the authorities.

RINGLEADERS ARRESTED

Considering that the time had arrived for action, Colonel Sweet, on the morning of the 7th of November, ordered the arrest of the leaders. Captain Hines succeeded in making his escape, having received intelligence in advance of the proposed arrests. All the other ringleaders were taken into custody,—"Brigadier-General" Charles Walsh, a resident of Chicago, in whose house and barn was found a large quantity of arms and military stores, Colonel G. St. Leger Grenfell, Colonel Vincent Marmaduke, W. R. Anderson, R. T. Semmes, Charles T. Daniels, Captain Cantrell, Captain Traverse, and Judge Buckner S. Morris, who was the treasurer of the order of the "Sons of Liberty," and a large number of the rank and file of the conspirators. Most of the latter, it was found, were deserters from the Federal army, and those who had run away from the draft.

Judge Morris had been a resident of Chicago for some thirty years, had been mayor of the city in 1838, and judge of the circuit court in the early fifties. He was a man of considerable wealth and influence, and though it had been known that his sympathies were with the Southern cause—he was formerly a resident of Kentucky—there was much surprise when it became known that he was arrested as a conspirator. Judge Morris was regarded as a man of integrity and was known to be kind-hearted and generous. At the ensuing trial, as we shall see, he was fully acquitted of treasonable designs against the government by the Commission before which he and others were tried. The arrest and trial were the sorrow of his life and a blow from which he never recovered. He retained, however, the friendship and respect of his associates, business and professional, ever afterward. Captain Shurly says, "History should do justice to Judge Buckner S. Morris; he was entirely innocent."

THE MILITARY COMMISSION

Early in January, 1865, by order of Major-General Joseph Hooker, commanding the Northwestern Department and the Department of the Ohio, a military commission was assembled at Cincinnati, to try by court martial the officers and leaders in the conspiracy. The charges were; first, "Conspiring, in violation of the laws of war, to release the rebel prisoners confined by authority of the United

States at Camp Douglas, near Chicago;" and, second, "Conspiring, in violation of the laws of war, to lay waste and destroy the City of Chicago, Illinois."

The trial was not concluded until the following April. Judge Morris was acquitted, as was also Colonel Marmaduke. Anderson committed suicide during the trial; Walsh, Semmes and Daniels were sentenced to the penitentiary, and Grenfell was sentenced to be hung. Grenfell's sentence, was, however, afterwards commuted to life imprisonment at the Dry Tortugas, where he mysteriously disappeared some years later, but whether he escaped or was drowned in the attempt to do so, has never been known.[5] The British government, through diplomatic channels, had made repeated efforts to secure Grenfell's release, a brother of his being a general in the British army. Daniels escaped and was never recaptured, while Walsh and Semmes, after undergoing brief terms of imprisonment, were pardoned.

It was in reference to the disloyal elements among the Northern people, and evidently with the Chicago conspiracy in mind, that General Grant wrote as follows in his "Personal Memoirs:" "Troops were necessary in the Northern states to prevent prisoners from the Southern army being released by outside force, armed and set at large to destroy by fire our Northern cities. Plans were formed by Northern and Southern citizens to burn our cities, to poison the water supplying them, to spread infection by importing clothing from infected regions, to blow up our river and lake steamers—regardless of the destruction of innocent lives. The Copperhead disreputable portion of the press magnified rebel successes, and belittled those of the Union army. It was, with a large following, an auxiliary to the Confederate army. The North would have been much stronger with a hundred thousand of these men in the Confederate ranks, and the rest of their kind thoroughly subdued, as the Union sentiment was in the South, than we were as the battle was fought." [6]

THE LAST YEAR OF THE PRISON CAMP

Owing to the cessation of exchanges in the last year of the war, the prospects of the prisoners for release became contingent upon the close of hostilities. As the hopelessness of their cause became apparent to them many of the prisoners took the oath of allegiance to the United States and enlisted in the Navy, in which service they would not be so likely to be taken prisoners and treated as deserters by their old comrades. Thus the reduction in their number went steadily on. Early in April, the long threatening collapse of the Confederacy became an accomplished fact by the surrender of Lee and the fall of Richmond. During the summer the return of the remaining Confederate prisoners to their homes was fully accomplished.

By the beginning of August, 1865, all had left the camp except a few who were in the hospitals. The troops doing guard duty were mustered out, and the camp remained in charge of a small force only. The camp was used for a time as a rendezvous for regiments returning from the South. In the following November, a

[5] Historical Encyclopedia Illinois, p. 75.

[6] Grant's "Personal Memoirs," Vol. II, p. 502.

sale of all the government property was ordered, and all the buildings and fences were disposed of, after which Camp Douglas ceased to exist.

SIX THOUSAND CONFEDERATE DEAD

In 1893 there was dedicated at Oakwoods cemetery, Chicago, a monument to the Confederate dead, in memory of the six thousand or more soldiers who had died in captivity and were buried at Oakwoods during the time that Camp Douglas was used as a prison. There is a complete list of the names of the Confederate soldiers buried there, in the possession of the Chicago Historical Society. Inexpressibly pathetic were the circumstances of their dying hours, as is equally true of the Union men who died in Southern prisons far from their homes. In the words of General Wade Hampton, who delivered the address at the dedication of the monument: "They died here, in what they looked upon as a foreign and hostile land, far from the land of their birth, with no tender hand of mother or wife to soothe their entrance into the dark valley of the shadow of death, and with all the memories of their far-off homes and loving kindred to add the sharpest pangs to death itself."

CEMETERIES OF CHICAGO AND VICINITY

There are fifty-one cemeteries in Chicago, the most important of which are Rosehill, Graceland, Oakwoods and Calvary. In Cook County, including those within and without the limits of the city, there are eighty-five cemeteries. Between 800,000 and 1,000,000 persons are buried in the cemeteries of Chicago and its immediate vicinity. Calvary cemetery, situated just north of the city limits and within the limits of the city of Evanston. contains the largest number of graves, namely, about one hundred and fifty thousand.

The number of Union soldiers who died during the Civil War, or who have died since its close, and are now buried in the cemeteries of Cook County is estimated by Mr. E. R. Lewis, who has devoted much time to the compilation of data on the subject, at sixty-five hundred persons. In Rosehill there are 1450, in Oakwoods 900, in Graceland 800, and in Calvary 450. The remainder of the 6500 are scattered among the other cemeteries.

The practice of the government in establishing National cemeteries on or near great battle fields, where the bodies of those who fell in battle are decently buried and provided with headstones, is well known. These cemeteries are tastefully laid out through which walks and drives give access to every portion. Monuments are placed in suitable positions, and, in addition to the names placed on headstones of all those who can be identified, tablets are erected at many points bearing appropriate inscriptions in commemoration of their deeds and sacrifices.

One of the most beautiful as well as the most frequently recurring of these inscriptions is a stanza from Theodore O'Hara's fine poem, "The Bivouac of the Dead." This stanza is given here as an expression of a mortuary sentiment equaling if not excelling in fitness and poetical imagery the finest elegiacs of any age.

"On Fame's eternal camping ground
Their silent tents are spread;
And Glory guards, with solemn round,
The bivouac of the dead."

THE CONFEDERATE DEAD IN OAKWOODS CEMETERY

There are 6129 bodies of Confederate soldiers lying in Oakwoods cemetery who died during the last three years of the Civil War while prisoners of war at Camp Douglas. Among the remains of the Confederate soldiers are those of twelve Union soldiers, but their graves cannot be distinguished from the others. A monument was erected to the memory of the Confederate dead and dedicated July 23d, 1893, which is fully described in another place in this history.

On one occasion the graves of the Confederate and Union soldiers were impartially strewn with flowers by the women of a Mississippi town. This circumstance inspired the writing of that beautiful poem known as "The Blue and the Gray," by F. M. Finch, which breathes the spirit of peace and reunion, one stanza of which is given here.

"No more shall the war-cry sever,
Or the winding river be red;
They banish our anger forever
When they laurel the graves of our dead!
Under the sod and the dew,
Waiting the judgment-day;
Love and tears for the Blue,
Tears and love for the Gray."

FREDERICK F. COOK'S INTERESTING ACCOUNT

Perhaps this chapter of the memories of the Civil War connected with Camp Douglas cannot be more appropriately closed than by some quotations from Frederick F. Cook's recent volume entitled "Bygone Days," filled with interesting episodes of Chicago history. "Except in those parts of the South where the actual struggle took place," he writes, "perhaps no locality felt its impact more directly, or lived in the presence of its varied accompaniments more persistently, than Chicago. Not only was this city a leading recruiting center and passageway to and from the field, but from the first year of the war to the end there were imprisoned in its immediate vicinity (the spot is now in the very heart of one of its great divisions) for most of the time, a number sufficient to constitute a Rebel army corps. It was because there were here great recruiting camps, with fairly substantial barracks, that Chicago was elected to this doubtful distinction in the first instance; and its continuance was largely due to the fact that nearly all the prisoners captured in large bodies by the Federal arms were taken in the West; whereas it was the Eastern Union armies that filled Andersonville and other Southern prison camps.

"The Rebel horde that was confined in Camp Douglas was a source of mixed sensations to the people of the city. To the timid it was an ever present menace; and during its continuance real estate in its neighborhood was little in demand for permanent improvement, though considerable ground thereabout was covered by temporary ramshackles, occupied by dealers in provisions." The Camp became a popular resort for sight-seers, and on Sundays the horse cars, taking an hour to perform the journey, were crowded; and when after the surrender of Harper's

Ferry to the Confederates, something like seven thousand paroled Union soldiers were added to the population of the camp, the place was doubly besieged by interested and curious visitors. "There was, to be sure, little enough for the latter to see when they got there, unless provided with passes; but for most of this sort it was enough that the place brought them in imagination in contact with something that resembled the seat of war."

LIFE AMONG THE PRISONERS

Mr. Cook in his reminiscences says that he found little trouble in procuring admission to Camp Douglas, where he mingled freely with the prisoners. He says he found them apparently well fed; "and they certainly appeared a jolly lot, much given to horse play. By a class of Northern apologists for the state of things reported about Andersonville, it has been asserted that matters were in all respects equally bad at Camp Douglas; but for such a contention there is as little foundation as there would have been excuse for its existence. Camp Douglas was at the door of the greatest food stores in the world; and if in such case the prisoners were persistently starved, as has been charged against Andersonville, such a condition could be attributed only to deliberate malice; whereas the excuse of the South has been that they had not always the wherewith to supply their captives, and that, on the whole, they were as well cared for as their own men in the field at various exigent times.

"However, as to the charge of unsatisfactory sanitary conditions until matters had come to a pretty sad pass, that is unfortunately only too well founded. When the camp was laid out as a mustering station, a thorough sanitary system was recommended, but because it was supposed to be only a temporary arrangement, this was not carried out; consequently, it was in this respect far from ideal even as a rendezvous for the Federal recruits. . . . But this applies only to the first half of the prison's existence. Later it was placed in an admirable sanitary condition.

FREQUENT CHANGES AT THE CAMP

"Camp Douglas, first as a rendezvous for the early enlistments, and later as the principal Northern prison for captured Confederates, was for four years so continually in people's thoughts, and its varied phases, frequent transformations, and moving incidents in so many ways register the changing tides of the great struggle, that its part in the pageant of war-time Chicago calls for more than a passing notice. It was ever in a state of flux." There were changes in commanding officers, changes of troops on guard, and changes in the occupants of the prison.

"The prisoners kept coming and going," says Cook. "Sometimes there would be as many as ten thousand or more, and later only some skeletons of regiments. Then a new contingent would arrive; and altogether the number imprisoned aggregated over thirty thousand. Among those to put in a forced appearance were the 'Morgan Raiders' captured in the fall of 1863, at Salem, Ohio. These numbered something like five thousand, many of them Kentuckians, and were by far the jolliest lot of the various consignments. When time hung heavily on their hands they improvised 'shows,' had mock trials for all manner of offenses, and did quite a trade in jack knife handiwork."

COMMENTS ON THE CONSPIRACY TO LIBERATE PRISONERS

"Much has been written about the conspiracy to liberate the Confederate prisoners, with the object of harassing the rear of the Union armies," says Cook. "The exact truth about this attempt may never be known, for there were political exigencies to be served that might well have tempted to an exaggeration or distortion of appearances. That there was some foundation for all the excitement stirred up may well be admitted; but that any wholesale scheme of liberation was contemplated or seriously furthered by the Confederate authorities is highly improbable. What could such a horde, even if partially provided with arms, have accomplished, a thousand miles or more from any helpful support? To be sure, it might well have brought about the fate that overtook Chicago a few years later; but such an adventure could have had no appreciable effect on the fortunes of war, and the consequences would have fallen in the end most heavily on the heads of those who had promoted the offense.

"That there were not wanting opportunities for hatching a conspiracy between those within the camp and any sympathizing and adventurous friends outside, is not open to doubt. There was a goodly number of Kentuckians among the prisoners, and there was also a considerable Kentucky element in the city's population, with quite a sprinkling of relatives within the enclosure;" and on account of the well known laxity of surveillance it was not difficult to establish communications with the prisoners.

CHAPTER XXIX

LATER EVENTS OF THE CIVIL WAR PERIOD

THE DRAFT OF 1864—THE LAST CALL FOR TROOPS—LARGE BOUNTIES PAID FOR RECRUITS—NUMBER OF TROOPS FURNISHED BY ILLINOIS—NUMBER FURNISHED BY COOK COUNTY—WAR TIME TRANSPORTATION—CONDITIONS IN THE NORTH CONTRASTED WITH THOSE IN THE SOUTH—THE DEATH OF LINCOLN—THE FUNERAL JOURNEY—ARRIVAL OF THE REMAINS AT CHICAGO—LYING IN STATE IN THE COURTHOUSE ROTUNDA—JOURNEY TO SPRINGFIELD—GREELEY'S TRIBUTE TO LINCOLN—WORK OF THE SANITARY COMMISSION—FIRST SANITARY FAIR—THE ORIGINAL COPY OF THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION—"OLD ABE," THE WAR EAGLE—THE SECOND SANITARY FAIR—SAMUEL BOWLES' VISIT—JOHN L. SCRIPPS—WRITES THE FIRST AUTHORIZED BIOGRAPHY OF LINCOLN—BECOMES POSTMASTER AT CHICAGO—ANNIVERSARIES CELEBRATED IN 1911.

THE DRAFT OF 1864

ON July 4th, 1864, President Lincoln issued a call for five hundred thousand men. The quota of Illinois under this call was fixed at 16,182 men, of which Cook county was to furnish 1,818. A "Citizens' Enrollment Committee" was organized which cooperated with the military authorities in the work of raising this number of men. A bounty of three hundred dollars to each recruit was offered by the county, but as in the progress of enlistments even with that inducement the quota had not yet been filled, a draft was inaugurated September 26th. The drawings were spasmodically conducted, the voluntary enlistments being so numerous that it often seemed unnecessary to continue its operation. However, fifty nine conscripts were drawn for service, but before they were sent to the field they were relieved by volunteers; so that there were no drafted men sent to the army from this state up to that time, nor, indeed, at any time during the war, as we shall presently see.

Reviewing a book on the Civil War a writer in the *Nation* recently said: "In the first flush of war excitement and patriotic fervor, volunteering can be depended upon to supply the raw material for armies, but the wearing quality of that system is poor. The bounty plan proves to be most unsatisfactory, and a rigid draft does great harm to the industries which must supply the means to wage the war. The question how best to maintain an army in a democracy remains for the present unanswered."

THE LAST CALL FOR TROOPS

In the proclamation issued by Governor Richard J. Oglesby, on the 17th day of January, 1865, (the very day of his inauguration) he announced to the

people of Illinois, that a call had been made by the President of the United States for three hundred thousand more men to serve in the armies of the Union. He appealed to the people to fill up the proposed new regiments by voluntary enlistments, and thus manifest once more their patriotism and devotion to their country. He promised to make known the quota of troops to be raised in this state as soon as it could be ascertained.

"In appealing to you," said the Governor, "I believe that neither the state nor the general government will ask in vain. At no time during the existence of this wicked rebellion has Illinois been behind her sister states in manifestations of loyalty and patriotism; and during the darkest hours of this contest, her sons, with matchless heroism and devotion, have ever responded to the requirements of our National Executive. I feel that you will do so again;" and that thousands will come forward and leave their avocations "whilst their country needs their services and calls for their assistance."

The President's proclamation had referred to the Act of Congress of the previous July, which provided that, at the President's discretion, he might order a draft to complete the quotas assigned to any district or city, if he found it necessary to do so, under any call that should hereafter be made. Thus the President said that "in case the quota or any part thereof . . . shall not be filled before the 15th day of February, 1865, then a draft shall be made to fill such quota." The Governor in his proclamation to the people of Illinois refers to this subject in these words: "Let it not be said when our brave Illinoisans, under the gallant Sherman, have penetrated the heart of the rebellion, and our heroic and indomitable Grant is breaking down the very gates of its citadel, and the end of the rebellion, so far as we can see, is not distant, that at this hour Illinois has dimmed and tarnished her proud record by tardiness and inaction; but let her respond with men as true and brave as those who have shed such imperishable fame upon her arms."

THE RESPONSE TO THE PRESIDENT'S CALL

The ardor and patriotism of the people were aroused, and everywhere the most enthusiastic spirit prevailed. Camp Fry, in Chicago, was the rendezvous appointed for the northern portion of the state, while Camp Wood, at Quincy, was designated for the southern. At these camps the rapidly forming "one hundred companies," named in the Adjutant-General's orders, were assembled, and soon formed into ten regiments, the 147th and the 156th, inclusive, each containing ten companies. The recruiting for these went forward with so much success that it soon became apparent that there would be more volunteers than sufficient for the ten regiments. The draft, which had been fixed for February 15th, was therefore temporarily postponed, until it could be definitely ascertained how many men would be required to fill the quota of the state.

The organization of the ten regiments having been completed, making a total of approximately ten thousand men, it was determined to continue the recruiting, sending the excess forward to fill up regiments already in the service, whose ranks had been depleted by the casualties of war and otherwise. Nearly five thousand more men were in this way supplied for the armies in the field, and assigned to old regiments. "The wisdom as well as the justice of these assignments of new

men to old regiments," said Adjutant-General Haynie, in his report made to the Governor on January 1st, 1866, (which we quote with some slight verbal alterations), "has been abundantly vindicated by subsequent experience, for not only has the new recruit been enabled to become more rapidly *veteranized,* and has been more speedily made acquainted with the duties expected and required of him, but he has been allowed to share the laurels already won, and indulge in the proud consciousness that thenceforth the fame and just credit of the army in the field belonged to him also."

The quota for Illinois under the President's call was, after considerable delay, determined to be 32,892 men, of which the City of Chicago was expected to furnish 5,202. Chicago had already fully met the demands upon her under the previous calls, and although enlistments under the last call had been numerous, up to the time that her proportion was ascertained, it was found to the surprise of every one, that there would be a deficiency in the number to fill the quota. "We are required," said the Governor in his proclamation of March 6th, 1865, making the announcement of the state's quota, "to furnish fourteen thousand more [troops]. . . . Citizens of Illinois, let this be done, if possible, without a draft." It became plain, however, that the draft would have to be resorted to, and preparations were accordingly made to comply with the President's order for a draft to complete the assigned quota.

MEASURES TO ENFORCE THE DRAFT

Naturally, the prospect of enforcing the draft created a feeling of apprehension among the large class of "stay-at-homes," and extraordinary efforts were made to complete the quota before the time came to put the order into effect. Committees of citizens raised funds with which to stimulate enlistments by offering bounties in addition to those already offered by the government, so that many new recruits received in bounties, and for their services as "substitutes" as much as eight hundred dollars each, and in some cases even more. The regular bounties, which it had become customary to pay to new recruits from an early period of the war, was increased by 1863, to three hundred dollars each to new recruits, and four hundred dollars each to "veteran volunteers," as they were called, that is, those who had already served their time in the army, and had been discharged. Many cities and counties also offered extra bounties for new recruits, according to their ability to provide for them. The whole amount paid by Cook county and the City of Chicago together for bounties was $2,801,239. The total amount paid by the cities, towns and counties of the entire State of Illinois was $13,711,389.

The large bounties paid gave rise to a class of swindlers who were called "bounty jumpers," men who would take the first opportunity to desert after enlistment. Some of these rascals, after escaping from the branch of the service in which they had enlisted, would re-enlist in some other part of the country where they were not likely to be known, and thus secure another bounty. In fact many such were apprehended and were made to suffer the consequences of their infamous conduct.

In the spring of 1865, it was plain to all observers of the course of events that the war was rapidly approaching its termination, and when the time came to enforce the draft, there was actually no draft made whatever. "It can be said,"

says the author of "Bygone Days," "that no drafted man went into the field from Illinois."

THE CLOSE OF THE CIVIL WAR

The Civil War ended with the surrender of General Lee at Appomatox Court House, on the ninth of April, 1865. The armies of the Union were at that time never so formidable, never so invincible, and, until recruiting ceased by order of Secretary Stanton, were daily adding to their strength. The reduction of the army began almost immediately. Two places in Illinois were designated as the rendezvous for the returning troops, Camp Butler at Springfield, and Camp Douglas at Chicago. Early in June the railroads of the state extending toward the south and east from the two places named as rendezvous, were taxed to their utmost capacity to furnish transportation for the returning soldiers, impatient to receive their discharge.

This work went on during the summer, until by the end of the season only a few regiments were left in the south where they were needed at certain points for garrison duty. These, however, were relieved as soon as possible by the United States regular troops, and, in the course of the following year, the last remaining organizations of volunteer troops from Illinois had been mustered out, and the men had returned to their homes.

The total number of troops furnished by Illinois to the armies of the Union was 255,057. The total losses among the Illinois troops by the casualties of war and by disease were 34,834, of which 9,894 were killed in battle or died of wounds, the remaining 24,940 having died of disease. The proportion of those who died in the service to the whole number of enlistments was therefore about thirteen and two-thirds per cent. The total number of troops furnished by Cook county was 22,532, and according to the proportion above given, the losses by death among the Cook county volunteers were somewhat more than three thousand men.

"In all the great events of this wonderful period of our history," says Adjutant-General Haynie in his report, "the sons of Illinois have borne their full share, and now that the record is closed, ready to be written out and delivered to posterity, no citizen of the state can have cause to feel other than a just pride in reviewing the achievements of our soldiery."

THE CAUSES OF THE CIVIL WAR

Writing of the Civil War in the United States, Spenser Wilkinson, an eminent English military critic, says: "I believe that all serious wars in or between civilized communities are struggles between right and wrong, and that on the whole and as a rule, it is the cause of right which prevails. The American Civil War appears to me to be a striking illustration of this belief. The cancer from which the body politic of the United States was suffering during the first half of the nineteenth century was the institution of negro slavery. The Civil War was the operation which provided the needed relief."

Judge Carter's views as to the real cause of the Civil War differ from those of the writer previously quoted from. "Few appreciate the greatest result of that war," says Carter. "It is usually argued that it was brought on by slavery, and it is generally accepted that the freeing of four million bondsmen was the greatest

result of that terrible struggle. The freeing of the slave was indeed a priceless gain, but all thoughtful students of history now agree that that was a mere incident of the war; that as one of our great historians has said, 'far more subtly interwoven with the innermost fibers of our national well being, far heavier laden with weighty consequences for the future of mankind, was the question whether this great pacific federal principle joined with local independence should be overthrown by the first great social struggle in this country.'

"The federal principle contains within itself the working basis of permanent peace. . . . The working out of this federal idea, as John Fiske has said, 'was the finest specimen of constructive statesmanship the world has ever seen.' It was a long step toward reaching a proper solution of the settlement of social and governmental problems by methods of peace and law. 'This greatest safeguard of universal peace,' this pacific principle in government was imperiled by the revolt of the South. Had it been successful the progress of civilization might have been delayed for centuries."

Lincoln's own words may well be quoted as a contribution to the question of what was the great issue of the Civil War. In his famous reply to Greeley he wrote: "If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time save slavery, I do not agree with them. If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time destroy slavery, I do not agree with them. My paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union, and is not either to save or destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slave I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that. What I do about slavery and the colored race, I do because I believe it helps to save the Union, and what I forbear I forbear because I do not believe it would help to save the Union."

These words are engraved on the base of the Lincoln statue in Lincoln Park, and in placing them there the sculptor, says Judge Carter, showed "a clear insight as to Lincoln's place in history. The words of that inscription show the thoughts that inspired Lincoln in his leadership of his people,—words which demonstrate his thorough grasp of the great problems that were facing him, written when he had already made up his mind that he would at the proper time issue the Emancipation Proclamation, freeing the slaves."

WAR TIME TRANSPORTATION

The demands upon the transportation lines caused by the Civil War called attention to the inadequacy of the Illinois and Michigan Canal, as a means of handling the vast volume of products coming to the Chicago market. It could be used only half the year at best, and, although its carrying rates were low, it could not keep pace with the rapidly extending railroad lines in quickness of movement, all-the-year-round service, or in widening its tributary area by means of branch lines. The Canal however was of great public utility in keeping the railroad rates low in all the territory it penetrated.

When the canal was projected it was the intention to provide a channel six feet in depth, but during the progress of the work the difficulty of procuring funds

made it necessary to change the plan in this respect. It was therefore completed on the so-called "shallow cut" plan, that is with a depth of four feet, which could be done at much less cost. Of course the capacity of the canal boats was much less with the shallower channel, and it became necessary when increased efficiency was desired to deepen the channel.

During the first year of the war there arose a demand for a ship canal to connect the lakes with the Mississippi river, which resulted in the calling of the River and Harbor Convention of 1863, as we have related elsewhere. This enlargement, however, was not completed until 1871. But while water transportation lagged railroad transportation increased enormously. "The story of Civil War transportation," says Professor Emerson D. Fite, in a work recently published entitled "Social and Industrial Conditions in the North During the Civil War," "is one of remarkable growth and prosperity, of extraordinarily heavy traffic, great profits, and many improvements in equipment; of hard wear on every part of the roads, but of little actual construction of new lines. It was an era of decided public interest in transportation questions, of keen competition between rival cities to secure additional facilities. Far from checking their development, the war worked to the advantage of the canals and railroads." [1]

ADVANTAGES POSSESSED BY CHICAGO

Chicago's geographical situation, as well as the great advantage there was in the level country surrounding it, rendering it easy of approach, were the determining factors in attracting the railroad builders of that day. "In the West," says Professor Fite, "the most fortunately situated city was Chicago, which as the converging point of a magnificent network of railroads covering the whole West, whence three trunk lines and the lakes led eastward, constituted the collecting and distributing point of a vast area. This post Milwaukee sought to wrest from her, while the honor of being the gateway between the East and the West was contended for by four cities, Buffalo, Oswego, Cleveland, and Erie. St. Louis and Cincinnati each possessed favorable transportation facilities, although like Baltimore in the East, they were too near the seat of war to obtain much share in the growing trade; all three border cities had difficulty in holding their own. Most of the new business went to Chicago in the West and to New York in the East, and the Chicago-New York route was the most important highway of commerce." [2]

WAR TIME CONDITIONS IN THE NORTH

"In the North, the country, the towns and the cities presented about the same appearance they do in time of peace. The furnace was in blast, the shops were filled with workmen, the fields were cultivated, not only to supply the population of the North and the troops invading the South, but to ship abroad to pay a part of the expense of the war. In the North the press was free up to the point of open treason," while in the South there was no "fire in the rear" of this description. "The press of the South," said General Grant, "like the people who re-

[1] Fite, p. 77.
[2] Fite, p. 48.

mained at home, was loyal to the Southern cause. . . . The colored people, four million in number, were submissive and worked in the field and took care of the families while the able-bodied white men were at the front fighting for a cause destined to defeat. The cause was popular, and was enthusiastically supported by the young men." [3]

THE DEATH OF LINCOLN

The death of Abraham Lincoln occurred on the 15th of April, 1865. The people of the North were in the midst of rejoicings over the fall of Richmond and the surrender of Lee's army, when like a thunder bolt the news was flashed over the country that Lincoln was shot by an assassin. The particulars of this foul deed are so well known that it is not necessary here to enter into a description of it. The joy and gladness of the people were thus suddenly turned into grief and mourning and the loss was, if possible, more keenly felt in Illinois than elsewhere. "In Illinois," says Dr. Eddy, "the grief was the deeper because Illinois best knew and loved the slain chieftain. He had grown with her growth, he was identified with her history, he had fought the battle of freedom on her prairies, she had given him to the nation, and had sent him with loving benedictions and earnest prayers to the post of responsibility, peril, death." [4] But even so it would be invidious to claim for the Illinois people any greater affection and admiration for the great War President than was felt for him everywhere, throughout the loyal states of the Union.

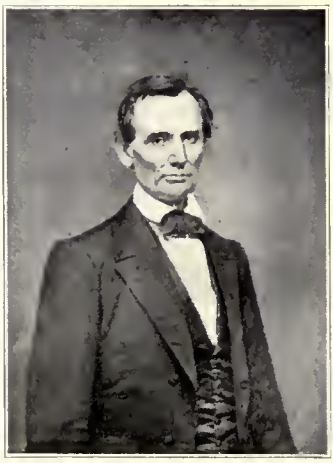
The President had been warned that a plot existed against his life, but he paid little heed to it. In his desk was a place in which to keep letters threatening his life, and to which he had attached a label, "assassination letters." On the morning of the fatal day he had "talked with his wife," says Dr. Eddy, "of the four stormy years he had passed, and of the dawn of peaceful times and the coming of better days." In the afternoon he saw a number of gentlemen from Illinois, and in the early evening conversed at some length with Speaker Schuyler Colfax and George Ashmun of Massachusetts, and invited them to accompany him to Ford's theatre that evening, an invitation that they were unable to accept. It will be remembered that Mr. Ashmun was the chairman of the Chicago convention where Lincoln was nominated in 1860, and was at the head of the committee which visited Springfield immediately afterwards to make the official notification.

Throughout the land all was mourning and lamentation. Buildings were draped with mourning emblems everywhere. In many of the principal towns of Canada the demonstrations were as general and impressive as in the states. A committee of one from each loyal state and territory was chosen to accompany the remains to their last resting place, at his former home in Springfield. From the White House a vast procession accompanied the remains to the Capitol, which was "clad from basement to the summit of its lordly dome with garments of woe." Here the body laid in state, attended by a guard of honor, one of whom was Lieutenant Henry A. Pearsons of the Eighth Illinois Cavalry, who had enlisted from Evanston, and is at this time a resident of that place. "Illinois demanded that he whom she

[3] U. S. Grant: "Personal Memoirs," Vol. II, p. 502.
[4] Thomas M. Eddy: "Patriotism of Illinois," Vol. II, p. 25.

From "The Hamiltonian"

THE BODY OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN AT THE COOK COUNTY COURTHOUSE ON THE TRIP FROM WASHINGTON TO SPRINGFIELD



From Tarbell's "Life of Lincoln"

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

From photograph taken by Brady in 1860

From Tarbell's "Life of Lincoln"

THE FUNERAL CAR IN WHICH LINCOLN'S BODY WAS TRANSPORTED

sent forth with her benediction and invocation to be the nation's leader," says Dr. Eddy, "should be brought home to sleep in her own bosom, far from the scenes of the war which gave him so much anguish. It was meet that his last resting-place should be on the broad prairies where he made his home; and that, not at Washington, neither in Chicago, where sleeps the dust of Douglas, his great rival, and at the last his trusted friend, but at Springfield, his former home, from which he spoke his good-bye to Illinois, and asked the prayers of fellow-citizens, should his grave be made."

THE FUNERAL JOURNEY

Accordingly, the War Department made arrangements for a funeral train to bear the remains to Illinois. The official program directed that it should not "exceed nine cars, including baggage and hearse car." The funeral car was draped in festoons of black. The train left Washington on the 19th, and passed through Baltimore, Harrisburg, Philadelphia, New York, Albany, Buffalo, Cleveland, Columbus, Indianapolis, arriving at Chicago on the morning of the 1st of May. Stops were made at all these places, and the features of the great leader were gazed upon by sorrowing multitudes, as the body lay in state. "The reception and funeral cortege in New York," says Dr. Eddy, "cannot be described. The veteran General Dix was in command and the escort was the 'New York Seventh.' The body was conveyed with imposing circumstance and pomp to the City Hall and placed beneath the dome. It is estimated that not less than one hundred and fifty thousand persons looked into the dead man's face."

ARRIVAL IN CHICAGO

On its arrival in Chicago, the funeral train stopped at Park Row, where the coffin was removed and borne to a hearse. A procession was formed with Colonel Rosell M. Hough as chief marshal. Major-General Joseph Hooker and his staff rode at the head of the procession, the General remaining uncovered throughout the entire distance. A company of young women in white dresses preceded the marching men. The line was "nowhere less than four abreast," said the *Tribune*, "and moving in admirable order and without any considerable pauses or delays, occupied over four hours in passing a given point." The number of those who had places in the procession was given as nearly forty thousand persons, while the multitude who witnessed it were estimated to be about one hundred and twenty thousand men, women and children.

The pall-bearers were: Lyman Trumbull, John Wentworth, Francis C. Sherman, Edwin C. Larned, Francis A. Hoffman, J. Russell Jones, Thomas Drummond, William Bross, John B. Rice, Samuel W. Fuller, Thomas B. Bryan, and J. Young Scammon. The procession moved to the music of dirges played by the bands, with drums muffled, and flags furled. Everywhere the people gave signs of heartfelt grief, and they looked on in silence as the sad procession swept by.

The casket containing the remains was taken to the Court House, where it was placed upon a catafalque under the dome, heavily draped within and without. The buildings of the city were extensively covered with mourning insignia, flags

waved at half-mast, while minute guns were fired and the bells of the city tolled in honor of the dead.

One of the Chicago papers said: "From the capital of the nation, where he had so ably and faithfully guided the republic in its trial hours, through the great Eastern cities, their thronging thousands bowed down in anguish, westward through the capitals of the great states of the Ohio valley, the mourning increasing in intensity and depth of feeling, the funeral train brought him at last to Chicago, the city that he loved and that loved him so well, and he was received with a solemn magnificence of pageantry and funeral pomp unexcelled anywhere on the route. There were arch and festoon, the black for sorrow and white for hope; the old flag waved at half mast that a week before was flying to the breeze in honor of victory; there were tolling of bell and booming of minute gun, solemn dirges wailing upon the air, and thousands of silent men and women and children standing upon the walks with bared heads and reverential mien as the great dead passed by, receiving in their hearts the powerful impressions and influences inspired by the presence of these sacred ashes."

LYING IN STATE AT THE COURT HOUSE

The remains lay in state during that day, and until the day following, the approach of night having no effect in diminishing the throngs; so that when daylight came the ceaseless stream of humanity was still passing through the rotunda, to look upon the beloved face before it should be consigned to the tomb. "At intervals during the evening," said the *Tribune,* "several dirges were sung, and at midnight the Germans, numbering several hundred, chanted a beautiful and impressive dirge, with thrilling effect." The music of one of the dirges was composed by George F. Root especially for the occasion. This music was again rendered at Springfield when the final exercises were held in that city. "It was estimated," said the *Tribune,* "that up to midnight at least forty thousand persons had looked upon all that remains of Abraham Lincoln." Before the closing of the casket, in the afternoon of the next day, it may be safely stated that there were three or four times that number who passed through the rotunda of the Court House to view the remains.

"The interior of the rotunda in its sombre draperies was an awe-inspiring sight," says Frederick F. Cook, in his book "Bygone Days." Mr. Cook relates that his newspaper duties,—he was then a reporter for one of the Chicago papers—prevented him from falling into line until three o'clock in the morning, "and even at that unusual hour, so extended was the line, that I was nearly an hour and a half in reaching the bier. Once within the rotunda, at every step was heard the whispered 'move on' from a guard at one's elbow; and before one had time to take bearings, he found himself beside the casket. So dim was the light, and so indistinct all objects in the strange surroundings, that I was quite even with the face before my eyes were fully fixed upon it, and there was time only for a vague impression." The decorations inside the Court House remained ten days after the funeral to allow persons to view them who had been unable to come sooner.

DEPARTURE FOR SPRINGFIELD

"It seemed almost like profanation of the sleeping President's rest," says Holland, "to bear him so far, and expose him so much; but the people demanded it and would take no denial," At 9:30 on the night of May 2d, the funeral train left the depot of the Chicago & Alton railway, on the last stage of its journey, and at length reached Springfield on the morning of the 3d of May.

A committee of one hundred citizens of Chicago also went to Springfield, in a train preceding by two hours the funeral train.[5] The names of the committee have been recalled by Simeon W. King in a communication to the Chicago *Daily News* in March, 1909, and are given below, with such corrections as he considered necessary for accuracy made at a subsequent interview with the writer, in September, 1910. These names are fairly representative of the prominent citizens of Chicago of that time, and they will thus be of interest to the reader of the present day. Besides the committee of one hundred there were other groups, guards of honor, pall-bearers, etc., in which were serving other old friends and well-known citizens, whose names do not appear in that committee.

THE COMMITTEE OF ONE HUNDRED

The names of the committee were: John B. Rice, mayor of the city, and the following ex-mayors: Benjamin W. Raymond, Alson S. Sherman, James H. Woodworth, Isaac L. Milliken, John C. Haines, Charles M. Gray, Alexander Loyd, and Julius S. Rumsey. Others were Melville W. Fuller, afterwards chief justice of the United States, Rev. Otis H. Tiffany, James B. Bradwell, Joseph E. Gary, Van H. Higgins, John C. Dore, John V. Farwell, Matthew Laflin, Samuel S. Hayes, Charles Randolph, Tracy J. Bronson, Stephen Clary, Mancel Talcott, Dr. Aaron Gibbs, Hugh T. Dickey, Harvey D. Colvin, Thomas Hoyne, Elliott Anthony, Oramel S. Hough, Ira Y. Munn, Evert Van Buren, Erastus S. Williams, Charles H. Walker, William D. Houghteling, Gurdon S. Hubbard, Iver Lawson, Benjamin E. Gallup, Jabez K. Botsford, A. B. Johnson, John M. Wilson, William H. Brown, Mark Skinner, G. P. A. Healy, George M. Kimbark, William Wayman, H. E. Sargent, Charles G. Hammond, Samuel Hoard, Peter Page, William H. Bradley, Laurin P. Hilliard, George Anderson, John G. Gindele, Uriah P. Harris, Dr. James V. Z. Blaney, Joshua L. Marsh, James H. McVicker, Edwin Burnham, William F. Tucker, John B. Turner, Silas B. Cobb, Isaac Speer, Robert Hervey, John B. Drake, Dr. Daniel Brainard, Luther Haven, George Schneider, William L. Church, Samuel Howe, Henry W. Bigelow, John Jones, Joseph Medill, Alfred H. Blackall, Anton C. Hesing, Timothy B. Blackstone, Robert H. Foss, Lorenz Brentano, Julius White, William J. James, Stephen A. Goodwin, John H. Kinzie, John F. Beatty, Thomas B. Bryan, David R. Holt, Robert McChesney, John Alston, James H. Goodsell, George C. Boles, Dr. William Wagner, James Miller, William W. Boyington, James W. Sheahan, Martin L. Sykes, John A. Wilson, James H. Field, Captain James Smith, Calvin T. Wheeler, Nathan W. Huntley, Benjamin F. Patrick, John C. Williams.

[5] Eddy: "Patriotism of Illinois," Vol. II, p. 32.

FUNERAL AT SPRINGFIELD

At Springfield, on the morning of May 3d, a vast throng of sorrowing friends and old neighbors met the train bearing all that was mortal of the dead president. With the remains were also brought those of the little twelve-year old son, Willie, who had died at the White House more than three years before, and for whom Mr. and Mrs. Lincoln had deeply grieved. The casket in which were the remains was borne to the State House in the center of the city, and there the body lay in state, from noon of May 3d to noon of May 4th.

The body was then taken to Oak Ridge, a shaded and beautiful spot, two miles from Springfield. "Here," says Miss Tarbell, "at the foot of a woody knoll, a vault had been prepared; and thither, attended by a great concourse of military and civic dignitaries, by governors of states, members of Congress, officers of the army and navy, delegations from orders, from cities, from churches, by the friends of his youth, his young manhood, his maturer years, was Lincoln carried and laid, by the side of his little son. The solemn rite was followed by dirge and prayer, by the reading of his last inaugural address, and by a noble funeral oration by Bishop Simpson. Then as the beautiful day drew toward evening, the vault was closed, and the great multitudes slowly returned to their duties."

A fine tribute to Lincoln is found in Spenser Wilkinson's Introduction to Wood & Edmonds' "History of the Civil War in the United States," published in 1905, as follows:

"The great figure of the story is that of President Lincoln, whose honest purpose of heart enabled him not only to grasp the true nature of what was taking place, but to bring the cause of right to its triumphant conclusion. Lincoln was the statesman who conducted the war, and beside him the figures even of such great generals as Grant and Sherman sink into comparative insignificance. Yet it is probable that if at any period of his life Lincoln had had the opportunity to make himself acquainted with the true nature of war, if before he was elected to the Presidency he had read and pondered over the half-dozen chapters in which Clausewitz discusses the relations between war and policy, he would have better estimated the resistance which he had to expect and the effort needed to overcome it. As it was he had to learn in the bitter school of experience. That which marks him out from later statesmen of our own day is that he learned his lesson."

GREELEY'S ELOQUENT TRIBUTE

There was an address on Lincoln made by Horace Greeley, about 1868, which for some reason was not published until long after Greeley's death. The Century Magazine, in the number for July, 1891, printed the address in full, with a note by Joel Benton, in which he said: "Mr. Greeley's manuscript, now in the possession of a former editor of the *Tribune,* has been lent to me to decipher. Its frequent and closely and minutely written interlineations, and its general illegibility have made its reproduction a somewhat appalling task."

In this address Horace Greeley eloquently discourses upon Lincoln's character. He reviews some of the events of the Civil War, of Lincoln's conservative views in his treatment of the slavery question, which yet led irresistibly to the great step of emancipation. He speaks of his "manifest determination to treat the pros-

trate insurgents with unexampled magnanimity," and of the terrible crime "which with singular madness quenched, under the impulse of intense sympathy with the Rebellion, the life which was at that moment of greater importance and value to the rebels than that of any other living man." Lincoln grew "under the discipline of incessant cares, anxieties and trials." If he had lived twenty years longer "he would have steadily increased in ability to counsel his countrymen, and in the estimation of the wise and good."

"But he could in no case have lived so long," says Greeley. "The tension of mind and body through his four years of eventful rule had told powerfully upon his physical frame. When I last saw him, some five or six weeks before his death, his face was haggard with care, and seamed with thought and trouble. It looked care-plowed, tempest-tossed, and weather-beaten, as if he were some tough old mariner, who had for years been beating up against wind and tide, unable to make his port or find safe anchorage. Judging from that scathed, rugged countenance, I do not believe he could have lived out his second term had no felon hand been lifted against his priceless life.

"The chief moral I deduce from his eventful career asserts
'The might that slumbers in a peasant's arm!'

the majestic heritage, the measureless opportunity of the humblest American youth. Here was an heir of poverty and insignificance, obscure, untaught, buried throughout his childhood in the primitive forests, with no transcendent, dazzling abilities, such as make their way in any country, under any institution, but emphatically in intellect, as in station, one of the millions of strivers for a rude livelihood who, though attaching himself stubbornly to the less popular party, and especially so in the state which he had chosen as his home, did nevertheless become a central figure of the Western Hemisphere, and an object of honor, love, and reverence throughout the civilized world. Had he been a genius, an intellectual prodigy like Julius Caesar, or Shakespeare, or Mirabeau or Webster, we might say: 'This lesson is not for us—with such faculties any one could achieve and succeed;' but he was not a born king of men, ruling by the resistless might of his natural superiority, but a child of the people, who made himself a great persuader, therefore a leader, by dint of firm resolve, and patient effort, and dogged perseverance.

"He slowly won his way to eminence and renown by ever doing the work that lay next to him—doing it with all his growing might—doing it as well as he could, and learning by his failure, when failure was encountered, how to do it better. Wendell Phillips once coarsely said: 'He grew because we watered him.' which was only true in so far as this—he was open to all impressions and influences, and gladly profited by all the teachings of events and circumstances, no matter how adverse or unwelcome. There was probably no year of his life in which he was not a wiser, cooler, better man than he had been the year preceding. It was of such a nature—patient, plodding, sometimes groping, but ever towards the light—that Tennyson sings:

'Perplext in faith, but pure in deeds,
At last he beat his music out.
There lives more faith in honest doubt,
Believe me, than in half the creeds.'

"There are those who profess to have been always satisfied with his conduct of the war, deeming it prompt, energetic, vigorous, masterly. I did not, and could not, so regard it. I believed then—I believe this hour—that a Napoleon I, a Jackson, would have crushed secession out in a single short campaign—almost in a single victory. I believed that an advance to Richmond 100,000 strong might have been made by the end of June, 1861; that would have insured a counter-revolution throughout the South, and the voluntary return of every state, through a dispersion and disavowal of its rebel chiefs, to the counsels and the flag of the Union.

"But such a return would have not merely left slavery intact—it would have established it on firmer foundations than ever before. The momentarily alienated North and South would have fallen on each other's necks, and, amid tears and kisses, have sealed their Union by ignominiously making the Blacks the scapegoat of their bygone quarrel; and wreaking on them the spite which they had purposed to expend on each other. But God had higher ends to which a Bull Run, a Ball's Bluff, a Gaines's Mill, a Groveton, were indispensable; and so they came to pass, and were endured and profited by. The Republic needed to be passed through chastening, purifying fires of adversity and suffering; so these came and did their work, and the verdure of a new national life springs greenly from their ashes.

"Other men were helpful to the great renovation, and nobly did their part in it; yet, looking back through the lifting mists of seven eventful, tragic, trying, glorious years, I clearly discern that the one providential leader, the indispensable hero of the great drama—faithfully reflecting even in his hesitations and seeming vacillations the sentiment of the masses—fitted by his very defects and shortcomings for the burden laid upon him, the good to be wrought out through him, was Abraham Lincoln." [6]

WALT WHITMAN'S POEM

That most beautiful and deeply pathetic poem of Walt Whitman's on the death of Lincoln, may be fittingly given here, expressing as it did the profound grief of the people over the irreparable loss suffered by them in the hour of their triumph.

"O CAPTAIN! MY CAPTAIN!

"O Captain! my Captain! our fearful trip is done,
The ship has weather'd every rack, the prize we sought is won,
The port is near, the bells I hear, the people all exulting,
While follow eyes the steady keel, the vessel grim and daring;
But O heart! heart! heart!
O the bleeding drops of red,
Where on the deck my Captain lies,
Fallen cold and dead.

"O Captain! my Captain! rise up and hear the bells;
Rise up—for you the flag is flung—for you the bugle trills,
For you bouquets and ribbon'd wreaths—for you the shores a-crowding,
For you they call, the swaying mass, their eager faces turning;

[6] Century Magazine, July, 1891.

Here Captain! dear father!
This arm beneath your head!
It is some dream that on the deck
You've fallen cold and dead.

"My Captain does not answer, his lips are pale and still,
My father does not feel my arm, he has no pulse nor will,
The ship is anchor'd safe and sound, its voyage closed and done,
From fearful trip the victor ship comes in with object won;
Exult, O shores, and ring O bells!
But I with mournful tread
Walk the deck my Captain lies,
Fallen cold and dead."

WORK OF THE SANITARY COMMISSION

The Sanitary Commission was a voluntary organization which began its existence on the 9th of June, 1861, on that date having received the official recognition of the President.[7] Its purpose was to afford relief to "soldiers in actual service, whether on the march, in camp, or in hospitals." The Chicago Branch was organized October 17th, 1861; Mark Skinner was chosen president, Rev. O. H. Tiffany, vice-president, H. E. Seelye, recording secretary and treasurer, and E. W. Blatchford, corresponding secretary. Before the close of the year Dr. Tiffany and Mr. Blatchford visited a large number of military hospitals. In this work the Sisters of Mercy rendered valuable aid. Many Aid Societies, tributary to the Chicago Branch, were formed throughout the neighboring states, which collected and sent in supplies and cash donations. Festivals and fairs were held which enlisted a wide public interest, these being especially promoted by the efforts of women. Mrs. A. H. Hoge, Mrs. O. E. Hosmer, and Mrs. Mary A. Livermore were especially prominent in this work, assisted by great numbers of other patriotic women. An account of their work is given in a volume entitled "Woman's Work in the Civil War," by L. P. Brockett, and in "Women of the War," by Frank Moore. An extended account of the work of the Sanitary Commission is given in Andreas' "History of Chicago," Volume II, page 314.

"Relief societies," says Andreas, "for the care of soldiers' families, Loyal Leagues, Soup houses, a Soldiers' Home and Rest, societies, and innumerable other agencies for the amelioration of suffering at home, on the field, and in camp and hospital were established, supported and carried on by the men and women of the city. After every battle, during any long and exhaustive encampment, Chicago was on the field, with her hand outstretched filled with blessings. Wherever her boys went, she followed; and when they returned, she stood waiting to receive them, generously and gratefully."

THE FIRST SANITARY FAIR

A call was made for a "Council of Women from the Northwestern States," to be held at Bryan Hall on September 1st, 1863. One hundred and fifty delegates

[7] Andreas II, 314.

from the various aid societies connected with the Chicago Branch of the Sanitary Commission assembled, and Mrs. A. H. Hoge was chosen president. It was determined to hold "a grand bazaar for the sale of fancy and useful articles of all varieties," the proceeds to be applied to relief work. On the 28th of October following, the first Sanitary Fair was opened, the ceremonies including a street pageant of which the *Tribune* said, "We doubt whether a more magnificent spectacle was ever presented in the streets of the Empire City itself, than the vast procession of chariots and horsemen, country wagons and vehicles, civic orders and military companies, both horse and foot, which converted Chicago, for the time, into a vast theatre of wonders."

A striking feature of the procession was the "Lake County Delegation." The people of that county were represented by one hundred wagons loaded to overflowing with every variety of produce, the leading wagon bearing a flag with the inscription, "The gift of Lake County to our brave boys in the hospitals, through the Great Northwestern Fair." On the arrival of the procession at the Courthouse the people were addressed by Hon. Thomas B. Bryan, after which the wagons discharged their loads at the store-houses of the Commission. A great number of other gifts was made to the Fair to be sold for the benefit of the fund.

THE ORIGINAL EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION

The most valuable gift to the Fair was that made by Mr. Lincoln,—the original draft of the Emancipation Proclamation of January 1st, 1863, written by the hand of the President himself. Accompanying this document was an autograph letter from Mr. Lincoln in which he said: "I had some desire to retain the paper, but if it shall contribute to the relief or comfort of the soldiers, that will be better." During the time the Proclamation was in the custody of the Fair managers, Mr. E. W. Blatchford, the treasurer of the Fair, removed the document to the vault of the ~~Tremont House~~ Marine Bank every night. This duty Mr. Blatchford attended to himself. The Proclamation was sold by the managers of the Fair, Mr. Thomas B. Bryan becoming the purchaser for the sum of three thousand dollars. Mr. Bryan presented the document to the Soldiers' Home, of which he was the president. A lithograph fac-simile copy of the document was made, together with Mr. Lincoln's letter, and printed on a large sheet. Copies thus made were sold at two dollars each. One of these copies may be seen at the present time in the secretary's room of the Chicago Historical Society.

A gentleman now residing at Elmhurst, who was a neighbor and friend of the late Thomas B. Bryan, relates the following interesting particulars, as told by Mr. Bryan himself, regarding the manner in which the original Emancipation Proclamation, written in Mr. Lincoln's own hand, came into the possession of the managers of the Northwestern Sanitary Fair, held in Chicago during the month of October, 1863.

The ladies of the Board of Management had conferred with Mr. Bryan on the possibility of obtaining this precious document, which had been issued on the preceding first of January, as a gift to the Fair, to be sold for the benefit of the wounded and sick soldiers and sailors in the military and naval service of the United States.

Mr. Bryan, who was an old friend of Mr. Lincoln's, agreed to propose the matter to the President. He took a train to Washington and called upon Mr. Lincoln at the White House. He addressed him saying, "Mr. President, the ladies in charge of the Fair have asked me to procure from you, if possible, the original Emancipation Proclamation, to be exhibited at the Fair, and afterwards to be sold for the benefit of the wounded and sick soldiers and sailors." Mr. Lincoln replied: "Thomas, I wanted to keep that proclamation to give to my sons as a family keepsake; but my soldier boys are dearer to me than anything else in the world, *and they shall have it.*" Mr. Bryan said there were tears in Mr. Lincoln's eyes while he thus spoke.

THE SUBSEQUENT LOSS OF THE DOCUMENT

The original draft of the Emancipation Proclamation given to the Sanitary Fair by Mr. Lincoln, was eventually destroyed in the Great Fire of 1871. After the precious document came into possession of the Soldiers' Home, as a gift from Mr. Thomas B. Bryan, the Board of Managers of that institution deposited it with the Chicago Historical Society, which was supposed to have a fire-proof building, thus insuring its safety, as it was hoped, for all time to come. It was framed and hung on the walls, where it remained until the Great Fire of 1871. On the approach of the fire the assistant secretary of the Historical Society, Colonel Samuel Stone, fearing that the building would not be able to withstand the fierce and unchecked fury of the conflagration, thought it better to remove the document before the flames had reached the building. "I attempted," he wrote, "to break the frame of the Proclamation and take it out, but the frame was so stout it was not easily done; and just as I was making the attempt there came another blast of fire and smoke. . . . The entire building and everything surrounding it was one mass of flame, the fire burning every brick apparently." Thus perished the original draft of the Emancipation Proclamation of January 1st, 1863.

THE DOCUMENT PRESERVED AT ALBANY

In a work recently published entitled "Bygone Days," by Frederick F. Cook, the writer says that there is another "original" Emancipation Proclamation in the New York State Library at Albany. This leaves a wrong impression, however. The document there preserved is an altogether different one, in fact it is not the Emancipation Proclamation at all. The explanation involves a brief historical review. It will be remembered that a preliminary proclamation was made by President Lincoln on September 22d, 1862, one hundred days before the issuance of the one which actually gave freedom to the slaves, namely the one bearing the date of January 1st, 1863. In this preliminary proclamation the President gave formal notice to the states in rebellion in these words: "That on the first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand, eight hundred and sixty-three, all persons held as slaves within any state or designated part of a state, the people whereof shall be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforward, and forever free; and the executive government of the United States, including the military and naval authority thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons."

It is a well known matter of history that, true to his promise, the President issued the proclamation on the first of January following. In Carpenter's "Six Months in the White House," a remark subsequently made by Mr. Lincoln is quoted in regard to the time which elapsed between the preliminary and final proclamations. "It is a somewhat remarkable fact," said Mr. Lincoln, "that there were just one hundred days between the dates of the two proclamations issued upon the 22d of September and the 1st of January. I had not made the calculation at the time."

The proclamation which the New York State Library has in its possession is the original draft of that of September 22d, 1862. This was therefore the one issued preliminary to the proclamation which actually freed the slaves. Copies of both proclamations are printed in full in Arnold's "Life of Lincoln," pages 263-265. The one preserved at Albany was presented by President Lincoln "to the Albany Relief Bazaar on January 4th, 1864," says the assistant archivist of the New York State Library, Mr. Peter Nelson, in a letter to the writer under date of September 26th, 1910, "and by means of a lottery organized by the Bazaar brought eleven hundred dollars to its funds. It was drawn by Gerrit Smith, a member of the special committee in charge of the lottery, who gave it to the United States Sanitary Commission. In 1865, it was bought by vote of the New York Legislature for one thousand dollars."

This rather lengthy explanation is here made to correct the impression prevailing in some quarters, that there is an "original" draft of the Emancipation Proclamation in existence other than the one destroyed in the Chicago Fire.

"OLD ABE," THE WAR EAGLE

Another attraction at this Fair was the famous war eagle "Old Abe." This eagle was carried by the Eighth Wisconsin regiment from the beginning of their service, in the fall of 1861, as their regimental standard. After the Vicksburg campaign the eagle was sent to Chicago along with its bearer, and became one of the chief attractions of the Fair. Pictures of "Old Abe" were sold by the tens of thousands. This remarkable bird had been through many battles but seemed to bear a charmed life, for while the flag carried by the regiment was shot to tatters the eagle never lost a drop of blood, though some of his feathers were shot away. It is said that he was a favorite mark for the confederate sharpshooters who were never able to make a hit. "While on exhibition at the Fair," says Cook "he made it plain that he had a poor opinion of his surroundings—that he missed the bugle call and the roar of battle. Then it happened one day that a noted war orator in attendance was called on for a speech. No sooner had he got well started than 'Old Abe' rose on his perch, flapped his wings, and evidently mistaking what he heard for the familiar, terror-inspiring 'rebel yell,' screeched a wild defiance." The eagle in due time returned to the regiment in the field and remained with it until the end of the war. After the war he was cared for by the State authorities at Madison, Wisconsin, and was a regular and popular attendant at state fairs, monument dedications, and reunions. His death occurred in 1881.

The Fair was held in Bryan Hall, though it was on too large a scale to be contained therein, and other buildings in the vicinity were in part utilized for the

purpose. The net proceeds of the Fair amounted to eighty-six thousand dollars. It was a great success. On the last day all the wounded and invalid soldiers who could be collected were taken to the dining-hall and given an ample dinner, and were addressed by Miss Anna Dickinson, the well-known lecturer. Soon after the name of the organization heretofore known as the "Chicago Sanitary Commission" was changed to the "Northwestern Sanitary Branch of the United States Sanitary Commission." Mr. E. B. McCagg was chosen president, Judge Mark Skinner having been obliged to resign on account of the impairment of his health. Besides the president, mentioned above, the officers of the reorganized board were Rev. W. W. Patton, vice-president, Cyrus Bentley, corresponding secretary, E. W. Blatchford, treasurer.

THE SECOND SANITARY FAIR

In the fall of 1864, another Fair was projected, the work being undertaken jointly by the United States Sanitary Commission and the Soldiers' Home of Chicago. As the preliminary work made progress it was found that the Fair would become of far larger proportions than at first supposed. The churches of the city cooperated cordially with the work. "It had outgrown the limits of Illinois or the Northwest even," says Andreas, "and now seemed likely to become in reality a National Fair." Further cooperation was found in the business men of the city, representing every branch of industry. The Northwestern branch of the United States Christian Commission also joined their forces in the work of preparation.

The date set for the opening of the Fair was May 30th, 1865. A building had been designed to be located in the old Dearborn Park, now the site of the Chicago Public Library. Meantime, however, the closing scenes of the war were rapidly taking place,—Lee had surrendered his army in Virginia, Richmond had fallen, and on the day that the corner stone of the new building was placed came the dreadful news of Lincoln's assassination. A feeling of depression succeeded to the enthusiasm which prevailed at the beginning of the work, but the work was prosecuted in a brave and vigorous spirit. On the opening day the gigantic preparations were practically completed. The Fair building was an immense structure, consisting of a central hall and two parallel wings. The central hall was about four hundred feet long and sixty feet in width, enclosed by an arched roof fifty-five feet in height. The wings were slightly smaller in their dimensions. The main entrance was on Washington street. Besides the main buildings of the Fair there was a "Hall of Arms and Trophies" in Bryan Hall, and several other auxiliary structures.

"The Army of the American Eagle," which, through the generous efforts of Alfred L. Sewell of Chicago, brought to the treasury over sixteen thousand dollars, was one of the features. Mr. Sewell's plan was to "enlist" an army of children, they becoming members or officers of the army by selling a greater or less number of pictures of "Old Abe," the famous war eagle of the Eighth Wisconsin Regiment, whose presence at the first Fair in 1863, has already been referred to. In answer to a request made to Horace Greeley for some of his photographs to be sold for the benefit of the Fair, this reply was received: "I enclose herewith as many photographs of myself—(half a dozen) as will probably be required to glut the market.

As to 'Arms and Trophies,' not having used the former in our late terrible struggle, I have had no opportunity to acquire the latter." A daily paper called the "Voice of the Fair" was published by the management, conducted by Andrew Shuman, editor of the Chicago *Evening Journal;* and this proved a valuable and interesting auxiliary to the success of the Fair.

Among the contributions to the Fair was the horse which General Grant had ridden while colonel of the Twenty-First Illinois regiment; Iowa farmers contributed four hundred acres of land; Lincoln's log cabin was transported from its original location and erected in the same manner as it formerly stood; a statue of Harriet Hosmer's "Zenobia" was sent by the sculptress; Carpenter sent his painting, "The Signing of the Emancipation Proclamation;" Bierstadt sent his "Rocky Mountains;" and literary men and statesmen sent letters and photographs. A letter from "Mrs. Partington" contained these sentences: "Perhaps you don't know Isaac has gone to the contented field; he was grafted last fall in one of the wings of the army; I suppose the flying artillery. I wrote Mr. Stanton, telling him not to put Isaac where he would get shot, as he wasn't used to it."

The war was now over, the people were mad with joy that the long and tedious conflict was ended, and every opportunity was hailed that allowed them to give vent to their feelings. "The chief events among many stirring incidents that marked the progress of the Fair were the arrival on different days, fresh from their hard-won victories, first of General Sherman and later of General Grant," says Cook in his recent volume of reminiscences: "To a generation whose enthusiasms, for lack of emotional issues, are necessarily somewhat perfunctory or altogether artificial—as when a candidate is vociferously acclaimed in a nominating convention for the best part of an hour—it is not easy to convey through the medium of words a sense of the spontaneous, irresistible uprush of feeling that in the hour of final victory marked every possible occasion for a demonstration. The four years of suspense were well calculated to engender a form of popular hysteria. By a slow, costly, death-charged process of selection, two men had risen above all others to leadership. In their hands had come to rest the fate of the nation; and now, in the hour of supreme triumph, these two were Chicago's guests."

The Fair lasted three weeks, the net receipts of which were something over two hundred and forty thousand dollars. At this time the work of the several Commissions was drawing to a close, and the funds accumulated were eventually turned into other channels.

DIFFERENT USES OF THE WORD "SANITARY"

The reader will note the use of the word "sanitary" occurring in different connections at different periods of our history. During the time of the Civil War the two fairs which were held for the benefit of the soldiers, one in October, 1863, and the other in May and June, 1865, were called Sanitary Fairs. The first one was held under the auspices of the Sanitary Commission whose special activities at that time were supplying the soldiers in the field with such varieties of vegetables as were not furnished in the regular army rations and which were necessary to the health and comfort of the men. Supplies of food of this character were sent from Chicago to Vicksburg during the summer of 1863 at the rate of a thou-

sand barrels a week, and but for the Sanitary Commission the army must have gone without this necessary addition to their food supply. The second Sanitary Fair was held in May and June, 1865, after the close of the Civil War in fact, but having been planned some months previously it was decided to go on with it as there was still much to be done in the way of relief and aid to the returning veterans.

At a later period when the plan for reversing the sewers of Chicago flowing into the lake and directing them into the great drainage channel, the word "sanitary" was applied to the district which was organized in 1889, and to the canal which was completed in 1900. Thus we now have in constant use the terms Sanitary District and Sanitary Canal, the fundamental principle and main purposes of which are the maintenance of sanitary conditions in the city of Chicago.

SAMUEL BOWLES' VISIT

A distinguished traveler passed through Chicago in May, 1865, just after the war had closed. This was Samuel Bowles, founder and editor of the *Springfield Republican*. He was making a journey from the east to the west coast in company with Schuyler Colfax, Speaker of the House of Representatives. This journey he described in a volume afterwards published by him, entitled "Across the Continent." It was not the first visit Bowles had made to Chicago. "It is five years," he wrote, "since I was last in the West. Then I came to attend the Convention that nominated Mr. Lincoln for President. How long ago that seems! How dim the almost tragic scenes and excitements and struggles of the Wigwam! Personal preferences were lost and won there, life-long ambitions wrecked, new combinations created, and old ones shattered, whose significance was little understood then. What century of other history has held such revolutions, has wrought such influences on the present and the future of the world, as these five years! What five years of all life, of ours or anybody's else, would you or I exchange for even our witness of these?"

He says of Chicago that "she has made herself the commercial center of all the North-West. Milwaukee gives up the contest . . . to her old rival; and St. Louis looks on with envy at the more rapid strides of the metropolis of the free North-West." He notices that there are fewer new structures on the business streets than are usually observed between visits. "Chicago," he continues, "is getting esthetically ambitious, however; she talks less of corner lots and corn and new blocks than of yore; and turns her thoughts more to art, to literature and to philanthropy."

He makes passing reference to the new and beautiful Crosby Opera House, and to the "great Soldiers' Fair." Of the latter he says: "Fitting it is that Chicago, which led in these monster fairs for the benefit of the army, should also close their glorious and holy procession. Their history is a proud chapter in our war; and in it the American women write their own nobility and patriotism."

JOHN L. SCRIPPS

Of the men who came to Chicago about the time that the Illinois and Michigan canal was completed was John Locke Scripps. He was a man twenty-nine years

of age when he arrived from Rushville, Illinois, in 1847. He had received a good education at McKendree College where he also conducted classes and prepared himself for the profession of law. On his arrival he opened an office in Chicago, where he was associated with Mr. Paul Cornell, who afterwards became known as the "Father of the Park System of Chicago." In 1848 Mr. Scripps bought a one-third interest in the Chicago *Tribune,* which had been established the preceding year, Messrs. John E. Wheeler and Thomas A. Stewart making up the trio of ownership. William Bross in his history says that "Mr. Scripps was its principal writer and editorial manager. The press of Chicago was then in its infancy. He at once, by his dignified labor, gave tone and character to it." Again quoting from Bross, it is said that "Mr. Scripps' literary abilities were of a high order, his style was chaste, lucid and simple, his reasoning powers always strong and cogent, his arguments well timed and condensed, and straight to the point."

In the volume of contributions published by the Illinois State Historical Society for the year 1903, Mr. Howard F. Dyson has an article on "Lincoln in Rushville." Rushville is the county seat of Schuyler county, Illinois, and it was here that Lincoln made a speech on October 20th, 1858. "In the audience that greeted Lincoln on that day," says Dyson, "was a Rushville gentleman who at the time was one of the Republican leaders of the state, and was afterwards instrumental in securing for Chicago the National Convention in 1860, the one thing needed to secure Lincoln's nomination for president. We refer to John Locke Scripps, . . . the editor of the Chicago *Press and Tribune,* the recognized organ of the Republican party in Illinois. As editor-in-chief, Mr. Scripps wielded all the influence at his command towards bringing Lincoln before the country as a presidential candidate. The Rev. W. H. Milburn, the blind chaplain of Congress, in a letter to Mr. Scripps' daughter, Mrs. Frank B. Dyche of Evanston, says: 'I suppose your father's influence did more to secure Mr. Lincoln's nomination for the presidency than that of any other man.' "

SCRIPPS WRITES THE FIRST BIOGRAPHY OF LINCOLN

After the nomination of Mr. Lincoln as a candidate for the presidency, Mr. Scripps visited him at his home in Springfield for the purpose of gathering the necessary facts to write an account of his life. This was the first authorized life of Lincoln. How he came to obtain the facts on which to base the work is told by another one of Lincoln's biographers. Though characteristically reluctant to enter into the personal details required, Mr. Lincoln was confronted with the "demand for facts." Dyson continues, "Just how he met and disposed of the question the world will probably never know, for he locked himself up in a room with his biographer one afternoon, and there communicated certain facts regarding his ancestry and early history which Scripps, so long as he lived, would never under any circumstances disclose."

Scripps' "Life of Lincoln" forms the basis of all standard works on the subject, and Dr. Holland, in his volume, bears testimony to its excellence. When the work was completed the book was extensively circulated and served to acquaint the general public outside of the state with Lincoln's personality, concerning which there was great curiosity. Its value as an accurate and truthful statement is well

known, and as copies of it have become rare it is highly valued by collectors. "It is gratifying to me to see," he afterwards wrote Mr. Herndon, Lincoln's law partner, "that the same qualities in Lincoln to which I then gave greatest prominence are those on which his fame ever chiefly rests. Is it not true that this is the leading lesson of Lincoln's life, that true and enduring greatness, the greatness that will survive the corrosion and abrasion of time, change and progress, must rest upon character? In certain showy, and what is understood to be most desirable endowments, how many Americans have surpassed him! Not eloquence or logic nor grasp of thought, not statesmanship nor power of command, not courage, not any nor all of these have made him what he is. But these, in the degree in which he possessed them, conjoined to those certain qualities composed in the term character, have given him his fame, have made him for all time to come, the great American Man, the grand central figure in American history."

BECOMES POSTMASTER AT CHICAGO

Mr. Scripps was appointed postmaster at Chicago by Mr. Lincoln April 22d, 1861. Of his services in that office Mr. Bross wrote, "It is not saying too much, nor is it injustice to others to say, that he was the best postmaster Chicago ever had. His labors were constant and unremitting. He rapidly comprehended the routine of the office, and his quick perceptions suggested radical and important changes both in and out of the office, which were adopted by the Department, and have since proved of great value." Another writer says: "Jointly with George B. Armstrong, his assistant, he conceived and carried out the idea of distributing mail on the cars, a system which has generally been introduced."

When the first Board of Trade regiment was in process of formation Mr. Scripps liberally provided for a company of men enlisted from among the post office employes. He bore the expense of equipment of this company, cared for the families of many of the men during their absence, besides lending his presence and influence on all occasions where the cause of the Union would be aided. If he had entered the military service himself he would no doubt have attained high rank, but he judged, and rightly judged, that he would be more useful to the cause in the sphere in which he found himself.

HANDLING THE SOLDIERS' MAIL

Mr. Rush R. Sloane, who during the war was the general agent of the Post Office department with an office in Chicago, wrote under date of April 22d, 1899, to Charles U. Gordon, postmaster at Chicago on the latter date, narrating some interesting details of mail transportation and distribution in wartime. He relates that soon after the movement of troops towards the South became very heavy, there was a large accumulation of mail matter at Cairo, Illinois. "The rush of mail matter was so great," he says, "that at one time forty car loads of mail was on side tracks in Cairo. The post office there was a small one-story building about ten by fourteen feet in size. General Grant and Commodore Foote telegraphed President Lincoln, 'the soldiers must get their letters or they would go home.' Under orders from Washington I at once went to Cairo and seized a large two-story brick building, ordered forty employes to come from the Chicago post

office, and in fifteen days the army was receiving the mail regularly. This action was severe on Chicago, but Mr. Scripps and his capable assistant, George B. Armstrong, soon restored order and business went on as usual."

The year after his arrival in Chicago, Mr. Scripps was married to Mary Elizabeth Blanchard, daughter of Seth Blanchard, Esq., of Greenville, Illinois; to them were born two daughters and a son. The only one of these children now surviving is Mrs. Grace Locke Scripps Dyche, whose husband is Mr. Frank B. Dyche, a prominent lawyer of Chicago, and a long time resident of Evanston. Mrs. Dyche has preserved many memorials of her father which she cherishes with filial devotion.

THE CLOSING SCENES OF HIS LIFE

After his resignation as postmaster at Chicago, in 1866, Mr. Scripps disposed of his interest in the *Tribune,* and became senior partner in the banking firm of Scripps, Preston & Kean; but a few days later he was seized with a dangerous attack of pneumonia. The death of Mrs. Scripps in the preceding month of January had completely prostrated him with grief, and he could not rally from the attack. On September 21st, 1866, Mr. Scripps breathed his last, being at that time in the forty-ninth year of his age.

John L. Scripps was a cultured man of great force of character, identified with every movement, either as leader or helper, making for civic or personal righteousness. Especially was he a devoted supporter of the Union cause from the beginning, and he possessed the confidence of Mr. Lincoln to as great a degree as any man in Chicago. One writer said of him, "No citizen of this or any other community ever commanded a more hearty and thorough respect from his fellows than he. Candor, integrity and courage were the marked traits of his character. A mean act, an unworthy motive, a cowardly thought, had no room in his soul. He avoided the very appearance of evil. It is not too much to say that in the meridian of life, with his ample fortune, his unsullied record, and his conspicuous talents, he might have aspired to almost any position in the gift of his fellow citizens."

INTERESTING ANNIVERSARIES

The fiftieth anniversaries of many important events, such as the inauguration of President Lincoln, firing on Fort Sumter, the president's first call for troops, the riots at Baltimore, and the first battle of Bull Run, occurred during the early months of 1911, and public attention was called to them in various ways by the daily press. The Chicago *Daily News* inaugurated a series of articles descriptive of the early scenes of the war attracting widespread interest. Especially noteworthy was the enterprise of the Chicago Historical Society in the formation of an extensive exhibit of historical material of every description, occupying almost all of the available space in their building. This exhibit was thrown open to the public freely, and comprised a vast number and variety of objects which engaged the interest of a great number of visitors.

Those persons who were fortunate enough to witness this exhibition of material, as usual in such cases, found their attention centered upon some phases or incidents of the war of especial interest to themselves. Among the great variety

one might have seen the collection of articles preserved by a member of a Chicago organization, Mr. Albert Dickinson of Taylor's Battery. Here were articles used by him while in the service during the campaigns, a canteen, a pair of army shoes, a tin plate and cup, coffee boiler, toilet articles, mending outfit, besides the usual arms and accoutrements which every soldier carried. A pocket cash book with items of expenditure showing the interest in the ever present food question, purchases of articles not supplied by the Commissary Department such as bread, cake, cheese, butter, molasses and fresh meats. A pocket diary showed entries of what was uppermost in the mind of the writer while in the field. An entry under date of January 1st, 1864, records the fact that the men have "had no rations for forty-eight hours, no meat for four days." Another entry states that "Captain Rumsey [has] gone to Nashville to see about a new battery."

The articles on exhibition comprised a number of swords, one especially which had been presented to General Alexander C. McClurg by his friends in 1862. Also the coat worn by him at the battle of Chickamauga still bearing the shoulder straps of a colonel. An indication of the Colonel's literary tastes cultivated even under the trying conditions of field operations, was to be seen in a copy of Palgrave's "Golden Treasury of Songs and Poems," carried by him through many campaigns, which in later years had been beautifully bound at the Doves' bindery in England, and now preserved as a choice treasure and souvenir by members of the family. No wonder that after every great battle the field was found strewn with letters, books and papers of every description, an evidence of the culture and intelligence of the soldiers of every rank which composed the armies of the Civil War.

In thus preserving these mementos and observing the anniversary of the events of that troublous period of strife, the people of this later day render homage to its heroes and participants, both to those who lie at rest in the bosom of Mother Earth, and those who remain "quick upon the stage of action."

The requiem stanzas of William Collins may fittingly be printed here as a tribute to those who on many fields have died for their country in the wars of the Republic.

"How sleep the brave, who sink to rest
By all their country's wishes blessed!
When Spring! with dewy fingers cold,
Returns to deck their hallowed mold,
She there shall dress a sweeter sod
Than Fancy's feet have ever trod.

"By fairy hands their knell is rung;
By forms unseen their dirge is sung;
There Honor comes, a pilgrim gray,
To bless the turf that wraps their clay;
And Freedom shall awhile repair,
To dwell a weeping hermit there!"

CHAPTER XXX

DEEPENING THE CANAL

RAILROAD BUILDING—PROPOSAL TO DEEPEN THE CANAL—AID OF CONGRESS SOUGHT—FAILURE OF BILL IN CONGRESS—THE PEOPLE OF CHICAGO UNDERTAKE THE WORK—PLANS FORMULATED—CANAL CONVENTION OF 1863—NAMES OF PERSONS COMPOSING THE COMMITTEE—RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED—SANITATION INVOLVED WITH THE DEEPENING OF THE CANAL—THE WORK COMPLETED IN 1871—CANAL TRAFFIC DECLINES IN SPITE OF DEEPENING—ADVANTAGES POSSESSED BY THE RAILROADS—THE STORY OF CROSBY'S OPERA HOUSE—THE OPERA HOUSE OPENED IN 1865—FINANCIAL DIFFICULTIES ENCOUNTERED—LOTTERY PROPOSED—GREAT EXCITEMENT AT THE DRAWING—WINNER OF THE GRAND PRIZE—VISIT OF ABRAHAM H. LEE TO CHICAGO—LATER FORTUNES OF THE OPERA HOUSE—DONATI'S COMET OF 1858—HALLEY'S COMET—HISTORIES AND HISTORIANS.

THE LATER HISTORY OF THE CANAL

THE completion of the Illinois and Michigan canal in 1848 was soon followed by the opening of railroad lines having their termini in Chicago. The Galena and Chicago Union was in running order between Elgin and Chicago in 1850. The Michigan Southern and Northern Indiana railroad reached Chicago from the East, February 20th, 1852; and three months later the Michigan Central railway arrived at the same goal. The Chicago and Rock Island railroad, from Chicago to Rock Island, was completed February 22nd, 1854; the Illinois Central railroad from Centralia to Chicago, September 26th, 1856.

Railroad building now absorbed the attention of the people almost to the exclusion of the former interest in the canal. By 1861, such had been the increase in railroads, that the canal which was regarded as a great national work when completed in 1848, had become almost overlooked, says Wright. But there was great vitality in the canal idea, even though it lay comparatively dormant during the earlier years of railroad development. After the War of the Rebellion had been in progress a few months a vigorous demand arose for an enlargement of the Illinois and Michigan canal, so that gunboats and transports with troops and supplies might pass between the lake and the river systems below. One of the resolutions of the River and Harbor convention of 1847 had formulated the proposal in these words: "That the project of connecting the Mississippi river with the lakes of the north by a ship canal and thus with the Atlantic ocean, is a measure worthy of the enlightened consideration of Congress;" and though the element of military necessity had formed no part of the subject matter of the resolution; yet the ad-

dition of that element now gave new vitality to the demand. "The blockade of the Mississippi," says Brown, "placed the North at a disadvantage in its valley operations, and there was a constant fear that Great Britain would become the ally of the South." In the latter event the difficulties to be contended with would be greatly increased, unless the artery of the Illinois and Michigan Canal was sufficiently enlarged to permit the passage of deep draft vessels to oppose a hostile advance up the Mississippi river.

CONGRESSIONAL AID ASKED

A bill was introduced in the House of Representatives early in 1862, providing for the construction of a serviceable waterway, and was before that body for nearly a year. There was no measure, even in those exciting times, that received closer attention and provoked more bitter animosities than this. Days and weeks were spent in its discussion. It failed however to become a law, its defeat being brought about chiefly by the opposition of members of other states, who "insisted that its military features were only a cloak, and that its real purpose was to benefit a single state at the expense of the whole country." The strongest argument against it, however, was that it would take years to complete, long after the present emergency would have passed away.

THE SHIP CANAL BILL REVIEWED

It is worth while to quote some portions of the discussions in Congress while the Ship Canal was under consideration. Mr. Isaac N. Arnold, of Chicago, was then in Congress, and was an earnest supporter of the bill. In the course of a speech, he read from the report of the select committee on the defense of the Great Lakes and rivers. "The realization of the grand idea of a ship canal from Lake Michigan to the Mississippi, for military and commercial purposes," said the report, "is the great work of the age. In effect, commercially, it turns the Mississippi into Lake Michigan, and makes an outlet for the Great Lakes at New Orleans, and of the Mississippi, at New York. It brings together the two great systems of water communication of our country,—the Great Lakes and the St. Lawrence, and the canals, connecting the lakes with the ocean on the East, and the Mississippi and Missouri with all their tributaries, on the West and South. This communication, so vast, can be effected at small expense, and with no long delay. It is but carrying out the plan of Nature. A great river, rivalling the St. Lawrence at no distant day [in the past], was discharged from Lake Michigan by the Illinois into the Mississippi. Its banks, its currents, its islands, and deposits, can still be easily traced, and it only needs a deepening of the present channel for a few miles to reopen a magnificent river from Lake Michigan to the Mississippi." The report went on to state that had such a canal already been constructed, its cost would have been saved during the previous year in the expenses of the expeditions on the Mississippi.

The estimate for the work of enlarging the Illinois and Michigan Canal into a ship canal, permitting vessels of six feet draft to pass through it, was $13,346,824, and the bill provided that, after this sum had been reimbursed to the government from the revenues to be derived from its operation, the canal should be turned over to the State of Illinois. "We ask nothing for our immediate local advantage,"

said Mr. Arnold, "but when we ask aid for a work so national, so necessary to national defense and security, so beneficial to every section I trust we shall not ask in vain. . . . Thirty-six miles of cutting, already more than half done, is the only obstacle to letting a Niagara of waters from the lakes into the Mississippi, a Niagara of trade from the valley of the Mississippi to the Atlantic. The military necessities of the country, and the wants of commerce alike, demand that this work be done."

The bill was opposed by Mr. Voorhees of Indiana, the "Tall Sycamore of the Wabash," as he was familiarly called. He said that the canal would not only cost untold millions of dollars, but it would be useless when completed unless the channel of the Mississippi also should be deepened, to admit boats of the size of those expected to reach the mouth of the Illinois. He wished to know whether it was not a fact that the Mississippi, from the Illinois to St. Louis, was navigable only for the smallest boats for the greater portion of the year, and whether the improvement of the navigation of that river was at all practicable. "I may say," he added, "so far as I have any right to speak for any portion of the Great West, that we, for the present at least, in our present condition of finance, are satisfied with the channels of communication which the Almighty has created for us. We shall be satisfied to be in possession of the channel of the Mississippi river. It is better than any of your canals. You cannot compete with what the Almighty has done in that valley; and you cannot turn back the course of trade. You can no more turn back the current of trade of that broad and fertile agricultural region against its natural course to the Gulf of Mexico, than you can turn the waters of its great river backwards toward its source." His further remarks included a contemptuous reference to the "proposed ditch across the State of Illinois."

There was deep disappointment among the people of the West over the failure of the bill to pass when it came to a vote on February 9, 1863. "The hostility which has been developed in this hall," said Mr. Washburne, "to this great national and military project and the interests of the great Northwest, is of the most extraordinary character that I have ever witnessed during my term of service in Congress." The New York *Times* had favored the bill because it would benefit the trade of the state and city of New York; and in commenting upon the adverse vote said: "The stream of trade, the life blood of the Erie canal revenues, may soon be exposed to serious hazard, as the Illinois legislature, under this sectional rebuff, will without delay apply to Canada to construct the Ottawa ship canal, twelve feet in depth, leading directly from Lake Michigan to Montreal, nearly five hundred miles in distance, and wholly avoiding New York and its canals. New York has little reason to thank six of her recusant members on whom directly falls the responsibility of defeating this great national measure for cheaply connecting the Mississippi with the Hudson."

THE WORK UNDERTAKEN BY THE PEOPLE OF CHICAGO

When it finally became evident that the bill for a ship canal could not be passed by Congress, the people of Chicago set actively to work to do the next best thing, on the very excellent principle that "God helps those who help themselves."

If it were not possible to have a ship canal the situation would be greatly improved by providing a deeper channel in the canal, according to the original plan.

The canal, with its four-foot channel, had then been in use fifteen years, and had realized all that its friends and promoters had hoped or claimed for it, although the competition of the railroads had already begun to make itself felt. Expansion of the carrying trade had been so great that every mode of transportation was employed to its full capacity. "The railroad easily took from the canal the passenger traffic, which had assumed considerable proportions," says Professor Putnam. "For six years [i. e., between 1848 and 1854] the canal and river route had been a popular one with western travelers. An excellent line of packets operated between Chicago and La Salle, and an equally good packet service was provided for the river trip from La Salle to St. Louis. But within a few months after the opening of the railroad for traffic practically all the passenger business deserted the canal for the speedier mode of travel."

PLANS FORMULATED BY CITIZENS

At a meeting of citizens in the early part of 1863 a committee was appointed to formulate plans. William Gooding, who at one time had been chief engineer of the canal, and John B. Preston, were employed to make estimates of the cost for deepening the canal and an improvement of the Illinois river which would admit of the passage throughout of boats drawing six feet of water. "The channel proposed was not a ship canal as the term was generally understood," says Putnam, "since it would not be navigable for ships, but only for the largest steamboats which could ascend the Mississippi at ordinary low water to St. Louis."

The estimates prepared on May 30, 1863, by the engineers for the whole work, from Chicago to St. Louis, were as follows:

Bridgeport to Lake Joliet (3½ miles below Joliet)	$ 8,676,151
Lake Joliet to La Salle	2,198,932
La Salle to the Mississippi river	1,644,335
Bridges, Land Damages, Engineering Expenses.....	927,207
Total	$13,446,625

The engineers concluded their report by calling attention to the advantages of the enlarged channel, which is summarized by G. P. Brown in his history of the "Drainage Channel," (published in 1894), as follows:

BENEFITS OF THE ENLARGED CHANNEL

"It would extend a navigation for first-class river steamers from the Gulf of Mexico to within one hundred miles of Lake Michigan at Chicago.

"In connection with the Illinois and Michigan Canal it would form the only cheap and direct navigable communication between the Mississippi river and the Great Lakes.

"It would so diminish the cost of transportation by the northern route to the seaboard, and all intermediate points, that the increase of business would be immense."

The committee, above referred to, prepared an exhaustive report based on the facts collected by Messrs. Gooding and Preston. This report was published in June, 1863. The committee referred to the bill which had failed of passage in Congress, and the fact was regretted. "When it was known that eight-ninths of the cereals of the country were derived, not from a single state, but from a group of states, and were moving, not to a local market, but to the markets of the world, furnishing to navigating interests the outward-bound freight as well as the return cargo, conferring a direct benefit on the national finances; and when the proceeds of these products were traced through all the ramifications of trade, it was evident that not merely the citizens of one state, but the western producer, the consumer at home and abroad, the navigator, the importer, the consumer of foreign fabrics, and the Government itself, all had a direct interest in the result.

"The proposed improvement was a measure whose benefits were not to be circumscribed by state lines, but one which connected three distinct systems of navigation, and rendered them available for external and internal commerce, for national unity and military defense."

THE CANAL CONVENTION OF 1863

The people of Chicago were by no means hopeless after the defeat of the Ship Canal bill in Congress which met its fate, after being before that body for a year, on February 9th, 1863. At the last scene Mr. Isaac N. Arnold, who had struggled manfully in its behalf through all its vicissitudes, pluckily gave notice that he would introduce the bill again, but nothing further was ever heard of it. An agitation, however, was set on foot soon after, and, March 2d, 1863, a call for a convention was sent out from Washington, a portion of which was as follows: "Regarding the enlargement of the canals between the valley of the Mississippi and the Atlantic as of great national, commercial and military importance, and as tending to promote the development, prosperity and unity of our whole country, we invite a meeting of all those interested in the subject in Chicago, on the first Tuesday in June next. We especially ask the co-operation and aid of the Boards of Trade, Chambers of Commerce, agricultural and business associations of the country."

SIGNERS OF THE CALL

This call was signed by many of the prominent members of Congress, among whom were Isaac N. Arnold, and E. B. Washbburne of Illinois, A. G. Riddle of Ohio, H. L. Dawes, Charles Summer, Amasa Walker and Henry Wilson of Massachusetts, Justin S. Morrill of Vermont, Samuel C. Fessenden of Maine, James R. Doolittle of Wisconsin, S. C. Pomeroy of Kansas, A. B. Olin and E. G. Spaulding of New York, James Harlan of Iowa, Francis P. Blair of Missouri, Schuyler Colfax of Indiana, and Edward Bates, Attorney General. It will be remembered that Mr. Bates was chairman of the River and Harbor Convention held at Chicago in 1847.

"Although the country was occupied with a devastating war," says Brown, "this improvement was considered by the North of so much importance that it commanded the attention of every state not in rebellion. There were many who

believed the military advantages of the enlarged channel were a sufficient reason for its construction, but these were no longer placed in the foreground."

MEETING OF THE CONVENTION

The following account of the proceedings is printed in Brown's "History of the Drainage Channel": "The convention met on June 2d and continued in session two days. The exercises were held in a tent on the lakeshore, the seating capacity of which was forty-seven hundred. Besides the state delegations there were present representatives from many business associations of the country. The Chicago Board of Trade was represented by N. K. Fairbank, S. Clary, George Armour, C. H. Walker, I. Y. Munn, William Sturges, R. McChesney, N. K. Whitney, W. D. Houghteling, C. T. Wheeler, J. S. Rumsey, G. S. Hubbard, Charles Randolph, and E. W. Densmore. Dr. Daniel Brainard called the convention to order, and Chauncey I. Filley, mayor of St. Louis, was made temporary chairman."

In the address of welcome, delivered by Dr. Brainard, he said that "the occasion which had called the convention together was one of no ordinary character. It was not the call of a famishing people, nor of cities threatened by hostile armies. It was the voice of men shut out from the markets of the world, oppressed by the excessive productions of their own toil, remaining wasting and worthless upon their own hands, depriving labor of half its rewards, discouraging industry and paralyzing enterprise. In their distress they called upon the National Legislature and failed to obtain the relief which they had a right to expect. Now they appealed to the people themselves."

The permanent president of the convention was the vice-president of the United States, Hannibal Hamlin. The scheme for a railroad to the Pacific, then much talked of, was brought before the convention, but the proposal met with so much opposition that it was laid on the table. The Convention of 1847, it may be remarked in passing, had before it a proposal, made by William Mosley Hall, for a railroad to the Pacific, and a lengthy speech was made by him on the subject. In later years Hall claimed, and no doubt with justice, that his was "the first public speech ever made in favor of a national railway to the Pacific."

The resolutions adopted by the convention were a full statement of the whole matter of the construction and enlargement of canals, and that they should, "so far as practicable, be free, without tolls or restrictions." A committee, composed of one delegate from each of the states represented at the convention, was appointed to prepare a memorial to the President and Congress of the United States, presenting the views of the convention, and urging the enactment of laws necessary to carry them into full operation. There was, however, no practical result.

THE DRAINAGE PROBLEM

A strong argument in favor of the enlargement of the canal, as we have seen, had been its possible use for military purposes; but now another consideration demanded notice. "By 1865," says Bross, "the population of Chicago had increased to 178,900; the city had inaugurated and completed an extensive system of sewers, most of which emptied into the river. For perhaps nine or ten months of the year it had no current, and hence it became the source of the foulest smells that a suf-

fering people were ever forced to endure; and it was evident that something must be done effectively to cleanse it, or the city would soon become so unhealthy as to be uninhabitable."

Thus the question of deepening the canal had become one of sanitation as well as of commerce. There were proposals, one of which was for draining the Chicago river into the Desplaines by a canal to be built for that special purpose, another was to pump the waters of the South Branch into a canal terminating at the Calumet, thus turning the sewage into Lake Michigan by a roundabout course. These proposals, however, fell through, and the citizens at length united on a plan to deepen the "Summit level" of the Illinois and Michigan canal, and depend on a "gravity flow" through its channel, to be aided by pumping works at Bridgeport when the water was low in the river.

THE ENLARGEMENT OF THE CANAL AUTHORIZED

On the 16th day of February, 1865, the state legislature passed an act, providing for the completion of the Illinois and Michigan canal upon the plan adopted by the state in 1836. Contracts were let for deepening the bed of the canal between Bridgeport and Lockport, twenty-nine miles, the contractors to begin work when the water was drawn off the Summit level in November at the close of navigation. This was done and work went on until April of the following year, when the ordinary use of the canal was resumed. This method of carrying on the work continued through four years, from 1867 to its completion in 1871. For more than ten miles of this distance, from the Sag to Lockport, the excavation consisted for the most part of stratified limestone, the depth of which varied from twelve to sixteen feet. The deepening of the Summit level was the only part of the work undertaken at this time, the cost of which, something over three millions of dollars, being borne by the city of Chicago.

DECLINE OF THE CANAL

But notwithstanding the sanguine expectations of their advocates it gradually dawned on men's minds that the usefulness of inland waterways was on the wane; that whether with or without tolls, whether with a shallow or deep channel, canals must yield the place of first importance in transportation to the railroads; though it could not even then be foreseen how completely canal transportation finally failed in competition with the "iron horse." Already the river and canal towns were beginning to relapse from their former prosperity. It was so wherever river improvements had been made, and a tourist passing through the portage canal between the Fox and Wisconsin rivers on a canoe voyage, in 1887, observed that "the railroads have spoiled water navigation, . . . and the canal, like most of the Fox and Wisconsin river improvements, is fast relapsing into a costly relic."

An instance is afforded in the case of the little village of Channahon, ten miles below Joliet, which in the fifties was a thriving place on the Illinois and Michigan canal, a shipping point for grain, and the center of a growing country trade. The village is charmingly situated near the confluence of the Du Page and the Desplaines rivers, with a country surrounding it beautifully diversified with woodlands and bluffs. When the Chicago and Rock Island railroad located a station about

Original owned by Chicago Historical Society

MICHIGAN AVENUE IN THE '60s

Original owned by Chicago Historical Society

CORNER CLARK AND SOUTH WATER STREETS BEFORE THE FIRE

three miles away in 1854, the grain shipping was gradually transferred to that point, together with the trade of the farmers. From that time to the present, Channahon has gone into a decline, and it is of less importance today than it was sixty years ago.

Heroic efforts were made by the authorities of the Illinois and Michigan canal to maintain its earlier supremacy in the carrying trade. By the reduction of canal charges from time to time, by the personal solicitation of freight by the boat-owners, and by the permission which the latter gave the shippers to use the boats for storage purposes when navigation was closed, the tonnage continued to increase until as late as 1882, though in no such proportion as the railroads were able to show. Meantime the amount received for canal tolls had reached its highest point in 1866, after which they showed a steady decline. "The maximum tolls," says Putnam, "were received in 1866, and amounted to $302,958. By 1877 the annual tolls had fallen below $100,000 and in 1882 the year of the maximum tonnage, they were only $85,947. Since that time the decline in earnings has about kept pace with the decline in tonnage." This decline has continued until, in 1907, the tolls were only $2,176 though the canal had an additional income from rentals, water-power, leases, etc., of $11,933.

ADVANTAGES POSSESSED BY THE RAILROADS

"The terminal facilities at Chicago," says Putnam, "have been especially advantageous to the railroads. Spurs have been run to all the large manufacturing establishments, to the grain elevators, to the lumber yards, to the stock-yards, and to every point where it is possible to place a track needed for the delivery of incoming freight or for the receipt of that intended for shipment. Many of these are inaccessible to the waterway, while through the reciprocal switching arrangements among the railroads, they are all accessible to every railroad entering the city.

"This advantage of the railroad is well illustrated in the handling of building-stone. When the stone is intended for use at any considerable distance from the canal, it is found cheaper to transport it from the quarries along the canal by rail and switch the cars to the nearest rail-point, than to pay the lower freight rates by the canal, and incur the heavier expense for the longer haul by teams in the city. Relatively few of the grain elevators are located on the waterway, while all are accessible to the railroads. The same is true of the coal-yards. Formerly large quantities of coal were shipped from the Spring Valley district to Chicago by the canal. Now, none is carried on the canal." It might have been added that another advantage of great importance is the fact that the canal season is limited to half the year, a limitation from which the railroads do not suffer.

THE FINAL VICTORY OF THE RAILROADS

"The system of pro-rating freight charges, however," says Professor J. W. Putnam, whose exhaustive treatise on the "Economic History of the Illinois and Michigan Canal," has been printed in several issues of the "Journal of Political Economy," during the year 1909, "has done more than any other one thing to undermine the canal traffic. The practice of pro-rating grain from the canal region be-

gan in 1879, and was based upon an arrangement between the traffic officials of the Lake Shore and Michigan Southern railroad and those of the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific, whereby the Lake Shore cars should be hauled by the Rock Island road from Chicago to the loading-point along the canal, and be returned loaded for transportation to the seaboard cities. For this service the Rock Island received ten per cent. of the Chicago-New York rate, with a minimum of two cents per hundred pounds for hauling the cars. Since an elevator charge of a cent and a fourth a bushel had to be met at Chicago on all grain shipped on the canal, the pro-rating arrangement proved a serious obstacle to the canal shippers of grain intended for the Eastern markets.

"As early as 1877 William Thomas, the general superintendent of the canal, complained that grain was being driven from the canal by the discrimination of the owners of Chicago elevators in favor of the railroads, and by injustice in grain inspection. While there may have been some basis for these charges, the tendency of the grain to leave the canal at Joliet seems to have been more largely due to the competition of the Michigan Central railroad for an increasing share of the Eastern grain shipments. The Michigan Central at Joliet, and the Toledo, Peoria and Western at Peoria, with their eastern connections, have been able to make rates on eastern grain shipments which could not be met by any combination of local rates. As a consequence the canal has been unable for several years to handle grain from these points.

"In recent years, the Peoria-New York rate has ordinarily been about a cent and a half per one hundred pounds above the Chicago-New York rate. It is clearly impossible for the waterway to carry the grain to Chicago and transfer it to eastern carriers in competition with this rate. Joliet has had the same rate as Chicago for grain billed through to New York whether it goes by the Michigan Central or through Chicago. Under the rules of shipment, grain may be unloaded at Chicago for a period not exceeding ten days and reshipped on the same bill of lading. The result has been that all grain intended for the Chicago market from Joliet has been billed to New York, and the cars have been used to carry other grain from Chicago to New York on the through bill of lading. At other points along the waterway, however, the water transportation has been able to withstand the competition of the railroad rates on grain intended for the Chicago market."

In the sixty years of its operation, that is, from its opening in 1848 to the end of 1907, the canal carried seventy-one million tons of freight. It received in tolls $6,610,067, and expended $4,995,316 for maintenance, repairs, and operation. It also received large sums from rentals, leases and privileges. The canal did not prove to be the great source of revenue for the state treasury that its projectors had anticipated, for they could not forsee the enormous development of the railroads which soon followed its completion, and which would become its competitors. But the canal fulfilled its purpose in a most effectual manner in indicating and establishing the permanent location of the commercial metropolis at Chicago, which from its position as the terminus of the canal easily became the nucleus of that splendid network of railway systems which spans the continent.

THE STORY OF CROSBY'S OPERA HOUSE

The building of an opera house is always a matter of considerable interest to the public, and when in 1865, Uranus H. Crosby who had made a fortune in the distillery business in Chicago, brought to completion the well known Crosby's Opera House, it attracted wide attention and was an event of importance in the dramatic and musical world, as well as an addition to the city's beautiful buildings. It was Mr. Crosby's idea to erect an edifice suitable to the production of grand opera, as well as for theatrical purposes, in a style surpassing anything that had been seen in the West. A part of the plan was a gallery devoted to the fine arts, in which was to be a collection of paintings and statuary and a hall adapted for giving concerts and lectures in addition to the main auditorium of the building.

The site chosen for this structure was on the north side of Washington street, nearly midway between State and Dearborn streets. The architect was W. W. Boyington, who visited the principal cities of the Union for the purpose of gathering the best ideas in construction of buildings of that kind. The Opera House was said to have cost six hundred thousand dollars, having been built in a period of extreme inflation of values in the closing year of the Civil War. "The history of this famous temple of art is one without a parallel in the West," says Andreas. "Its enormous cost, its elegance of design, its vicissitudes as a financial investment, its brief existence," entitle it to a place of prominence in the annals of the mid-century period of the city's development.

OPENING OF THE OPERA HOUSE

The inaugural night was announced to be April 17, 1865, with a season of grand opera under the direction of Manager J. Grau. The principal singers were Clara Louise Kellogg, then the reigning favorite, and a company from the New York Academy of Music. It was a time of great excitement in the nation's affairs. On the ninth of the month Lee's surrender had taken place, and the country was wild with joy over the ending of the four years' struggle. But on the fifteenth, came the dreadful news of Lincoln's death at the hands of an assassin, and the rejoicings were suddenly turned to grief. Manager Grau and his company had arrived in Chicago, and were prepared to carry out the programme set for Monday evening, the seventeenth. Mr. Grau at once decided to postpone the inauguration, and, at a meeting of the members of the company, a card to the public was issued by them lamenting the "irreparable calamity which has so suddenly befallen the American nation."

On the evening of the twentieth, however, the first performance was given, the opera rendered being "Il Trovatore," and the season continued four weeks, all of the well known Italian operas being given. This was succeeded by other engagements, mostly of a theatrical character; but it soon became apparent that as a financial investment the Opera House was a failure. Meantime Mr. Crosby had arrived at the end of his resources and a plan had to be devised to avert if possible the ruin that seemed impending. The enterprise was "tided over" until the next year, when, in May, 1866, an announcement was made of a plan to relieve Mr. Crosby, and at the same time place the property on a basis which would enable a successor to carry out the original plan as a self-sustaining investment.

PLAN TO SAVE THE OPERA HOUSE

The announcement contained a proposal to the effect that a new company was to be formed, with the title of the "Crosby Art Association," and that the art treasures, which were included in the investment, together with the *building itself*, were to be disposed of by lottery. In order to escape the legal prohibition against lotteries the scheme was thinly disguised under a sale of engravings at five dollars each, these engravings being accompanied by a numbered ticket to be held by the purchaser until a "drawing" should be made later in the season. This was announced to take place October eleventh, but it was decided that a sufficient number of the two hundred and ten thousand tickets provided for had not been sold to justify the drawing, or "distribution of prizes," as it was euphemistically termed. The distribution was therefore postponed to January 21, 1867.

THE LEGAL STATUS OF LOTTERIES

As the question will arise in the minds of readers regarding the laws of the state on the subject of lotteries, it may be well to pause a moment at this point for the purpose of making a brief survey of the legal status of lotteries in Illinois. During the first quarter of the last century, lotteries were not only tolerated but were popular in the United States. The Illinois Constitution of 1818 was silent upon the subject of lotteries. But during the second quarter the baneful influence of lotteries came to be more thoroughly appreciated and understood, and in 1847, the Illinois Legislature passed a law which contained a provision that, "Whoever sets up or promotes any lottery for money, or by way of lottery disposes of any property of value, * * * shall, for each offense, be fined not exceeding two thousand dollars." The Constitution of 1848 contained the following clause bearing on the subject: "The General Assembly shall have no power to authorize lotteries for any purpose, * * * and shall pass laws to prohibit the sale of lottery tickets in this state."

It was while this law of 1847, and the constitutional provision above set forth, were in force, that the Crosby Opera House scheme was inaugurated and carried out. Those who were engaged in it clearly intended to conduct their enterprise in such a manner that it would not come within the reach of the law. Whether the device adopted would have shielded them is not clear, but it was evidently thought at the time that it would have done so. No test case was ever brought to the State Supreme Court involving the question, but to prevent such enterprises in the future a clause was inserted in the Constitution of 1870, as follows: "The General Assembly shall have no power to authorize lotteries or gift enterprises for any purpose, and shall pass laws to prohibit the sale of lottery or gift enterprise tickets in this state." It will be noticed that the only change in the language of the Constitution of 1848 was the addition of the words "or gift enterprise" thus placing gift enterprises and lotteries in the same class.

THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE PRIZES

When at length the day arrived for the distribution of the prizes it was found that only one hundred and eighty-four thousand, four hundred and seven tickets

had been sold, the remaining twenty-five thousand and upwards being left in the hands of the Association, otherwise Mr. Crosby himself. These unsold tickets were, of course, included in the drawing. The prizes were three hundred and two in number, which represented the works of art contained in the Opera House, and the grand prize which was the building itself.

The excitement among the great number of ticket holders was very great, when the day arrived for the drawing. A committee was secured to attend the proceedings composed of many reputable men. Among the names of the Chicago men composing the committee were W. F. Coolbaugh, J. C. Dore, James C. Fargo, I. Y. Munn, J. A. Ellis, Clinton Briggs, E. G. Hall, F. A. Hoffman, Amos T. Hall, Chauncey Bowen, besides a number from other cities. The drawing took place in the auditorium of the Opera House, the apparatus consisting of two wheels placed on the stage in the view of all those gathered to witness the operation.

A report of the drawing was printed in the *Republican* the next day. "With what impatience" it said, "this day has been awaited, who can tell? Has there ever been one so 'big with fate' since the Praetorian Guard put up the world's empire at auction?" Every train coming into the city had brought crowds of visitors, the hotels were filled, the Armory was filled, even the restaurants provided shelter for the throngs. "Where they all slept Sunday night, if they did sleep—who can say? Some roamed back and forth through the streets all night, stopping occasionally to take a little refreshment from the inevitable carpet bag. Some sat on steps, and some on curbstones." The stores were generally closed to give their proprietors and clerks an opportunity to go to the Opera House, and business was at an entire standstill. Nor was there much difference in other cities. As prize after prize was drawn it was telegraphed to all points and people ceased to talk of impeachment, reconstruction, the tariff, or whether gold was up or down; they only asked "who will be the man to win the grand prize?"

As the throngs in the large auditorium waited and kept watching for the first sign of activity on the empty stage before them, the wheels were brought forward to the view of the assembled ticket holders. The members of the committee then emerged from behind the scenes and took their places at the front. In the presence of the audience, the duplicate tickets, duly numbered to correspond to those held by the purchasers, were placed in one of the wheels. The wheels were of different sizes, the larger one intended to contain within its drum the whole number of tickets, the other a smaller one to contain tickets bearing the numbers of the three hundred and two prizes. A list of the prizes with numbers corresponding to those in the smaller wheel, the majority of them of minor value, was hung up in plain view of all; and as each number was withdrawn from the smaller wheel the prize it represented was sought out on the list, and awarded to the number simultaneously drawn from the great mass in the larger wheel. In this way the drawing would not need to proceed beyond the three hundred and two prizes, one of which, of course, would be the grand prize.

In placing the tickets in the large wheel some were accidentally dropped on the floor of the stage, which caused a murmur of uneasiness among the spectators, for each one feared that his number might be thus excluded. They were all quickly re-assured, however, by seeing them placed within the proper receptacle. The large number of tickets held by Mr. Crosby were represented in the wheel, and

assurances were given by the committee that the full two hundred and ten thousand numbers were included within it.

THOSE WHO RECEIVED PRIZES

When all was ready, amid breathless silence, two men separately turned the cranks of the wheels. The first numbers withdrawn were for prizes of comparatively trifling value, but at the twenty-seventh drawing the painting by Cropsey, "Woods in Autumn," valued at five thousand dollars, fell to J. J. Taylor of Springfield, Illinois. After some others of less importance, the sixty-first drawing resulted in a prize to E. P. Dwyer, of Chicago; a painting valued at three thousand dollars, by Gignoux, called "Alpine Scenery."

The list was gradually diminished by withdrawals amidst increasing excitement, until on the one hundred and thirteenth announcement, the number corresponding to the grand prize was reached. The audience rose in wild confusion to hail the winner of the capital prize. But no one responded to the call for the man who held the ticket, which was numbered 58,600. The committee was asked to refer to the books so as to announce the winner by name, but that august body proceeded calmly with the drawing and left the audience to waste its fury in impotent calls. The committee later announced that they did not have access to the subscription books, and it was not until a couple of days had elapsed before the winner was known.

Again the wheel revolved, and at the one hundred and forty-eighth drawing, the painting described as "An American Autumn," and valued at six thousand dollars, was awarded to a number held by Mr. Crosby. The masterpiece of the collection, "The Yosemite Valley" by Bierstadt, valued at twenty thousand dollars, went into the same hands. While the last of the prizes were being disposed of the audience lost interest and gradually melted away.

The one absorbing topic was, naturally, the identity of the man who had won the capital prize, the Opera House itself. While no doubt there were reasons why the holder should be privately informed, in view of the fact that he was not present to declare himself, still there was much dissatisfaction over the delay.

WINNER OF THE OPERA HOUSE

Meantime the holder of ticket number 58,600 was the least concerned apparently of the thousands of ticket holders gathered at the great drawing. He lived at a little town in southern Illinois, near the Mississippi River, called Prairie du Rocher. This man's name was Abraham H. Lee, and he was sitting quietly in his own house on the evening of the following day, by the side of his wife, who was ill and confined to her bed, when some neighbors rushed in and announced to him in excited voices. "You have drawn the Opera House!" At the same time a telegram was placed in his hands which ran, "Crosby's Opera House yours. Hold your ticket." The first thing he did, after learning the lucky number, was to look at his ticket and there, sure enough, he found the corresponding figures, number 58,600. The information had been sent by Mr. Crosby himself. Lee wrote a letter to Mr. Crosby the next day, as follows:

"Dear Sir: I received a dispatch last evening acquainting me with the very interesting fact that my ticket, number 58,600, had drawn the Opera House. It would seem that a sight of the ticket is of some consequence, as several parties from St. Louis have already been here to have a look at it. I am sorry to say that I am unable to leave home just now, on account of the dangerous illness of my wife, which is a great drawback to the pleasure which I should enjoy at this marvelous piece of good fortune. I have written to my brother-in-law, Daniel G. Taylor, of St. Louis, to answer all questions for me concerning the business until such time as I may be able to leave home. If you should desire to make a proposal for the Opera House, please correspond with Daniel G. Taylor."

MR. LEE'S VISIT TO CHICAGO

On the 25th of January Mr. Lee visited Chicago, having found that he could leave his wife in the care of others. The public interest in Lee was so great that he published a card in the *Republican* in which he acknowledges the good treatment he received, and explains the final disposition of the property. The card was as follows: "To the Editor of the Chicago *Republican*: I desire to publicly acknowledge the obligation I am under to U. H. Crosby, Esq., for the promptitude and courtesy with which he has dealt with me as the owner of the Opera House. As soon as the books were unsealed by the Committee, and my name was discovered, a telegraphic message was sent by him to Pettes & Leathe, the agents of the association at St. Louis, to 'put a faithful man on horseback and at once notify me of the fact.' This was done without expense to me. The illness of my wife has prevented me from coming to Chicago sooner.

"It was my wish and request that I might come here and transact my business with Mr. Crosby without becoming the object of unpleasant notoriety, and without having my name heralded in the newspapers; and I feel deeply indebted to him for the considerate manner in which the request has been observed, especially as it has cost him some embarrassment as well as occasioned some invidious comment. Feeling that the Opera House should properly be owned by Mr. Crosby, I made him the offer to sell it to him for two hundred thousand dollars, and the offer was accepted in a spirit which was most gratifying, and the money promptly paid me. My connection with the Opera House having thus happily terminated, I am, very respectfully and sincerely yours. A. H. Lee."

MR. LEE'S LATER HISTORY

The later history of Abraham H. Lee will be interesting. Some members of the Lee family are still living in St. Louis, though Lee and his wife have both been dead many years. A brother-in-law, mentioned in Lee's letter to Crosby, is a lawyer in St. Louis, and two children are residents of the same place.

After Mr. Lee came into possession of the fortune realized from the sale of the Opera House, he returned to Prairie du Rocher, where he had been part owner of a flour mill. He sold his interest in the mill to his partner. tore down the house he had been living in, and in its place built a large, handsome house, one feature of which was a large room for a library. This library he filled with a great variety of valuable books, as he was a man of literary tastes, and a good writer, as is evident enough from the letters quoted above. Soon after Mr. Lee

received the money his wife, who, as we have seen, was an invalid, passed away. He himself did not long survive, dying in 1869, only two years after the arrival of his good fortune.

Mr. Lee had a family of nine children, six of whom were living at the time of his death. There are now only two surviving as mentioned above, a son John Perry Lee, and a daughter named Elmira, the wife of Eugene Hunt Benoist. Mrs. Benoist has kindly supplied the details herewith given. It is also learned that of the children who survived him at his death, and who each inherited a share of his wealth, that some lost their money, and others used their shares as the foundations for fair fortunes, which are enjoyed by them and their children to this day.

LATER FORTUNES OF THE OPERA HOUSE

The next night after the drawing Madame Adelaide Ristori began an engagement, followed by others more or less noteworthy. In January, 1868, Gilmore's concerts began, and the next month afterward Fannie Janauschek made her first appearance in Chicago. Edwin Forrest gave his farewell performance to the Chicago public in March following. In December, 1870, Christine Nilsson sang in concert with Anna Louise Cary, Brignoli, Verger and Vieuxtemps. A grand entertainment was given at Crosby's, February 16, 1871, by the representatives of the several stock companies in the city, and nearly two thousand dollars was realized for the benefit of the "Little Church around the Corner" in New York, whose pastor had performed the funeral services for an actor who had died there, after a refusal to do so on the part of another protestant minister. Charles Wyndham and his English Comedy Company opened at Crosby's, for the first time, March 27, 1871.

During the following summer extensive alterations were made, these improvements costing eighty thousand dollars, after which an opening was announced for Monday night, October 9. The mention of this date, October 9, 1871, will probably cause the reader to pause while recalling the thrilling events connected with it, for that was the day of the Great Fire. The *Tribune,* in its issue of October 8th, made this statement: "The decorators and upholsterers are still busy putting the finishing touches on the Opera House. . . . Everything will be in readiness by Monday evening for the re-inauguration by Theodore Thomas, and we may look forward with certainty to an evening more memorable, both in sight and sound, than that evening, six years ago, when . . . Crosby's Opera House was first dedicated to art. . . . The box-office sheets are crossed to an extent which indicates that the whole house, gallery and all, is nearly sold for the first night. Mr. Thomas will receive a royal welcome that will make compensation for the memories of a season or two ago, when a few hundred listeners coldly heard his matchless band."

THE CLOSING SCENE

"Had the power of divination," says Andreas, to whose account the writer is indebted for many of the preceding facts, "been possessed by the one who wrote the paragraph quoted from the *Tribune,* and an attempt made to forecast the actual scene of October 9 [the day of the Great Fire], many of the expressions used in the announcement would have found appropriate place in the prophecy.

CANAL LOCK ON ILLINOIS-MICHIGAN CANAL

Original owned by Chicago Historical Society

CROSBY'S OPERA HOUSE

The night 'was more memorable, both in sight and sound,' than that on which the Opera House was dedicated to art; but the programme selected by Fate was not a 'popular one.' The greeting of Mr. Thomas was 'royal' in grandeur and of appalling warmth. On that night the books of the Opera House were forever closed. That night the Demon of Desolation shook his smoky wings above those noble walls, and blew the fiery breath of fell destruction through the lofty pile. . . . Its end was absolute, for among the institutions obliterated from the earth forever by the fire was Crosby's Opera House."

THE COMET OF 1858

In the summer months of 1858, the great comet, known as Donati's Comet, was visible nightly in the northern and western sky, for several weeks, ever becoming larger as it approached the sun, until, towards the end of its appearance, it became a most brilliant and sublime object in the heavens, and viewed by all beholders with wonder. There were many who looked upon it with awe and dread, regarding it as an omen of disaster, or that it presaged the end of the world. It was frequently referred to by the revivalist preachers and exhorters of the time, as a threatening sign of God's wrath and the forerunner of the Judgment Day; and great numbers of simple-minded people were terror-stricken by its nightly display, especially as it constantly grew larger and more brilliant each day. Finally it overtook the sun in its settings, becoming completely obscured by the full rays of that luminary. It was thus lost to view and seen no more.

In Grierson's "Valley of Shadows," a book of the author's "recollections of the Lincoln country," in the years from 1858 to 1863, recently published, he describes scenes and incidents among the people of the prairie districts, at the time of the comet's visitation, which many of our older readers will confirm from their own recollections of that period. An old man who had acquired the nick-name of Socrates, from his resemblance to the pictures of that philosopher, and who furnished the music for dancing parties far and wide throughout his part of the country, thus delivers himself; "Afore Buchanan's election I had all the fiddlin' I could do, but when Pete Cartwright come along he skeered 'em, an' when the Baptists come they doused 'em in pisen cold water, an' now folks are predictin' the end of the world by this 'ere comet. I'll be doggoned if I've drawed the bow wunst sence folks got skeered plumb to their marrer-bones."

Grierson describes the lonely scenes among the woods and on the prairies of the Illinois country of that time, in graphic language. "The solemn hush of the wilderness had its voices of bird and insect, wind, rain, and rustling grass; but from the song of birds and grasshoppers to the noiseless march of the comet was a far and terrible cry, and more than one head of a family, seeing its approach nearer and nearer to the earth, sat with folded hands awaiting the end. While it was frightening some into silence it made others loquacious, while others again could not help laughing at the comical figure some of the frightened ones assumed."

THE COMET OF 1881

In the early morning of the 23d of June, 1881, a comet suddenly flashed into the view of terrestrial observers, appearing in the eastern sky a short time before

the dawn of day. The comet had not been seen during its approach toward the solar system from outer space owing to the fact that its course was directly in the line of vision beyond the sun as viewed from the earth. When seen it had already passed its perihelion, and had deviated sufficiently from the line of vision between the earth and sun so that it was no longer obscured by the intenser light of the sun, and had already approached the earth to within thirty millions of miles, or a distance of one-third of that between the earth and the sun.

The next morning—the morning of the 24th of June—all the observers in the United States were on the watch for its appearance as it rose in the eastern sky just before the dawn, having been made aware of its coming by the announcements from the European observers. The astronomers at the Dearborn Observatory, Professor O. S. Hough in charge, with Professor Elias Colbert as invited guest and observer, awaited the appearance of the celestial body. As it rose above the horizon in the fortunately clear atmosphere these gentlemen instantly directed the great telescope upon it and took the necessary angular measurements, and in addition made a drawing (photography in those days not having become available for such purposes) during the brief time that intervened before the fast approaching dawn should suffuse the heavens with the light of day.

By the measurements thus made Professor Colbert was able to announce in the *Tribune* in its issue of the next day, that the new comet was thirty millions of miles distant from the earth, a computation that was fully verified by the subsequent observations and computations made at the leading observatories of the world.

The comet remained visible for a few weeks and then gradually receded into space finally being entirely lost to sight. This comet was remarkable from the fact that it was at its highest degree of brilliancy when it was first discovered, for the reasons above mentioned, namely that its approach was obscured by the sun. This comet never received a name as is usual with comets of the first class such as this was; and it was never identified with any former visitor from the great spaces beyond our system. From the direction of its course as it was departing astronomers agreed that it was not likely that it would ever return.

HALLEY'S COMET

The appearance of Halley's Comet, which was plainly seen in the evening sky during the month of June, 1910, was an event of great importance in the astronomical world. Its period of about seventy-five years having been known since Halley computed its orbit, in 1682, caused it to be looked forward to with great interest by intelligent people, and with terror and apprehension by the superstitious. It was, however, by no means as brilliant an object in the heavens as Donati's comet of 1858, or the comet of 1881.

Many old residents recall the former appearance of Halley's comet in 1835. Mr. William W. Stewart, who lived in Chicago the principal part of his life, was eight years old at that time, and was living on the farm of his father, Captain Alanson C. Stewart, near White Pigeon, Michigan, and distinctly remembers seeing the comet in the year mentioned. The family watched it after dusk, night after night for several weeks, it being visible in the southeast. He says it was "a beautiful sight," though regarded by ignorant people as indicating the approach-

ing end of the world, and that "revival services" often had reference to the comet as a supernatural sign.

A clipping from an old number of a paper printed in 1759, at the time Halley's comet appeared, on its second from the last visit, contains a poem on the comet, author unknown, some of the lines of which are well worth quoting.

"Ha! There it flames, the long expected star,
And darts its awful glories from afar!
Punctual at length the traveler appears
From its long journey of nigh four score years.
Lo! the reputed messenger of fate,
Arrayed in glorious, but tremendous state,
Moves on majestic o'er the heavenly plain
And shakes dire sparkles in its fiery train."

HISTORIES AND HISTORIANS

It is of importance to take account of the histories of Chicago that have already been written, and therefore an estimate is given in the following paragraphs. Many writers of history add to the main body of their text a bibliography of the works, more or less directly bearing on the subject matter, with a view of acquainting the reader with other writings among which he may extend his reading if so disposed. With some such purpose in view we shall mention a few of the works and sources of information which will be found useful in pursuing the subject, though not intending that it shall be by any means an exhaustive list of such works.

The earliest of these books concerning the Chicago of the nineteenth century is undoubtedly the volume by Mrs. Juliette A. Kinzie, entitled "Wau-Bun." Mrs. Kinzie's maiden name was Magill, and the initial M is often used in the books, though her own signature shows the use of the middle initial as given above. She was the wife of John Harris Kinzie, and came to Chicago in 1834. Her book, brought out in 1856, contains the first published accounts of many of the events of the early history of Chicago. We have already spoken of and quoted from her book so often in previous pages that it is scarcely necessary to enlarge further on the great merits of "Wau-Bun" as a history source, especially in regard to the "Early Day" in the West. Mrs. Kinzie was a graceful writer and the information embodied in her narratives was obtained from first hands.

WRIGHT'S BOOK ON CHICAGO

A volume entitled "Chicago; Past, Present, and Future," by John S. Wright, was published in 1868. It is not so much of a history as a glorification of Chicago. The volume abounds in descriptions of its wonderful progress and of its superior advantages. The claims of rival cities, especially those of St. Louis, are mentioned only to show how greatly the "Queen City of the West" surpasses them all. "Unequaled advantages," "wonderful prosperity," "inexhaustible stores of agricultural and mineral wealth," and similar phrases are constantly met with throughout his book. Extravagant laudation of Chicago was much in fashion among our writers during the middle century period, and the author fairly "chortles in his glee" when quoting the statistics of the city's amazing progress.

THE TRIBUNE GALAXY

Various histories of permanent interest have appeared from time to time written by members of the *Tribune* editorial staff, which require notice. In 1868 Mr. Elias Colbert printed a history comprised within a volume of one hundred and twenty pages, giving a most useful summary of events up to that time.

A "History of Chicago," by William Bross, was published in 1876, in which is given a rather brief narrative of the early period down to the time of the Great Fire. Bross was the editor of the *Democratic Press,* which he established in 1852, and which six years later was consolidated with the *Tribune.* He continued with the latter newspaper. In 1864, he was elected Lieutenant-Governor of the state. He was well informed, a fluent writer, and his history is largely made up of comparisons between the small affairs of the earlier time and the remarkable developments which he had witnessed.

Immediately after the Great Fire James W. Sheahan and George P. Upton together prepared a history of "The Great Conflagration," the first portion of which contained a sketch of the early history of Chicago. Mr. Colbert, jointly with Everett Chamberlin of the *Times* printed a volume in the same year in which the fire occurred containing a full account of the great disaster.

All of these gentlemen with the exception of Mr. Chamberlin were members of the *Tribune* staff of writers, and their works are of especial value, accurate in their facts and written in a good literary style.

THE FERGUS PAMPHLETS

The Fergus Historical Series, comprising some thirty-four pamphlets, were published during the years from 1876 to 1890. The contributors to this series were chiefly men who had themselves borne some share in the affairs of the city. Especially was this the case with John Wentworth's two pamphlets which contain a large amount of original matter. This series is invaluable in any collection of historical material pertaining to the early history of Chicago.

BLANCHARD'S HISTORY

The history written by Rufus Blanchard, under the rather cumbersome title of the "Discovery and Conquests of the Northwest, with the History of Chicago," was published in 1881; and, though covering a much wider field than that of Chicago, it met with a welcome reception by the Chicago public at a time when the interest in local history was passing through a period of revival. Blanchard's book became the target of considerable criticism by Hurlbut in his "Chicago Antiquities" published soon after. The lynx-eyed Hurlbut found many errors and called attention to them with numerous caustic comments. Blanchard's history is deficient in literary merit, the arrangement is crude, and he was evidently unacquainted with much material which would have aided him in his work. Until the appearance of Andreas' monumental work some years later, Blanchard's history held the leading place among the histories of Chicago.

HURLBUT'S "CHICAGO ANTIQUITIES"

Henry H. Hurlbut, the author of "Chicago Antiquities," published in 1881, to which we have often had occasion to refer, has performed a distinct service

by collecting facts and writing sketches of persons and events connected with every period of Chicago history. His book makes no pretensions to being a consecutive narrative, but it is brimful of information, and the work is likewise well indexed. His facts and dates are accurately given, while at the same time he is especially keen in correcting the mistakes of other writers. He devotes nearly a hundred pages of his book in quoting passages from various writings on Chicago history, criticising them, adding to the statements made, and making comments in his own inimitable manner,—often sarcastic, always intelligent, and showing a thorough knowledge of his subject.

ANDREAS' MONUMENTAL HISTORY

We cannot speak too highly of this history as a repository of a great number of facts, indeed it is packed full of information, gathered with great industry and intelligence. It is also well supplied with maps most useful for illustration of the text, and portraits of a great number of the pioneers and men of more recent periods who have borne a large share in building up the city. This work was published in 1884, in three volumes, under the title of "History of Chicago." Andreas' history, however, is not well arranged, and the interest of the reader is continually broken by sudden excursions to widely separated topics, and far removed in point of time from the natural course of his narrative. Such a method is often enough necessary, as any writer will find if he attempts a similar task; but the summary manner of breaking off and leaving the reader to his fate is often highly exasperating, though with some compensation when he finds the thread resumed elsewhere. But nothing has escaped the author, and, in some form or other, either by allusion, quotation or footnote, he has taken note of everything known at the time of his writing. There is probably no work that is consulted so often by investigators and students, as Andreas' history. In every public library or Historical Society Andreas is regarded as the chief authority on the subject of Chicago history.

MOSES AND KIRKLAND'S HISTORY

The "History of Chicago," by John Moses and Joseph Kirkland, in two volumes, was published in 1895. Both of these authors had already written historical works, and were well versed in the details of their subject. Moses was the author of a "History of Illinois," published in 1889, and Kirkland of a work entitled "The Story of Chicago," published in 1892. The former was secretary of the Chicago Historical Society from 1887 to 1893, while the latter was the literary editor of the Chicago *Tribune* for some years. There could hardly be a greater contrast than in the literary style of these two authors thus working in collaboration, Kirkland's diction being florid and affected, while that of Moses was dignified and direct. This work, however, is arranged in good literary form, provided with a comprehensive index, and is of great value to students of Chicago history.

VARIOUS OTHER HISTORIES

Other histories have been written, many of them made up largely of personal recollections, such as Charles Cleaver's "History of Chicago," published in 1892, a very interesting little volume; and Edwin O. Gale's "Reminiscences," published in 1902, filled with interesting details; besides many historical sketches in other works, statistical, biographical, and descriptive.

CHAPTER XXXI

SEWERAGE PROBLEMS—NEWSPAPERS, ETC.

EARLY FORMS OF SEWERAGE—DIFFICULTIES OF LOW SITUATION—CHESBROUGH'S REPORT—RELIEF SOUGHT BY DEEPENING THE CANAL—CONSEQUENCES OF CANAL ENLARGEMENT—THE OGDEN-WENTWORTH DITCH—PUMPING AGAIN RESORTED TO—INADEQUATE RESULTS—LAKE LEVEL LOWERED FOR A TIME—FOREIGN VESSELS IN CHICAGO HARBOR—NEWSPAPERS OF THE WAR PERIOD—INCREASED CIRCULATION OF NEWSPAPERS—"PATENT INSIDES" COME INTO USE—THE CHICAGO "REPUBLICAN"—NEWSPAPER DISTRIBUTION—FOUR DAYS WITHOUT NEWSPAPERS—THE ASSOCIATED PRESS—ALEXANDER HESLER—HIS REMARKABLE PORTRAITS AND VIEWS—CHARLES D. MOSHER AND HIS MEMORIAL PHOTOGRAPHS.

SEWERAGE AND DRAINAGE

UNTIL the year 1855 no effort had been made to provide a system of sewerage for the city. Previous to that time the city was drained by wooden conduits placed beneath some of the principal streets. Primarily, these were constructed to supply water for use in extinguishing fires. They were found to be serviceable in carrying off surplus water from the streets, and were used to a limited extent for house drainage. As they were laid without system and were limited in capacity they were of little use except for surface drainage. In wet seasons they failed even to carry off the surface water. "As a result," says Brown, "the city was scourged with epidemics for six years in succession. The death rate became higher than that of any other city in the country. In 1854, with cholera raging, nearly five and one-half per cent of the population died."

In 1855 the first board of Sewerage Commissioners was appointed by the city council, this board consisting of William B. Ogden, J. D. Webster, and Sylvester Lind. Ellis S. Chesbrough, of Boston, was appointed chief engineer. In 1861 the duties of this board were transferred to the Board of Public Works organized in that year. Systematic sewerage in this country was unknown when Mr. Chesbrough assumed his duties, and he was confronted by a difficult problem in planning a system for the city. Not only was he unable to profit by the experience of other cities, but the local conditions were unfavorable. When the surveys were made the surface of the ground in the vicinity of the North and South branches of the Chicago River was found to be only three or four feet above the surface of the lake. There was an irregular rise to the eastward, until at Michigan avenue and Rush street the surface was from ten to twelve feet above the lake; to the westward it reached about the same height at Ashland avenue, then called Reuben

street. These varying contours made it necessary to raise the grade of the streets in the lower portions to keep the proposed sewers under ground. It was decided to raise the grade of the streets adjacent to the river to a level of ten feet above the lake. A higher grade than this was proposed but the ten foot grade was adopted for the reason that "there would be difficulty in securing sufficient earth to raise the streets to the minimum height decided upon. A few years later," says Brown, "It was found that the surplus earth of the South division was sufficient not only to raise the grade of the streets but to fill up the entire lake basin between the Illinois Central Railroad and Michigan avenue."

The plans adopted provided for a system of sewers extending from Taylor street on the south to Chicago avenue on the north and from Halsted street to the lake. The sewers were built to discharge into the river, the waters of which flowed into the lake. "Mr. Chesbrough," says Brown, "foresaw the evils resulting from the discharge of sewage into the lake. It was impossible at that time to create an outlet to the southwest, but he appears to have believed that this would be the ultimate solution of the sewerage problem, and his plans were in harmony with it."

CHESBROUGH'S VIEWS ON DRAINAGE

In his report on drainage, Mr. Chesbrough regarded the plan of draining the river "into the proposed steamboat canal," by which there would be diverted "a large and constantly flowing stream from Lake Michigan into the Illinois River," as too impractical for present consideration. "Should the proposed steamboat canal," says Chesbrough, "ever be made for commercial purposes the plan now recommended would be about as well adapted to such a state of things, as it is to the present."

In December, 1856, Mr. Chesbrough was instructed by the Sewerage Commissioners to proceed to England and the continent of Europe, "for the purpose of examining the various methods of sewerage adopted there," and of their operation and all matters connected with them, which might aid in the further perfection of the sewerage of the city of Chicago. Mr. Chesbrough accordingly visited cities in England, Scotland and other countries in Europe, and, in 1858, submitted a detailed report to the board. In the course of the report he returned to the idea, which seems to have taken a firm hold upon his mind, that the Chicago River, into which the sewage was then draining, must be made to flow westwardly through the Illinois and Michigan Canal when it should at length, be sufficiently deepened and enlarged; that "it would furnish a constant and abundant stream from the lake flowing westwardly throughout the season of navigation, and consequently during the warm and sickly portions of the year."

Referring to this report, Mr. Benezette Williams says: "It is hard for us to appreciate the importance of this report and the effect it exerted, not only upon the destiny of Chicago, but also of other cities of the country. It may aid us in doing so, however, to remember that at the time it was written there was not a town or city in the United States that had been sewered in any manner worthy of being called a system. . . . This being perhaps the first really thorough and exhaustive study which the subject had received at the hands of an American engineer, and Chicago being the only city on this continent to proceed systematically

with a sewerage system, Chicago and Chicago's engineer soon became famous, and for twenty-five years thereafter E. S. Chesbrough was the recognized head of sanitary engineering in this country."

RELIEF SOUGHT BY DEEPENING THE CANAL

During the earlier years of the sixties the pollution of the water in the Chicago River increased to such a degree that its condition was the subject of almost constant discussion. The pumping works, located at Bridgeport, which had been built for the purpose of supplying, in part, water for the Summit level of the canal, were now expected to afford relief by keeping in operation constantly. But even when this was done the relief was only partial. When at length, in 1865, the State Legislature passed an act authorizing the deepening of the Illinois and Michigan Canal, it was recited in the preamble, "that it had been represented that the City of Chicago, in order to purify or cleanse the Chicago River, by drawing a sufficient quantity of water from Lake Michigan directly through the Summit division of the Illinois and Michigan Canal, would advance a sufficient amount of funds to accomplish this desirable object." The act was passed on this understanding, and the work was inaugurated in 1867, and completed in 1871.

A report was made to the mayor and common council by a commission created by the council, which, after discussing various plans for disposing of the sewage, contained this recommendation: "In view of all the facts of the case, the best plan for cleansing the Chicago River that we can devise, is to cut down the summit of the canal so as to draw a sufficient quantity through it from the lake to create the necessary current in said river." The commission then referred to the law just enacted by the State Legislature, and it states in the report that "we do not think that in deciding this question we have a right to disregard other considerations of great importance to the interests of the city, especially the law passed at the recent session of our State Legislature which gives the City of Chicago a lien upon the Illinois and Michigan Canal and its revenues, after the payment of the present canal debt, until the whole cost of making the 'deep cut,' and the interest accruing thereon, shall have been reimbursed to the city." Thus the way seemed clear for carrying out the plan recommended by the commission, and the report was promptly approved by the common council.

THE DEEPENING OF THE CANAL COMPLETED

The work of "cutting down the summit" or deepening the canal was begun in the fall of 1867, and carried on during the closed season of each year until its completion in the spring of 1871. The total amount expended by the city in this work was three million, three hundred thousand dollars. The act of the Legislature, previously referred to, gave the city a lien upon the revenues of the canal to the extent of two and one-half millions of dollars, but after the great fire at Chicago, in October of that year, the Legislature reimbursed the city in great part by an appropriation of nearly three millions of dollars, so that the City of Chicago was not obliged to await the slow and uncertain maturity and liquidation of the debt under the terms of the act of 1865.

By the cutting away of a temporary dam which had been thrown across the canal at Bridgeport, to hold back the waters of the Chicago River, the final act

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CUSTOM HOUSE

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MICHIGAN SOUTHERN DEPOT

Original owned by Chicago Historical Society

GREAT CENTRAL DEPOT OF ILLINOIS CENTRAL RAILROAD

(Depot at foot of Randolph Street)

Original owned by Chicago Historical Society

LA SALLE STREET FROM COURTHOUSE SQUARE

in deepening the Illinois and Michigan Canal was accomplished. This occurred on July 15, 1871. Almost precisely the same performance was repeated, twenty-eight and a half years later, on January 2, 1900, when a bulkhead of earth left for the same purpose at the entrance of the great Drainage Canal, then just completed, was removed by a dredge, and the waters of the Chicago River allowed to enter the new channel.

When the water was admitted to the canal, after its deepening had been completed, in 1871, a strong current was at once created, and an entire change of the water in the main river and the South branch was effected in about thirty-six hours. The completion of this work was an impressive event in the history of Chicago. "No more important and necessary public improvement has ever been undertaken by the city," said the Commissioner of Public Works, in his report for that year. "It is confidently believed that this will prove an adequate and permanent means of relief as far as the main river and the South branch are concerned."

PARALLEL OCCURRENCES

One might almost suppose, in reading the comments upon the completion of this work, that they referred to the far greater work of recent years, but, as we shall presently see, in spite of the high hopes of the people of that time. it fell far short of its intended benefits. The similarity of the two events is very remarkable though the former one has been, by most persons, long since forgotten. There was the same popular clamor about the impurity of the river, the same anticipation of relief from a channel across the "divide," only in the former case the deepening of the old canal was the means of providing for the flow, while in the latter a new channel was demanded. At their openings, there were the same rejoicings, and the same evidences of successful results. Thus history repeats itself, and it is our task to follow the developments of both enterprises to see how far they were successful.

It should be remembered that soon after this event the great Chicago Fire occurred which, of course, absorbed public attention to the exclusion of the sewerage problem, and which it was then thought had been finally disposed of. The public mind soon became occupied with the work of rebuilding the city, and in recuperating from the severe losses suffered. Thus we may suppose, that, as the subject of drainage and sewerage no longer demanded attention, it was little regarded for many years. In nearly all the histories of the movement for improved drainage, which finally resulted in the great Drainage Canal, this earlier experience is practically ignored.

CONSEQUENCES OF THE CANAL ENLARGEMENT

When the deepening of the canal was accomplished, and a gravity flow of water established through its channel, the pumps at Bridgeport were thought to be of no further use, and after two years of idleness they were sold in 1873, for two thousand, five hundred dollars. Their original cost had been nearly twenty-nine thousand dollars. It was not long afterwards, however, before the citizens deplored the fate of the pumps. During the winter and spring of 1872 and 1873, the city authorities began to notice that the Chicago River was no longer cleansed

by the flow of water, that the lake level was passing through one of its periodical subsidences and had reached a point so low it would no longer supply the necessary "head of water" at Bridgeport to furnish a current through the canal. This period of subsidence, in fact, continued until about 1880, when there was another period of high water, these fluctuations in lake levels extending irregularly over periods of years, as is well known.

THE OGDEN-WENTWORTH DITCH

The engineering problem was complicated by an enterprise of a private nature, the construction of the Ogden-Wentworth ditch. This work was begun in 1871, and its purpose was the draining of swampy lands lying east of Summit and north of the canal, which were covered with water during the greater part of the year. There were several hundred acres included in this drainage area, constituting what was known as Mud Lake, and extending eastward from Summit about three miles and northward nearly to the West fork of the South branch of the Chicago River. Its surface was several feet higher than that of the Chicago River. These lands were owned by William B. Ogden and John Wentworth.

The channel of this ditch or canal was about twenty feet wide at the top, and the depth slightly below the bed of the Desplaines River. Its length was about five miles. At its west end it opened into the Desplaines River, and at the east into the West fork of the South branch. The Desplaines River is a stream of wide fluctuations. "During some seasons," says Isham Randolph, "its whole discharge would pass through a six-inch pipe; at others its volume reaches eight hundred thousand cubic feet per minute." The builders of the Ogden-Wentworth ditch had planned that once the opening was made, however slight it might be, the flow through it would enlarge the channel. "When the floods came in the spring and summer of 1872," says Brown, "the rush of waters from the Desplaines, now sweeping towards the Chicago River, accomplished what the projectors anticipated and their canal was greatly enlarged. Within a short time there was a very troublesome stream flowing eastward from the Summit into Lake Michigan instead of down the valley of the Desplaines. The Desplaines River was practically diverted from its old channel.

"The results were most unfortunate. The city had spent millions of dollars in enlarging the Illinois and Michigan Canal for the purpose of discharging the Chicago River and the sewage of the city into the rivers of the valley. Now the current westward was counteracted by the new flow through a ditch which was constructed for the benefit of private interests. Relief was no sooner secured than it was taken away." The current in the Ogden-Wentworth Canal had been strong enough to supply about all the water that the old canal could carry, the latter entering the river not far from the junction of the former with the same stream. This caused a cessation of the movement of the river water and sewage into the canal, and thus without any current in its channel the river became increasingly foul.

The drainage through the canal, however, was still carried on intermittently. "In the spring of 1874, City Engineer Chesbrough suggested the construction of a dam with sluice-gates in the Ogden-Wentworth Canal, near the Desplaines

River, which would prevent water passing from the river into the ditch whenever it would be injurious to the city." This was done, but the dam was not built high enough to hold back heavy freshets, and there was frequent trouble from this source in subsequent years.

RESTORATION OF THE PUMPING WORKS

Dr. John H. Rauch, secretary of the State Board of Health, had observations made in 1878 and 1879, on the condition of the water in the canal, in the interests of the people living in the valley of the Desplaines. These observations were systematically carried on by Samuel M. Thorp, locktender at Joliet, for more than a year, and upon them Dr. Rauch based a recommendation to the city authorities that the pumping works at Bridgeport should be rebuilt. "My reasons for recommending this course," he wrote, "are that the works will furnish almost immediate relief without great expense and without interfering with the project for a ship canal, or with any more permanent plan which may become necessary for disposing of Chicago sewage." The necessity for action was urgent, as the people of the valley were suffering from the offensive odors owing to the diminishing volume of water in the sewage brought down by the canal. Public meetings were held at Joliet and committees appointed to visit Chicago and demand relief. Dr. Rauch had reported that during the fourteen months of Mr. Thorp's observations there was almost continued low water, and that "the amount of water passing over the dam was diminishing, due to the lowering of the lake level thirty-five miles away."

The general superintendent of the canal, William Thomas, at the close of the year 1879, called the attention of the Canal Commissioners to the condition of the Summit level. "When the water was let into the 'deep cut' the lake was more than three feet higher than it was in 1879. Navigation had been seriously interfered with. Either the bottom of the canal must be lowered throughout the entire length of the canal, or more water must be supplied at Bridgeport." In his judgment it was a great mistake that the old hydraulic works at Bridgeport had not been preserved. "With those works restored," he said, "the water in the canal could be kept nearly as clean as that in the lake itself." He thought that the City of Chicago and the Canal Board should at once take steps to accomplish this purpose.

"The recommendations of Dr. Rauch, fortified by the opinions of Mr. Thomas, were concurred in by the State Board of Health, and a copy of the secretary's report was transmitted to the mayor and common council of the City of Chicago. The subject was earnestly discussed by the press, the Chicago Citizens' Association and the Engineers' Club. . . . The result was that the common council appropriated one hundred thousand dollars, on March 29, 1880, for the construction of pumping works at the head of the Illinois and Michigan Canal." Upon opening the bids for the work it was found that the pumping machinery would cost far in excess of the amount appropriated, and therefore it became necessary for the council to increase the amount. The work of construction was not completed until June, 1884, when the cost was found to be over two hundred and fifty thousand dollars. But even then a test of the pumps showed that they did not meet

the requirements of the contract, and they were practically rebuilt during the following year. "A subsequent test showed that the pumps were able to raise the requisite amount of sixty thousand cubic feet per minute eight feet high," which at the time was deemed satisfactory.

INADEQUATE RESULTS FROM PUMPING

"At the time of the tests the lake level was at an average high stage, and the conditions were favorable for the pumps. Both river and canal were kept in a comparatively inoffensive condition for two years. In 1886, the average mean level of the lake above datum was two and sixty-four one hundredths feet. In the following year it dropped to one and ninety-six one hundredths, and continued to fall until it reached five one hundredths above datum in 1891.

"With the lowering of the lake level the pumps were required to raise the water at the head of the canal through a greater distance, and the result was a less amount pumped." The required sixty thousand cubic feet per minute was reduced to less than thirty-eight thousand during the year 1891. Thus there was little more than half the required amount of water pumped from the river, and meantime the sewage discharge into the river was greatly increased owing to the rapid growth of the city. The river and canal, consequently, became again very foul and offensive. "The level of the water of Lake Michigan in 1891 was the lowest in the history of the City of Chicago. It was below datum for one hundred and thirty days, and at no time during the year was it more than six inches above datum."

In explanation of the term datum it may here be added, that "Chicago datum was established by the Illinois and Michigan Canal Commissioners in 1847, and represents the level of low water in Lake Michigan in that year. It has since been used as a basis for fixing water levels in the vicinity of Chicago." This account, in its essential details, follows that found in G. P. Brown's "History of the Drainage Channel and Waterway," published in 1894, from which work quotations have also been made.

We are now at the threshold of the movement for the great Drainage Canal which finally realized, on its completion in 1900, the purposes of an adequate drainage system for the City of Chicago. By means of a channel wide and deep enough for the purpose, it has accomplished three great results; first, the channel carries off, by "gravity flow," the vast discharges of sewage from a city with a population considerably exceeding two millions of souls; second, by reversing the current of the Chicago River it removes the danger of contamination of the waters of Lake Michigan, the source of the city's water supply; third, it abundantly dilutes the volume of its channel contents, thus rendering them inoffensive to the people living along its course and in the valleys of the rivers through which they eventually flow.

FIRST DIRECT CLEARANCE FOR A FOREIGN PORT

The steamer "Dean Richmond" carried the first cargo of grain direct from Chicago to Liverpool. This was in 1856. This steamer had just been built, and had a capacity of fifteen thousand bushels of wheat and perhaps more. Five thousand bushels of wheat were taken on at Chicago, the remainder of her cargo, some

nine thousand bushels of wheat, being taken on at Milwaukee. The "Dean Richmond" cleared from Chicago about July 14, 1856, and arrived at Liverpool September 29th, the voyage thus being accomplished in about seventy-seven days.

The steamer was not able to procure a cargo for a return trip, and accordingly she was sold abroad. "The long and expensive voyage," writes Kirkland, "via ocean, St. Lawrence River, Welland Canal and the Lakes, made a loss of time, wages, insurance and interest, which more than counterbalanced the gain by relief from cost of trans-shipments."

FIRST VESSEL FROM EUROPE

In the news columns of the Chicago Daily *Democrat* for July 15, 1857, appeared an announcement of the arrival of a vessel direct from Liverpool, the "Madeira Pet," Captain William Craig, master. The item is headed, "First Vessel Direct from Liverpool." It was described as a topsail schooner having a length of ninety-seven feet and a capacity of two hundred and forty tons. The vessel had made the voyage from Liverpool to Chicago, by way of the St. Lawrence River and the Welland Canal in eighty-one days. Her cargo consisted of iron and hardware there being among other items five tons of Scotch pig iron, sixteen hundred bars of iron, and numerous packages of hardware and crockery.

The arrival of this vessel aroused an intense interest among the people of Chicago, as everything connected with lake commerce invariably did. The captain of the vessel was introduced to the members of the Board of Trade, and, in the language of the newspaper just quoted from, "received the congratulations of the merchants upon the conclusion of his voyage."

ARRIVAL OF THE "SLEIPNER"

Since the arrival of the "Madeira Pet" in 1857, there had been no vessels to arrive from a foreign port until the summer of 1862; and the dream of Chicago citizens interested in the growth of direct commerce with Europe by ocean and lakes—a dream that they had long cherished,—seemed to be fading away. An interval of five years had thus elapsed in which not a single vessel had ventured to make the long and tedious voyage of approximately five thousand miles, with the numerous delays incident to the passage of the Atlantic Ocean, the St. Lawrence River, Lake Ontario, the Welland Canal, and Lakes Erie, Huron and Michigan, with Chicago as the port of destination. Neither had any vessel undertaken a voyage in the opposite direction, since the experiment of sending the "Dean Richmond" to Liverpool, in 1856, had proved that direct shipments by lake and sea to foreign ports were not profitable commercial ventures.

It was a great surprise and gratification to the people of Chicago, therefore, when the Norwegian brig "Sleipner," hailing from Bergen, Norway, came into port on the 2d of August, 1862, under command of Captain Waage with a crew of Norwegian sailors, and with her decks crowded with passengers. This vessel reached Chicago after a voyage of seventy-one days from her home port. She was a craft of three hundred and fifty tons burden, and brought over from Norway a hundred and fifty Skandinavian emigrants, and one American who was return-

ing to his native land. Her cargo consisted mainly of barreled herring and other products of Norwegian fisheries.

The arrival of this vessel, with passengers and cargo, was celebrated with great enthusiasm. Captain Waage was tendered the hospitalities of the Board of Trade, and at a meeting of the members was presented with an address "congratulating him on being the first to inaugurate direct trade between Chicago and Norway."

THE LOST EDITION OF "ARNE"

An interesting item in the cargo of the "Sleipner" was an edition of one thousand copies of Bjornsen's "Arne," in an English translation made at the expense of the widow of the publisher, Geelmuyden. The entire edition had been thus sent to Chicago where it was supposed it would find a ready sale. On their arrival the books were placed in a warehouse, but through some neglect of the parties to whom the books were consigned they were totally overlooked, and there was not a single volume out of the whole edition disposed of.

Mr. George P. Upton relates that the custodian of the warehouse mentioned to him that the books perhaps ought to be offered for sale, at the same time handing him a copy for examination. The books remained in the warehouse for nine years undisturbed until the great fire of 1871 wiped them out of existence. The copy which Mr. Upton had was loaned to a friend and never returned. In fact it was learned afterward that the copy thus loaned was destroyed. There is therefore no copy of this work in this specially made translation in existence today.

It may be remarked that while the romantic story of "Arne" is well known to readers and may readily be found in the ordinary channels of the book trade, this particular translation had been made by a Norwegian expressly for the publisher, and it was a very quaint as well as a unique production because the English text was full of Scandinavian idioms. The title page bore the imprint, "Published by H. Geelmuyden's Widow."

FOREIGN VESSELS IN CHICAGO

A news item in the Chicago *Times,* printed in its issue of July 17, 1863, announced the arrival in the Chicago River on the previous day of the Norwegian vessel Skjoldemoen, commanded by Captain L. Wesenberg with a crew of five men, from Bergen, Norway, whence she had sailed on April 11th, arriving at Quebec on July 2d, and making Chicago ninety-six days after leaving her home port. This was the second vessel to arrive at this port from Norway, the previous year having witnessed the arrival of the Sleipner. The voyage was a rough and stormy one. Many gales were encountered, and the hardy Norse sailors were occupied much of the time in fighting for the safety of their vessel and cargo. But they reached Chicago safely and delivered a cargo of herring, stock fish, anchovies and Norwegian cod liver oil.

The dimensions of this diminutive craft were sixty-three feet in length with a breadth of seventeen feet, and with a capacity of fifty-five tons. She was sloop rigged similar to the Viking ships of old. Her cargo of fish and oil weighted the hull of the vessel so deeply that her deck was but twelve inches above the water

line. On her arrival she was moored at the foot of Wolcott street (now North State street) on the north side of the river. The reporter for the *Times* and the writer of the news item referred to, it is interesting to learn, was none other than Mr. Elias Colbert, the well known astronomer, and for nearly fifty years a member of the *Tribune* editorial staff which he joined soon after this event. The vessel is described as "a tiny craft smaller than the average of our river tugs."

"While the tonnage of the Skjoldemoen was small," says the writer of a historical sketch of the event, printed in the *Times-Herald* of January 6, 1901, "the Chicago citizens of 1863 accepted her presence at their docks as indisputable evidence that the city need not depend upon New York for its ocean trade. The town swarmed down to where the Norwegian bark lay, climbed on board, made minute inspection of her cargo, questioned her crew, listened to glorious yarns of the voyage and drank to the health of the sturdy captain over and over again. Efforts were made to call a public meeting, and the captain was assured that on his return voyage he should carry home many American products. He was invited to come again and to urge other foreign vessel owners to take the trip. The freedom of the city was his, and the tales of his exploits passed far west to the new wheat fields of Iowa and Minnesota, where farmers were beginning to dream of a foreign market for their cereals.

"The captain and his bark remained in Chicago until July 31st. There was much to be done to the vessel before the home voyage was attempted. Finally she was ready and a new cargo placed on board. This consisted of flour, pork, hides, hams, tobacco, and kerosene lamps, all American products, and all for the Norwegian trade. The bark set her pennant 'Homeward Bound,' the citizens flocked to the docks and cheered. She made her way out into the lake and slowly disappeared over the horizon's edge on the long three months' voyage back to Bergen. Some there were who looked for her return, bringing other vessels with her. But she never came back."

The sensations of the people of Chicago on the arrival of the Norwegian vessel above described were, no doubt, similar to the thrills experienced by the people of Boston a few years before. In 1847, a Chinese sea-going junk sailed into Boston harbor, having made the voyage from China to that port by way of the Cape of Good Hope. The surprise of the Boston people was very great at its appearance, and the unwonted sight of such a craft in the harbor excited profound interest. After remaining there for several months, during which time the junk became a popular show place, it sailed away on its long journey back to China.

THE NATIVE CITIZEN

A daily newspaper advocating the principles of the "Know Nothing" party, was started in the spring of 1855, by William W. Danenhower, a pioneer bookseller of Chicago. The editorial staff was composed of Washington Wright, William H. Merriam and George P. Upton. The paper was owned by Simon B. Buckner, who afterwards became a general in the army of the Confederacy. It will be remembered that a party bearing the title of the Know Nothing party, the leading principles of which were the exclusion from participation in political affairs of men of foreign birth, enjoyed a brief though flourishing existence in

the years 1854, '55 and '56. By May 1, 1856, the resources of the *Native Citizen,* as it was called, were exhausted and its daily issues were discontinued. A weekly issue, however, probably under another name, was continued during the ensuing presidential campaign, its support being given to the so called American party which had absorbed the Know Nothing party, whose candidate for the presidency was Millard Fillmore.

NEWSPAPERS OF THE WAR PERIOD

The history of newspapers in the State of Illinois, previous to 1879, is the subject of a volume by Franklin W. Scott, recently issued by the Illinois State Historical Library. Some quotations and adaptations from the introduction to this work occur in the following paragraphs. "The Civil War greatly affected the newspapers and the newspaper situation, and set in motion certain developments that were not fully worked out until after the close of the period with which this paper deals. The stress and conflict of public opinion, and popular anxiety for news from the armies and from Washington not only revolutionized the practise of reporting and revised the form and make up of papers; it made dailies out of weeklies, and overcame pious scruples against Sunday editions.

"The immediate effect was on circulation. The papers of the larger towns, and especially of Chicago, were affected very advantageously. The circulation of the *Tribune* rose from 18,000 in 1861 to 40,000 in 1864, and other papers showed like increases. John Wentworth, who, in a panic at the prospect of war, sold his *Democrat* lest he should be ruined, saw that journal help to swell the increasing tide of subscriptions to a height hardly thought of before. The war put the Chicago newspapers for the first time on a really money making basis. . .

"There were few dailies in the state outside of Chicago, and none of them could compete with those of that city and St. Louis in furnishing news from the front and from Washington. The Chicago and St. Louis papers gained at that time a circulation all over the state which they have never lost."

ORIGIN OF THE "PATENT INSIDE"

An important part was played by the war in the changes that came in the conduct of newspaper publishing. The war was directly the cause of the birth of the "patent inside" device for the use of weekly papers published throughout the country. Mr. A. N. Kellogg, publisher of the Baraboo, Wisconsin, *Republic,* finding that in consequence of the enlistment of his patriotic journeymen printers he would be unable to issue a full sheet on the regular day, ordered of the Daily *Journal* office at Madison a number of half-sheet supplements, printed on both sides with war news, to fold with his own half-sheets. "While mailing his edition," says F. W. Scott in a recent publication of the Illinois State Historical Library, "it occurred to him that if the awkward fact of his paper's being in two pieces could be obviated, an excellent paper could be regularly issued with a decided saving of labor and expense."

Acting on this idea, Mr. Kellogg himself began the printing of "patent insides," the first issue of which was made on July 12, 1861. The idea was at once taken up by other Wisconsin papers and later Mr. Kellogg finding that much use was

TERRACE ROW ON MICHIGAN AVENUE BEFORE THE FIRE

HOME OF MRS. CLARK, ON MICHIGAN AVENUE NEAR SIXTEENTH STREET. BUILT IN 1837

RESIDENCE OF H. H. HONORE, WHICH STOOD AT THE NORTHWEST CORNER OF MICHIGAN AVENUE AND ADAMS STREET

In this house, Miss Bertha Honore was married, in 1870, to Potter Palmer.

made of this device, removed to Chicago and engaged in the business exclusively. "Although the idea," says Scott, "originated in Wisconsin, and has been developed in all parts of the country, Kellogg and Chicago have remained the center of the industry, which has grown to enormous size. As Chicago was the center of the patent inside industry, it was natural that Illinois newspapers should make more general use of the idea than those of other states. The effect was not marked in the first few years, but by the later seventies nearly one-half of the smaller country weeklies were 'co-operative,' to use the word by which such papers were designated in the newspaper directories. Many of them, no doubt, would not have been established had not this invention greatly reduced the cost of production."

THE CHICAGO "REPUBLICAN'S" BRIEF CAREER

The Chicago *Republican* was incorporated in January, 1865, with a capital of $500,000. The incorporators were Ira Y. Munn, John V. Farwell J. K. C. Forrest, J. Young Scammon, of Chicago, and a number of other gentlemen from elsewhere in the state. The projectors secured the services of Charles A. Dana, afterwards of the New York *Sun,* as editor-in-chief. Dana had been assistant Secretary of War under Stanton from 1863 to 1865, and had at an earlier period been associated with Horace Greeley on the New York *Tribune.* Dana brought with him J. G. Hazard who subsequently became well known as the musical editor of the New York *Tribune,* and Frederick H. Hall now on the editorial staff of the Chicago *Tribune.*

The first number of the *Republican* was issued May 30, 1865. "No paper ever established in Chicago," says Moses, "had started out with more cordial demand for its existence, with stronger backing or more flattering promises of success; yet the result was not what its over-sanguine projectors had anticipated. Differences arose between the editorial and business departments;" and in May of the following year Dana left the paper, and returned to New York. The *Republican* passed through a variety of experiences, editorial changes, changes in ownership, and reductions in size and price, until at length just as it seemed about to enter upon a career of prosperity the fire of October, 1871, swept away its entire plant, the insurance upon which turned out to be worthless. However, publication was resumed after the fire for a few months. On the 12th of October it reappeared and continued until March of the following year, when it was succeeded by the Chicago *Inter-Ocean.*

NEWSPAPER DISTRIBUTION

In F. W. Scott's introductory essay to a recent publication of the Illinois State Library, already referred to, he describes the formation of the Western News Company. This company, he says, "grew out of the system organized by a young and energetic Chicago newsdealer, John R. Walsh, to build up a business on the increased demand for prompt delivery of newspapers and periodicals due to the war excitement." The American News Company, up to 1861, had monopolized the business of distributing news publications, having its headquarters in New York City.

"In that year, however, Walsh opened a news depot in Chicago to capture the

business of the Middle West, and commenced to supply the outlying towns of Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Iowa. Newsdealers in those states soon found that they could get their newpapers from Walsh twelve hours earlier than from the American News Company, and twenty-four hours earlier than by mail. Walsh soon had all of the business, and kept it throughout the war. By this time he was distributing fully one-half of the total issues of the *Tribune* and the *Times*. This competition led to negotiations which resulted, in 1866, in the absorption of his business by the older company, of which it became the first branch with Walsh as manager."

FOUR DAYS WITHOUT NEWSPAPERS

The residents of Evanston were apprised by the Evanston *Press*, in its issue of July 2d, 1898, that the Chicago papers would not be issued on that day, for the reason that the members of the Stereotypers' Union had gone on a strike, this being in explanation of the non-appearance of the papers on that morning, at a time of great public anxiety for news regarding the events then transpiring. The *Press* further stated that "the news from the great battle of Santiago which began yesterday will not be read today, and the people will have to get their war news off the bulletin boards, or wait until the publishers of the great dailies and their stereotypers come to terms." In fact for some days thereafter Evanston people were supplied with the news from the special daily issues of the *Press*, which under usual circumstances was issued but once a week. The *Press*, not having the privileges enjoyed by the great city dailies by reason of their possession of franchises in the Associated Press, was obliged to telegraph to Washington for the news as it was received there from hour to hour, and was thus enabled to announce the greatest event of the Spanish-American War, after that of Dewey's capture of the Spanish fleet in the Bay of Manila, namely the destruction of Cervera's fleet at Santiago.

This was the time when the news from the seat of war in Cuba was of the most exciting character, the siege of Santiago by the land forces of the United States having reached the point of making an assault upon the city. Already the battles of San Juan and El Caney had been fought, and the public was eagerly waiting to hear of the capitulation of the besieged city which seemed to be assured. It was just at this time that the stereotypers chose to make their demands for increased compensation, believing that the publishers would promptly comply in view of the public demand for news. In this they were disappointed, all the publishers standing together in resistance to the demand, and announcing that all further issues of the daily papers would be suspended until the places of the strikers could be filled or terms arranged.

After the issue of the morning papers on July 1st, there were no further issues until the morning of the 6th; thus four days elapsed without an issue, when the interest of the public was most intense to learn the news from the war, these four days covering the final stages of the siege and the capture and destruction of Cervera's fleet on the 4th. In its issue of the 6th, the date when publication was resumed, the *Tribune* had this to say regarding the difficulty that had resulted in the suspension of all the dailies in the city. "The strike on the part of Stereo-

typers' Union, No. 4, of Chicago, which has interfered with the publication of the English newspapers of this city, was precipitated by that union after unusually protracted and earnest efforts had been made by the associated publishers of Chicago in the interest of harmony." The demands of the stereotypers amounted to an increase of from thirty to forty per cent in their wages, which the publishers refused to pay for the reason that the Union had made their demands "in peremptory and menacing fashion." The publishers, too, believed that in view of previous demands by trade unions, which had resulted favorably to them, that they, the publishers, had reached a point where "this condition of menace and danger had become intolerable." It was thus that the publishers chose to suspend publication, rather than submit to the tyranny of "the most radical and inconsiderate elements of the unions." The result of this unfortunate and ill-timed strike was the return of the strikers without accomplishing their object, as the publishers absolutely refused to make any concessions under the circumstances.

This period of suspension was of the most embarrassing character to the great dailies, which thus suffered the loss of four days of issues at a time when their sales would probably have broken all records. But to have yielded "would have been to surrender the management of business to the stereotypers, and to establish a precedent which might have been ruinous" to the publishers.

THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

"The [Civil] war had brought prosperity to the Chicago papers," writes F. W. Scott, "and had shown very clearly the need, in that news center, of a press association which would do for Chicago and other middle western papers what the American News Association was doing for those of New York. On the initiative largely of Joseph Medill, of the Chicago *Tribune,* a meeting was held at Louisville, Kentucky, on November 22d and 23d, 1865, at which the Western Associated Press was formed. Horace White, afterwards editor-in-chief of the *Tribune,* was made a member of the executive committee.

"The forming of this association not only meant co-operative use of telegraph news among the papers that held membership, but also through co-operation with the New York Association it greatly broadened, at a minimum cost, the news resources of both the western and the eastern papers. Without such associations the telegraph would never have been able to keep pace with the demands of the press, and the telegraphic news service of anything like the scope attained even by 1870 would have been possible only for the largest and wealthiest papers. The effect of this organization and its successors, the Associated Press, upon the number of papers fully equipped with news service, particularly the daily papers, of course, is not to be overlooked. One direct result was to make a close corporation of the newspapers already existing in any particular place, and to render it almost impossible to start a new newspaper that could compete with them, inasmuch as the newspaper could not get the Associated Press dispatches without their consent."

ALEXANDER HESLER

Before the day of photographers there were daguerreotypists. Alexander Hesler was an artist of the latter description, having a studio in Galena in the early

fifties. He had won a wide reputation both for his portraits and his out-of-door views. No toils were severe enough to prevent him from carrying about the unwieldly apparatus required by the older processes of his calling, for the purpose of procuring views of scenery, groups of persons, or buildings, and it is owing to his patience and unflagging industry, that so many valuable pictorial records of the time are preserved to us.

When photography succeeded the older processes Mr. Hesler soon became an adept in its practice. He was commissioned by a New York publishing house to explore the country along the upper Mississippi and procure views in that picturesque region. At Fort Snelling he heard of a waterfall in the neighborhood known as Brown's Falls, and soon after took a number of views of the charming scene. On his return the picture was exhibited in his studio, and there seen by George Sumner, a brother of Charles Sumner, who had been attracted by Mr. Hesler's reputation, and who had made him a visit at Galena. Mr. Sumner took a print of Brown's Falls with him on his return to Boston, where it most fortunately fell into the hands of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, the poet, who was then making a study of Western history for his poem "Hiawatha." His beautiful description of the Falls of Minnehaha was written after seeing this picture and being inspired by it. Mr. Longfellow, in acknowledgement of his obligations to the maker of the picture, sent Mr. Hesler a copy of the poem with his compliments.

Mr. Hesler removed his studio to Chicago in 1853. Soon afterward he made an exhibit of his work at the Crystal Palace in New York, and received the highest award. That exhibition made a sensation, as nothing so perfect in the way of portraits had yet been produced. In 1858, at the Illinois State Fair, Mr. Hesler was awarded three silver medals; and in 1876, at the Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia, he received the highest awards. The splendid well known photographic views from the cupola of the old courthouse in Chicago were taken by Hesler in 1858, and are the best pictorial records of the scenes of that time that we have. After the great fire of 1871, which destroyed his studio and its contents, Mr. Hesler removed to Evanston. In 1887 he issued a beautiful volume of views entitled "Picturesque Evanston," and besides those contained in that collection he took a great number of views throughout the village, then becoming the most attractive town in the West.

THE LINCOLN PORTRAITS

"But keen and sympathetic as was his feeling for nature," writes his daughter, Mrs. Helen Hesler Kilbourn, "it was the study of the soul in the human face that most delighted him." Many of Chicago's well known citizens sat for their portraits in Hesler's studio. One morning in February, 1857, Mr. Lincoln came in for a sitting. "His hair was long," said Mr. Hesler in his account of the visit, "and I asked him if I might arrange it, to which he replied, 'Fix it to please you.' I ran my fingers through his hair, throwing it off his forehead." The picture shown as the result of this sitting is a profile view of the head and face. "In 1860," says Mrs. Kilbourn, "Mr. Hesler wrote Mr. Lincoln that the Republican National Committee had requested him to make a more 'dressed-up portrait' to comport better with pictures he had made of Douglas, to be used in the campaign.

He kindly replied that his friends had decided that he should remain in Springfield until after the election, but if he would come down there he would give him sittings. Mr. Hesler went down the last of June and secured a number of good negatives, prints from which in reduced form were scattered by thousands all over the country."

MOSHER AND HIS MEMORIAL PHOTOGRAPHS

An odd genius, by the name of Charles D. Mosher, flourished in Chicago before the fire of 1871. He had a photograph gallery at 146 Lake street at that time, and some years after the fire we find him at 125 State street. In 1883 he deposited some thousands of memorial photographs in a vault of the City Hall. These photographs he had been taking for this purpose for two years previously, and they were to remain there until the second Centennial, 1976. He says in the "key" to the list of names, printed in a small volume describing the plan, "the photographs are cabinet size, and photographed with that accuracy that there is not so much as one single hair added to or taken from the likenesses."

These memorial photographs were to constitute a "Memorial Offering," and "are to be deeded to the City of Chicago." Mosher was a sort of "Colonel Sellers" in the expansiveness of his ideas, in which were included plans for providing for Chicago great public buildings for all sorts of purposes,—a museum, art gallery, opera house, and library; all to cluster around the nucleus furnished by his collection of "Memorial Photographs." Just how this was to be accomplished was not made quite clear. In his plan, elaborately detailed, he quite eclipses the well known "Plan of Chicago," recently presented to the public. He also gives his views at length on "the duty every person owes his fellowman," and says he has given to this subject "much thought and study," and we may well believe that he had after a perusal of the little volume which he wrote on the subject. He says that the subject "has ever been in my thoughts, day and night; even in the busy street I have passed and repassed without seeing my dearest and best friends, being so absorbed in thought, developing this work for the Memorial Offering that I now submit, with my heart full and overflowing with zeal, and bequeath this immortal legacy to Chicago."

The little volume referred to was apparently issued before the photographs had been put away for posterity to gaze upon. He requests all persons who have sat for their memorial photographs to send him a short biographical notice of their lives, and a "certified family record, which might become of great value, and the only connecting link to their descendants in proving heirships to inheritances." At the end is printed in small type sixteen pages of names, three columns to a page, of the fortunate sitters, whose photographs were to be enclosed in the vault. This list he promised to extend in a later edition.

When the City Hall was demolished in 1908, to give place to the splendid new building now just completed, the Mosher collection of Memorial Photographs was encountered by the authorities when the contents of the vaults were about to be removed. "Memories of many years," says the *Tribune* in its issue of August 12th, "were stirred yesterday when the photographs and biographies of Chicago's pioneer citizens were removed from the Mosher Memorial vault in the city hall to another vault in the temporary quarters at 200 Randolph street. Five albums full of the

faces of men whose names for the most part are now known across the continent, were opened for a moment and then closed up again, to remain secure from light and air until 1976. Thirty-five packages were left untouched by the order of Commissioner of Public Works John J. Hanberg. The commissioner even was enabled to withstand the supplications of the spectators when it was found one package was designated 'The Ladies.' "

There were present on this interesting occasion, Miss Louise Mosher, a cousin of C. D. Mosher, who gave the collection to the city, Miss Valentine Smith, at that time the city archivist, and others. The brief glimpses taken of the pictures, however, afforded an opportunity to observe the character of the collection. "There are no men in Chicago now with faces like those," commented Commissioner Hanberg, (quoted in the *Tribune* article). "I suppose the driving life we lead prevents it. In these pictures there is a sort of simple courtliness which is rare now, although I do not think we are any the less polite in our intentions than were our fathers. Perhaps the difference is that they had time to be courteous and we sometimes think we have not. And, if you notice, nearly every face is pleasant, humorous almost, and kindly."

Charles D. Mosher, indeed, has secured a lasting hold on fame by the gift of this collection, and he will certainly receive the thanks of posterity for his efforts in its formation and preservation, and he will well deserve them.

CHAPTER XXXII

THE GREAT FIRE

CLIMATIC CONDITIONS IN OCTOBER, 1871—ORIGIN OF THE FIRE—HEADWAY ATTAINED BY THE FLAMES—RAPID PROGRESS OF THE CONFLAGRATION—EFFORTS MADE TO CHECK THE FIRE—INTENSE HEAT GENERATED—ACCOUNTS OF EYE WITNESSES—THE FORCE OF THE GALE—FLAMING BRANDS CARRIED FAR—TRAGEDIES OF THE FIRE—ACTIONS OF THE PEOPLE—THE FIRE IN THE NORTH DIVISION—THE ESCAPE OF THE OGDEN HOUSE—NORTHERN LIMIT OF THE FIRE—RAIN QUENCHES THE FLAMES—FUGITIVES FROM THE FIRE—THE "TRUE CHICAGO SPIRIT"—THE MAYOR'S MESSAGES—THE WORLD'S SYMPATHY AROUSED—GENERAL SHERIDAN TAKES ACTION—MEASURES TO PRESERVE THE PEACE—RELIEF MEASURES—SHELTER FOR THE HOMELESS PROVIDED—CARE OF HOMELESS PEOPLE—SUBSISTENCE AND CLOTHING FURNISHED—ENORMOUS QUANTITIES OF FOOD AND SUPPLIES RECEIVED—CARE OF SICK AND INFIRM—HOUSES BUILT FOR DESTITUTE—CONDITIONS GRADUALLY IMPROVED—THE WORLD'S CHARITY.

THE GREAT FIRE OF 1871

DURING the summer and fall of 1871 the Middle West suffered from a most prolonged and severe drouth. In July the rainfall at Chicago was 2.52 inches, which is 1.14 inches below normal; in August it was 2.01 inches; in September there was but 0.74 inches of rain, or 2.23 inches below normal.[1] In October no rain fell up to and including the eighth of the month. The weather during September and the early part of October became very warm, and this condition, combined with the drouth, had dried up both country and towns. In the northern parts of Michigan and Wisconsin, and on the prairies of Minnesota great fires were burning over immense stretches of forest and plain, destroying valuable timber lands, villages, and even hundreds of human lives. Chicago, the commercial capital of this middle western country, was suffering from the same drouth and heat. As day after day passed without rain and the city grew more parched in the continued heat, the alarms of fire became more frequent, and during the first week of October much property was burned. On the night of Saturday, October 7, there was a large fire which started near the corner of South Clinton and Van Buren streets. A high southwest wind was blowing, and the flames soon spread beyond the firemen's control, burning north as far as Adams street and east to the river. Within the sixteen acres that were destroyed were large lumber and coal yards, which burned all the next day, Sunday, and into the

[1] Bulletin of the Geographic Society of Chicago, No. 3, p. 82.

night. Had this devastation not been followed immediately by a calamity as overwhelming as that which in a few hours fell upon the city, the fire of Saturday night would be remembered as one of the city's great misfortunes. During Sunday there were many visitors that came from all parts of the city to look upon the ruined acres and watch the still burning piles of coal and lumber.

The illumination from the burning area had not disappeared before there was an alarm of fire, which sounded about half past nine o'clock on Sunday evening. For about thirty minutes the light in the southwest in the vicinity of the former night's fire had shone more brightly than during the early part of the evening. At this time there were in the streets on that warm evening crowds of strollers, and people returning home from church services, who heard the alarm and saw the light. Many who saw the fire, supposing it was but a blazing up of the ruins of the night before, paid little attention to it, and went home and to bed. Many, too, grown accustomed to the frequent ringing of the alarm, had now ceased to start at its sound. This light, however, was not that of flames coming from an almost burned out pile of debris, but of those rising from a small cow shed in the West Division, at the corner of De Koven and Jefferson streets. Instantly they had been caught up and swept along by a strong southwest wind that was then blowing twenty miles an hour, and by the time the alarm was given the fire had made great headway.[2]

ORIGIN OF THE FIRE

The cause of the fire is not known, even after the diligent investigation which was undertaken a few weeks later. The story, now classic, that Mrs. O'Leary's cow kicked over a kerosene lamp during the process of milking and thus set fire to the straw in the shed, is cherished by romancers and cartoonists; others scoff at it as a myth. Whatever their cause, the flames spread so rapidly through the neighboring shanties, small frame dwellings and factories, that by the time the first fire engines reached the scene, the wind had carried the fire beyond their control; other engines arriving were utterly inadequate to check its advance as it travelled rapidly to the north and northeast, the high wind carrying blazing brands far beyond the burning district, which set fire to the buildings on which they fell. Block after block to the north and northeast were destroyed, and as the fire approached the area, two blocks square, which had been burned down the night before, it was hoped that there it might be checked. Moreover, it was felt that the river, which had prevented the spread of the previous fire, would act as a barrier to the advance of this one. Yet all this time the wind was carrying through the air sparks and bits of burning wood in a course directly through the center of the city. The heat for some space about the burning area was so intense that the power of the wind was greatly increased in the neighborhood of the flames, and a rushing draft from the east was created, which sent up into the air a whirling column of smoke and flame, and drove the fire backwards and to either side of its track, even while it swept the flames forward. Just at midnight a piece of blazing timber carried by the wind fell on the roof of a small frame building at the

[2] History of the Great Conflagration, by Sheahan and Upton.
Andreas, Vol. II, p. 702.

THE O'LEARY HOUSE, BACK OF WHICH THE GREAT FIRE IS SAID TO HAVE STARTED

corner of Franklin and Adams streets, east of the river, a third of a mile ahead of the fire. This, with neighboring buildings, at once took fire. Almost at the same time the fire leaped across the river at Van Buren street, burning a row of frame houses which were near the South Side Gas Works and the Armory, where were police headquarters. In a few moments other fires had started along the track of the wind, each one distinct, separated one from another by blocks of buildings still untouched, the main column of fire advancing steadily and burning everything in its path.

PROGRESS OF THE CONFLAGRATION

About twelve o'clock, with a mighty explosion, the gas works blazed up, and the whole city was illuminated with the red glow in the sky. Some of those watching the fire then began to realize that no place in its wide track was free from danger, from its starting point to the water works on the North Side, two miles away. The firemen, with hose and engines, driven by the heat and the flames from one spot to another, worked desperately but ineffectually. Even while they surrounded a building or block, the fire leaped along above them, tongues of flame shooting from cornice to cornice, or bursting unaccountably from the basement interiors; the next moment with a belching roar the whole building was wrapped in a sheet of flame.

"The two main columns sent out detachments which entered every street with the regularity of an advancing army.[3] Standing at the lake end of any one of the eleven streets between the river and Michigan avenue, the spectator saw a furious shower of living coals and fire brands sweep round the corners, followed by a sheet of dazzling flame, which would suck into the windows and instantly fire the buildings. At the same time the fire entering the alleys burst through the rear of buildings on either side, swept through them, and dashing through the fronts united in one solid, writhing, twisting column of fire, which would shoot up into the air a hundred feet, and then, seized by the wind, leap to roofs in the next block and fire them. The progress was aided by huge, blazing brands, which the blasts would send crashing through windows into the interiors of buildings, or into awnings, setting everything afire adjacent to them. The very goods which were tumbled into the streets aided the march of the destroyer.

"The main column of the fire had now crossed Washington street. The Chamber of Commerce, the Telegraph Office and the lofty insurance blocks were all in flames. The Courthouse bell rang peal after peal, ringing its own knell, for the flames speedily leaped to its dome and fired it. For a few minutes its blazing trellis work, sheeted with flames, stood out against the sky in splendid relief. Then in every window at the same instant, an ominous glare appeared. The flames burst out, the dome fell in, and then a crash told that the interior walls had yielded and the Courthouse was no more. The Sherman House was the next to go, and across Clark street, Hooley's Opera House, Wood's Museum, The Matteson House, the Tremont House, and whole squares of palatial building blocks melted away before the destroyer as snow melts in water."

[3] Sheahan and Upton, p. 75.

EFFORTS TO CHECK THE FIRE

Soon the thought of checking the fire in front, to the north, was given up, for not only did the flames sweep irresistibly on, leaping overhead and overtaking the engines, which they left useless, but the wind was so strong that the stream of water often was carried but ten feet from the nozzle before it was blown into spray. The firemen therefore went around to the south of the fire, to prevent its spreading in that direction. This was effective, as much property, including lumber yards, was thus saved. Meanwhile great efforts had been made to check the fire by the use of gunpowder to blow up buildings that were in its track. Soon this was the only means left for working against the flames, as the water works took fire from the roof about 3 a. m., and the water supply of the city was stopped. Gunpowder, however, was as useless as water jets in the main track of the fire, as showers of sparks and embers blown great distances constantly ignited dry roofs and projecting cornices ahead, making these preventive measures futile. Realizing now that nothing could stay the terrible onward sweep of this merciless destructive power, those who had fought to check its progress by means of gunpowder turned their efforts, as the firemen had been compelled to do, to preventing farther burning toward the south. When the reports of the explosions from gunpowder were first heard, and it was rumored among the distracted throngs that General Phil Sheridan (then stationed at Chicago) was in charge of the work, there was a feeling of great relief throughout the city.

Soon after the Court House was burned, a huge column of flame swept down from the south like a hurricane, encircling the block on which stood the Postoffice building, at the northwest corner of Dearborn and Monroe streets, where the First National Bank building now stands. For a few moments the building resisted, then the interior blazed up and fell in ruins, leaving the outer walls standing. Thence the flames rushed on down Dearborn street to Madison and Washington streets, burning the newly renovated Crosby's Opera House, where the Thomas Orchestra was that very evening to have delighted an audience even as it does today; the Dearborn theatre, near the northwest corner of Madison and Dearborn streets was destroyed, the fire for the moment sweeping past the Tribune building, then, as now, on the southeast corner of Madison and Dearborn streets. It was a "fire-proof" structure, and many thought it would not yield, even in this supreme test. It seemed to be the turning point of the fire, for if it remained much might still be saved. The fire coming from the south, that from the west, and now the great column that had circled around to face it on the north—all attacked the building; still it stood. Yet another division of the advancing flames, having left the Palmer House in a blazing heap, now sped northward and whirled its flames about McVicker's theatre, standing just east of the Tribune block, with but a narrow alley way between the two buildings. The heat from the fire on the three other sides was so intense that this final attack was irresistible.

In the midst of furnace heat, with flames on all sides, with showers of blazing brands falling on the roof, and an underground fire working into its basement from under the sidewalk, the test was too great. The iron shutters on the east side bent and fell away, the roof blazed, and the interior of the building burst into flame. With this stronghold gone, the volume of fire rolled to the northeast, destroying

the dry goods house of Field and Leiter, on the corner of State and Washington streets, and thence reaching the great warehouses near the foot of Randolph street, and gradually working backward over the unburned area between State street and the lake, which extended from Washington to Harrison street, where buildings had been pulled down under General Sheridan's directions, to form a barrier. By this time it was after ten o'clock in the morning (Monday the 9th), and the fire had long before crossed the river to the North Side, and was hourly driving from their homes hundreds of families who fled farther and still farther away before its dreadful advance.

ACCOUNTS OF EYE WITNESSES

None but an eye witness and a participator can give a fitting account of the sights and impressions of that night and day. Mr. Sheahan and Mr. Upton, both associate editors of the Chicago *Tribune* at the time of the fire, have written a valuable narrative of the "Great Conflagration," which has furnished much material in this chapter, and from which quotation is here made.

"The scene presented when the fire was at its height in the South Division is well nigh indescribable.[4] The huge stone and brick structures melted before the fierceness of the flames as a snow-flake melts and disappears in water, and almost as quickly. Six-story buildings would take fire and disappear forever from sight, in five minutes by the watch. In nearly every street the flames would enter at the rears of buildings, and appear simultaneously at the fronts. For an instant the windows would redden, then great billows of fire would belch out, and meeting each other, shoot up into the air a vivid, quivering column of flame, which, poising itself in awful majesty, would hurl itself bodily several hundred feet and kindle new buildings. The intense heat created new currents of air. The general direction of the wind was from the southwest. This main current carried the fire straight through the city, from southwest to northeast, cutting a swath a mile in width, and then, as if maddened at missing any of its prey, it would turn backward in its frenzy and face the fierce wind, mowing one huge field on the west of the North Division, while in the South Division it also doubled on its track at the great Union Central Depot, and burned half a mile southward in the very teeth of the gale—a gale which blew a perfect tornado, and in which no vessel could have lived on the lake. The flames sometimes made glowing diagonal arches across the streets, traversed by whirls of smoke.

"At times, the wind would seize the entire volume of fire on the front of one of the large blocks, detach it entirely and hurl it in every direction, in fierce masses of flame, leaving the building as if it had been untouched—for an instant only, however, for fresh gusts would once more wrap it in sheets of fire. The whole air was filled with glowing cinders, looking like an illuminated snow storm. At times capricious flurries of the gale would seize these flying messengers of destruction and dash them down to the earth, hurrying them over the pavements, with lightning-like rapidity, firing everything they touched. Interspersed among these cinders were larger brands, covered with flame, which the wind dashed through

[4] The Great Conflagration, p. 85.

windows and upon awnings and roofs, kindling new fires. Strange, fantastic fires of blue, red and green played along the cornices of the buildings. On the banks of the river, red hot walls fell hissing into the water, sending up great columns of spray and exposing the fierce white furnace of heat, which they had enclosed. The huge piles of coal emitted dense billows of smoke, which hurried along far above the flames below. If the sight was grand and overpowering, the sound was no less so. The flames crackled, growled and hissed. The lime stone, of which many of the buildings were composed, as soon as it was exposed to heat, flaked off, the fragments flew in every direction, with a noise like that of continuous discharges of musketry. Almost every instant was added the dull, heavy thud of falling walls, which shook the earth. But above all these sounds, there was one other which was terribly fascinating; it was the steady roar of the advancing flames —the awful diapason in this carnival of fire. It was like nothing so much as the united roar of the ocean with the howl of the blast on some stormy, rocky coast."

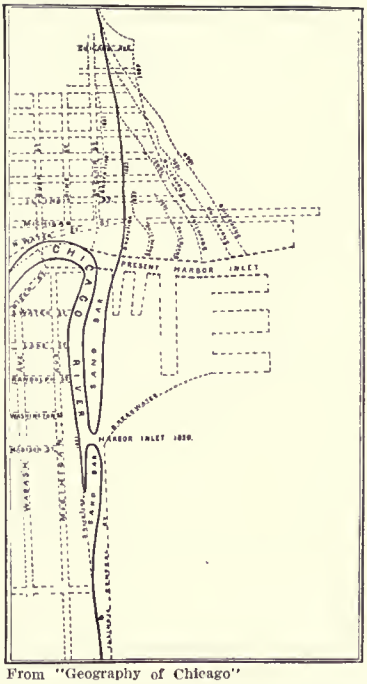
TRAGEDIES OF THE FIRE

"Language can hardly convey to the reader an idea of the terrible scenes in the streets. The struggle of humanity was more fearful even than the horrors of the fire. In the latter there was an element of the beautiful, even of the sublime, which continually enforced itself, notwithstanding the wide-spread destruction it was causing; but in the various phases developed by this struggling, toiling, and despairing tide of humanity in the streets, there was nothing which would give pleasure.

"Great calamities always develop latent passions, emotions, and traits of character, hitherto concealed. In this case, there was a world-wide difference in the manner in which men witnessed the destruction of all about them. Some were philosophical, even merry, and witnessed the loss of their own property with a calm shrug of the shoulders, although the loss was to bring upon them irretrievable ruin. Others clenched their teeth together, and witnessed the sight with a sort of grim defiance. Others, who were strong men, stood in tears, and some became fairly frenzied with excitement, and rushed about in an aimless manner, doing exactly what they would not have done in their cooler moments, and almost too delirious to save their own lives from the general wreck. Of course, the utmost disorder and excitement prevailed, for nearly every one was, in some degree, demoralized, and in the absence both of gas and water, had given up the entire city to its doom. Mobs of men and women rushed wildly from street to street, screaming, gesticulating, and shouting, crossing each other's paths, and intercepting each other as if just escaped from a madhouse.

"The yards and sidewalks of Michigan and Wabash avenues, for a distance of two miles south of the fire limit in the South Division, were choked with household goods of every description—the contents of hovels, and the contents of aristocratic residences, huddled together in inextricable confusion. Elegant ladies, who hardly supposed themselves able to lift the weight of a pincushion, astonished themselves by dragging trunks, and carrying heavy loads of pictures and ornamental furniture, for a long distance. Some adorned themselves with all their jewelry, for the purpose of saving it, and struggled along through the crowds, perhaps only

MAP SHOWING EXACT LOCATION AND BOUNDARY AND ORIGIN OF THE FIRE



From "Geography of Chicago"

FIGURE ILLUSTRATING CHANGES IN THE POSITION OF THE DEBOUCHURE OF THE CHICAGO RIVER

The position of the outlets in 1830, and at the present time, are shown, and also the position of the sand-bar which caused the deflection.—(Adapted from map of Col. T. J. Crane, U. S. Corps of Engineers.)

to lose it at the hands of some ruffian. Delicate girls, with red eyes and blackened faces, toiled, hour after hour, to save household goods. Poor women staggered along with their arms full of homely household wares, and mattresses on their heads, which sometimes took fire as they were carrying them. Every few steps along the avenues were little piles of household property, or, perhaps, only a trunk, guarded by children, some of whom were weeping, and others laughing and playing. Here was a man sitting upon what he had saved, bereft of his senses, looking at the motley throng with staring, vacant eyes; here, a woman, weeping and tearing her hair, and calling for her children in utter despair; here, children, hand-in-hand, separated from their parents, and crying with the heart-breaking sorrow of childhood; here, a woman, kneeling on the hot ground, and praying, with her crucifix before her. One family had saved a coffee-pot and chest of drawers, and raking together the falling embers in the street, were boiling their coffee as cheerily as if at home. Barrels of liquor were rolled into the streets from the saloons. The heads were speedily knocked in, and men and boys drank to excess, and staggered about the streets.

"Some must have miserably perished in the flames, while others wandered away into the unburned district, and slept a drunken sleep upon the sidewalks and in door-yards. Thieves pursued their profession with perfect impunity. Lake street and Clark street were rich with treasure, and hordes of thieves entered the stores, and flung out goods to their fellows, who bore them away without opposition. Everyone who had been forced from the burning portion of the division had brought some articles with them, and been forced to drop some, or all of them. Valuable oil paintings, books, pet animals, musical instruments, toys, mirrors, bedding, and ornamental and useful articles of every kind, were trampled under foot by the hurrying crowds. The streets leading southward from the fire were jammed with vehicles of every description, all driven along at top speed. Not only the goods which were deposited in the streets took fire, but wagon loads of stuff in transit, also kindled, and the drivers were obliged to cut the traces to save their animals. There was fire overhead, everywhere, not only on the low, red clouds, which rolled along the roofs, but in the air itself, filled with millions of blazing faggots, that carried destruction wherever they fell. Those who did rescue anything from the burning buildings, were obliged to defend it at the risk of their lives. Expressmen and owners of every description of wagons were extortionate in their demands, asking from twenty to fifty dollars for conveying a small load a few blocks. Even then there was no surety that the goods would reach their place of destination, as they were often followed by howling crowds, who would snatch the goods from the wagons. Sometimes thieves got possession of vehicles, and drove off with rich loads of dry goods, jewelry, or merchandise, to out-of-the-way places. A mere tithe of the immense treasures piled up in these palatial warehouses was saved."

Through the business streets were men rushing about in the hope of saving books and other valuables from their offices, sometimes forcing a way to a building just in time to see it burst into flames, sometimes barely escaping a falling wall or a crashing stairway in their terrified flight to the street. In the entire progress of this hurricane of fire, many, even though aware of its approach, were overtaken before realizing the imminence of the danger, and fled before it to a temporary place of safety, only to be soon driven onward, exhausted and hopeless, to another

refuge. Many, it is not known how many, were overtaken without a chance to escape, surrounded by the fire, which was blown from every direction by the whirling currents of air. Some have told of crawling, face to the ground, through smoke and fire, through passage ways and openings, the mighty walls of roaring fire all about them, until they reached the air. How many who tried to escape in this way were never able to tell of the horror that overtook them!

THE FIRE IN THE NORTH DIVISION

While in the South Division the most of the business blocks and many beautiful homes were burning, the fire was at the same time destroying the dwellings of thousands of residents in the North Division. Just about the time that the Court House took fire, the flames broke out in several places north of the State street bridge, and far in advance of the main fire. Rapidly the destroyer consumed many blocks of wooden houses, barns and other frame structures over which furnace hot winds had been blowing for several hours. Here were two great fires simultaneously raging, that in the South Division spreading farther to the west as it swept along northeastward, and wiping out huge stone and brick buildings on its way toward the main river; the fire in the North Division finding ready fuel in every dry tree, fence, sidewalk, and building.

When the people realized with horror that the fire must soon reach the water works, which had already ignited several times, and that all means of fighting the flames would thus be cut off, there was a general feeling of despair. Soon after three o'clock in the morning the engineers and firemen, having stayed at their places until the last possible moment, abandoned the burning structure. This was the last building in the main path of the fire. It was located close to the lake, at the foot of Chicago avenue, where the present water works stand. The fire was not spent at this point, however, for the track of flame widened westward as it advanced, and constantly new columns swept along over the district to the west of the last line of destruction, the entire front line of the fire moving forward *en echelon,* until it died out only at the water's edge. All day Monday it worked farther west and north and drove before it homeless fugitives, some of whom had successively moved two, three, four times, from each resting place driven ahead, many so weary that they begged to be left to perish rather than take up again the wretched flight.

INCIDENTS OF THE PROGRESS OF THE FIRE

During the forenoon that entire part of the city north of the main river and between the North branch and the lake was burned or burning in a line extending from southwest to northeast, the west end of the fire reaching as far north as Fullerton avenue, and as far west as Orchard street. The fire on its outskirts ate into blocks of houses, leaving a building here and there in a partially ruined neighborhood. At the eastern extremity of the line of destruction the last house was that of Dr. Dyer, on the southeast corner of Diversey and Clark streets. In the main part of the burned district of the North Division nothing was left standing but some small huts along the river banks, some dwellings near the corner of Kingsbury and Superior streets, the little cottage, on Lincoln place, of a police-

man named Bellinger, and the large home of Mahlon D. Ogden, standing on the present site of the Newberry library. The story of Bellinger's valiant fight to save his house is a lively one: "He hauled up the sidewalk, raked up the leaves and burned them, hewed down the fence and carried it into the house in pieces, and notified his neighbors that, live or die, he would stick to that house.[5] The fire advanced and gave battle. It flung torches into his porch, it hurled them through the window. It began and kept up a hot bombardment of flaming shot upon the roof. He met it at every point; with hands and boots, with water and wet blankets, and finally as the last wave of fire enveloped the building in a siroceo and whirled through the crackling tree-tops and gyrated madly over the adjacent walls and wavered and whirled over the smoking roof, Bellinger cast a pail into his cistern and it was dry. The blankets were on fire. Then the Bellinger genius rose triumphant. He assaulted his cider barrels, and little by little emptied their contents on the roof. It was the *coup de guerre.* It gave him victory. His blankets were scorched, his hands blistered, his boots distorted, and his cider spilled, but his house was saved."

The Ogden house stood in the middle of the lot, and in front of it, to the south, where it is now, was Washington square, a small park covering a city block. The location of the Ogden house was precisely where the Newberry library now stands. The family were away from the city, but some men who were staying in the house worked furiously with wet carpets and blankets, buckets of water, and finally, when the water works burned down, with cistern water and with pails of cider. Though sidewalks and fences burned very near, and though the roof caught fire in many places, the work of these men saved the house, to remain standing alone amidst the total ruin and empty, charred desolation of miles of debris. It must be remembered, however, that in the residence neighborhoods there was no such furnace heat as prevailed in the business district where great blocks and their contents were being consumed.

RAINFALL QUENCHES THE FIRE

Until far into Monday night the fire crept on, until at last, after weeks of drouth, came a rain about midnight that quenched the last embers. For twenty-four hours the fire had worked steadily northeast, in the center of the city burning with terrible rush and fury; in the North Division with a sweep of destruction that left almost nothing standing in its path. At length, when it had spent itself and destroyed its last victim, the city was left in its desolation and ruins, and thousands of families were without homes, without food, without any vestige of the comforts that a few hours before they had enjoyed, with no thought as yet of the approaching disaster. Some of the homeless ones had gone to stay with friends on the West or South Side (south of Twelfth street the fire had not reached); some had made their way to the railway stations and were there given free transportation out of the city; others were housed at the relief station which had been established at Ann and Washington streets in the rooms of the First Congregational church. It was said that during the first week after the fire about one-third of the homes left standing in the city were giving shelter to those

[5] The Great Conflagration, p. 216.

who were now dependent on the hospitality of strangers. There were about one hundred thousand people whose homes were gone, the greatest part of them with nothing but their own courage and ability left to them for a fresh beginning.

FUGITIVES FROM THE FIRE

Great as was the loss of handsome buildings and residences, and the destruction of beautiful driveways and the trees and shrubs bordering them, the human side of the catastrophe is of far the greatest interest. The rapidity of the advance of the fire was the cause of most of the horrors, for even while people wondered at its fury and prayed that their own homes might be spared, the destroyer was at their door. Some were weary with watching the large fire of the night before. Others showed little interest at the first alarm, or knew nothing at all of the fire, and were finally aroused just in time to escape the flames that already threatened their homes. While the fire in the South Division covered a district mostly comprised of business houses, still in these buildings, all told, there were a great number of dwellers who were quickly driven from their homes, so that the streets were soon filled with men rushing about in wild terror, and with those who had come to the great fire in frenzied hope that they might find a way to save the contents of their offices, which represented, to some of them, the entire sum of their possessions. There were, besides, fugitives from the residence part of the South Division, Wabash and Michigan avenues, and among these many women and little children, most of them carrying articles of furniture or clothing, or treasures of all sorts, pet birds and animals, and often the most useless things snatched up in desperation and held tightly during miles of flight. It has often been said by those attempting to tell what they saw during the fire that to exaggerate the horrors of that night and day is impossible; words are inadequate to reproduce the scene.

In making their escape to the North and West Sides the people thronged the bridges, while all sorts of vehicles were whirled along past them, even over them, by galloping horses terrified by the sparks and pieces of burning wood falling all about them, and lashed to madness by their frenzied drivers. "There was a general hegira across all the bridges leading to the West Side, and Chicago avenue was the best of the thoroughfares tending in this direction—through this the people poured like the mountain torrent through its narrow gorge.[6] All at once, when the fiercest blasts of the monster furnace had begun to sweep through this section with heat which threatened death to thousands, it was discovered that the bridge was for the time impassable. The people were rushing, tumbling, crowding, storming toward it in terribly irresistible numbers. Those who were nearest the burning bridge could not turn back because of the pressure of the frantic multitude. They attempted to make a stand, by passing along the word to beat back the onsurging mass of men, women, and horses, and wagons. But the task was simply impossible, as the rearmost of the crowd were now fairly lashed by the flames and could not stop. Whether the foremost hundreds would or would not, they were forced to turn to the northward and attempt to escape through the burning streets to North avenue, half a mile further north, where was another bridge. Into the vortex of flame they plunge—may Heaven send them guidance through it! Out

[6] Chicago and the Great Conflagration, by Colbert and Chamberlin, p. 243.

By permission of Chicago Historical Society

RUINS OF THE INTERIOR OF THE CHICAGO POSTOFFICE AFTER THE GREAT FIRE OF 1871

FEDERAL BUILDING AT CHICAGO

Begun in 1896, completed in 1905

from that vortex of flames some two-scores of them never emerge. May Heaven send sweet mercy to their souls! Alas! They knew not that those streets, or lanes, had no outlet for some three hundred yards or more."

A great number took refuge on the lake shore, which too soon became a furnace of heat, swept by clouds of smoke and cinders. Along the shore were little encampments of families gathered about the piles of things which they had saved. The showers of sparks often ignited these goods, which then had to be thrown into the lake. For hours these wretched creatures, half clothed, almost suffocated, and parched with thirst, stayed on the burning sand until boats came to take them away to a point farther along the shore, or until the fire had so far burned itself out that they could turn back to enter the smouldering city.

THE DAYS THAT FOLLOWED THE FIRE

During the period immediately following the fire there was constant fear for the West Side and the unburned portion to the south. The wind was still high and the city was without water; the dread of a blaze, kindled by accident or by incendiaries, which might start a fire that would destroy all that remained of Chicago, made every householder a vigilant watchman of his home.

As early as Monday morning, even before the fire in the South Division had finished its work of destruction, men were warily skirting the heaps of ruins, some of them already making plans for continuing business in temporary quarters, with improvised methods and in hastily constructed shanties. By the following day signs were stuck up in the piles of brick, to tell former customers of the present location of the firm formerly occupying that site. Some of these signs were jocular, some startling, others strictly business-like.[7] In the ruins of Wood's Museum, which was completely destroyed, was placed the sign:

"Col. Wood's Museum; standing room only.
R. Marsh, Treasurer."

Another undaunted firm gave notice to their patrons in this confidential tone:

"Moore & Goe, House and Sign Painters.
Removed to 111 Desplaines ct.,
Capital, $000,000.30."

All the business notices and the plans for re-establishment showed the same spirit of courage and perseverance, and confidence at once was recovered. There was a tremendous and immediate revival of hope and business interest. Employes reported to their firms and were usually engaged in view of increased trade. And indeed such was the commercial activity following the fire that within two months there was great scarcity of help. Of these days William Bross afterwards said, "On all sides I saw evidences of true Chicago spirit, and men said to one another, 'Cheer up; we'll be all right again before long,' and many other plucky things. Their courage was wonderful. Every one was bright, cheerful, pleasant, hopeful, and even inclined to be jolly, in spite of the misery and destitution which sur-

[7] The Great Conflagration, p. 264.

rounded them, and which they shared. One and all said, 'Chicago must and shall be rebuilt at once.' "[8]

PROCLAMATION OF THE MAYOR

On Monday, October 9, while the fire was yet burning, the mayor, R. B. Mason, issued the following proclamation:

"Whereas, in the Providence of God, to whose will we humbly submit, a terrible calamity has befallen our city, which demands of us our best efforts for the preservation of order and the relief of the suffering.

"Be it known that the faith and credit of the city of Chicago is hereby pledged for the necessary expenses for the relief of the suffering. Public order will be preserved. The Police, and Special Police now being appointed, will be responsible for the maintenance of the peace and the protection of property. All officers and men of the Fire Department and Health Department will act as Special Policemen without further notice. The Mayor and Comptroller will give vouchers for all supplies furnished by the different Relief Committees. The head-quarters of the City Government will be at the Congregational Church, corner of West Washington and Ann streets. All persons are warned against any acts tending to endanger property. All persons caught in any depredation will be immediately arrested.

"With the help of God, order and peace and private property shall be preserved. The City Government and committees of citizens pledge themselves to the community to protect them, and prepare the way for a restoration of public and private welfare."

On Tuesday the mayor issued other proclamations during the day, which were grouped together and published in the *Tribune* in its issue of the next morning, the first after the fire. In these paragraphs was implicit the spirit of order and reorganization:

"All citizens are requested to exercise great caution in the use of fire in their dwellings and not to use kerosene lights at present, as the city will be without a full supply of water for probably two or three days.

"The following bridges are passable, to wit: All bridges (except Van Buren and Adams streets) from Lake street south, and all bridges over the North Branch of the Chicago river.

"All good citizens who are willing to serve, are requested to report at the corner of Ann and Washington streets, to be sworn in as special policemen.

"Citizens are requested to organize a police for each block in the city, and to send reports of such organization to the police head-quarters, corner of Union and West Madison streets.

"All persons needing food will be relieved by applying at the following places:

"At the corner of Ann and West Washington; Illinois Central railroad round house, [at certain railway stations, and at the churches].

"Citizens are requested to avoid passing through the burnt districts until the dangerous walls left standing can be levelled.

"All saloons are ordered to be closed at 9 p. m. every day for one week, under a penalty of forfeiture of license.

[8] Andreas, II, 733.

"The Common Council have this day by ordinance fixed the price of bread at eight cents per loaf of twelve ounces, and at the same rate for loaves of a less or a greater weight, and affixed a penalty of ten dollars for selling, or attempting to sell, bread at a greater rate within the next ten days.

"Any hackman, expressman, drayman or teamster charging more than the regular fare, will have his license revoked.

"All citizens are requested to aid in preserving the peace, good order and good name of our city."

THE WORLD'S SYMPATHY AROUSED

At the same time proclamations were issued by governors of Illinois and neighboring states expressing deepest sympathy, and calling for aid from all those less unfortunate. So quickly were these appeals responded to that by Monday evening trains were arriving in the city with car loads of bedding, clothing and cooked food; Indianapolis sent her chief of police, Eli Thompson, and with him two fire engines, fully manned, and two carloads of cooked food. Delegations and representatives from St. Louis, Louisville and many states and cities came to Chicago to offer generous assistance, and from all over the country came telegrams from cities and individuals authorizing the mayor and relief committees to draw money up to a stated amount.

One of those who acted most promptly and efficiently during the first day of chaos and misery was General Phil Sheridan, then commander of the Military Division of the Missouri, with head-quarters at Chicago. After his effective efforts in checking the fire in the southern part of the city by the use of explosives, he telegraphed to the Secretary of War to say that on the authority of the latter he had summoned aid to the city:

"The city of Chicago is almost utterly destroyed by fire. There is no reasonable hope of arresting it if the wind, which is yet blowing a gale, does not change. I ordered, on your authority, rations from St. Louis, tents from Jeffersonville, and two companies of infantry from Omaha. There will be many houseless people, much distress.

[Signed] P. H. Sheridan, *Lieut.-Gen.*"

The Secretary of War commended General Sheridan's action and himself confirmed the order. National troops were brought into the city from Omaha, Leavenworth, Fort Scott and from Kentucky; volunteer companies were sent by Governor John M. Palmer, and a regiment raised in the city for twenty days' service, called the First Regiment Chicago Volunteers. Lieutenant-General Sheridan took command of all the companies, of which he reported later to Washington, "These troops both regulars and volunteers, were actively engaged during their service here in protecting the treasure in the burnt district, guarding the unburnt district from disorders and danger by further fire, and in protecting the storehouses, depots and sub-depots of supplies, established for the relief of sufferers from the fire." [9]

The presence of the troops in the city relieved the people of much anxiety, as there had been a general fear that in the disorder and lack of authority after the

[9] The Great Conflagration, p. 190.

fire there would be no means of restraining lawlessness, incendiarism and the theft of valuables that were to be found among the ruins. The parade of Colonel Dilger's company through the town on Wednesday morning, ordered by General Sheridan, was a welcome sight to those who had scarcely slept in their vigilance during the past two days and nights. On the same day Mayor Mason by proclamation transferred entire police authority over the city to General Sheridan, the document containing the provision that "the police will act in conjunction with the lieutenant-general in the preservation of the peace and quiet of the city, and the superintendent of police will consult with him to that end. The intent being to preserve the peace of the city without interfering with the functions of the city government." [10]

The functions of the state government, at this time, were felt by Governor John M. Palmer of Illinois to have been disregarded in the action of General Sheridan in calling for national troops instead of state troops, had they been necessary. A letter from the governor to the mayor of Chicago, dated October 20, contains a rebuke to the latter showing some pique, on the governor's part, that the mayor did not use the resources at hand nor enlist General Sheridan's eminent abilities to organize the citizens of Chicago "to act, in conjunction with the civil officers, for their own protection." The governor maintained that every act of the United States troops and their officers in Chicago was illegal, in being unauthorized. Here was an instance of state sovereignty in conflict with national authority. However jealously the public guards the principle that power must reside in the state and that an appeal must be made only when necessary to higher authority, yet the immediate relief from intense anxiety was of more importance to the people of Chicago in this exigency than an ultimate, more removed question. General Sheridan's despatches for the most available troops and supplies brought these at once, and with them came an assurance of order and safety.

RELIEF MEASURES

While the fire was still driving before it thousands who were losing by it all they owned, measures were being planned for their relief. Soon after noon on Monday the First Congregational church, at the corner of Ann and West Washington streets, was taken possession of, in the name of the City of Chicaga, by C. C. P. Holden, who was president of the Common Council and next in authority to the mayor.[11] During the morning he had driven through the outskirts of the burned district and had seen the awful distress of hundreds of families whose homes were burned, among them the sick and those injured in flight. Something must be done immediately, and it was decided by Mr. Holden to establish a relief station on the West Side. Word was sent to the mayor, who was helping to fight the fire in the North Division, to the city clerk and to a number of men of prominence to be at the church by 12:15 p. m., and at 12:45 the church was occupied by this volunteer relief society. The carpets were taken up, chairs and tables made ready for use, and the doors opened to those asking help. At once the unfortunate

[10] Report of Chicago Relief and Aid Society, p. 20.

[11] Narrative of C. C. P. Holden, in Andreas' "History of Chicago," II, 762.

began to come. Messengers were sent out as widely as possible to announce that here the sufferers could obtain aid. Those who carried the word were told to relieve urgent and extreme cases of suffering, and to bring helpless ones to the church, as far as possible, in the vehicles which were gathered together for the purpose. The Green street church near by, at that time vacant, was used as a refectory and provided with cooking stoves; other churches joined in the relief work and were made branch stations.

About five hundred citizens in each division of the city were sworn in as special police, and given a badge—a square of white cotton cloth with the word "Police" printed on it. This enlarged force was thought necessary to protect the city from incendiarism and the acts of violence which are the result of periods of public confusion. An order had previously been given that all fires should be extinguished until the supply of water was renewed, an exception being made of the bakers who furnished bread to the city, and of those cooking at the relief workers' refectory. For the immediate distribution of water over the city, water brigades were organized in every district, with instructions to press into their service all wagons or vehicles necessary for the work. Those in charge of the work, being Park Commissioners, knew how and where to get the water, which was one of the first necessities of existence. In a short time a system of regular water carts was established and maintained until the city was again supplied through the water pipes.

SHELTER FOR THE HOMELESS

For the temporary shelter of homeless people the public school houses that were not burned down were opened at the relief committee's request, and on Monday night were filled with those who had no other place in which to sleep. Great numbers had fled to the outlying parts of the city, where they finally settled; while many others went to the West Side to stay with friends. Some made their way to the prairie west of the city, and built for themselves temporary dwellings of the roughest kind. These were mostly day-laborers and the poor of the city, who were, in the long run, the greatest sufferers by the fire, having neither the privilege of credit, so necessary to many at this time, nor the spirit of initiative and self-confidence.

The tax upon the relief committee's resources was immensely relieved by the departure from the city, on Monday afternoon, of about fifteen thousand persons, it was estimated, and on Tuesday the same number. Thus about one-third of the homeless ones sought refuge elsewhere, filling up train after train that was leaving the city. Those who wished to go applied to the relief committee for the means to travel, and were given requests upon the railroads for free transportation to the designated points. These requests were honored by the railroad companies. By Tuesday morning printed slips had been prepared, which were filled out by the authorities and used as passes.

When Mr. Holden and his associates began the work of relief at noon of Monday, October 9, they had scant means for furnishing the applicants for assistance with what they would ask for. There was, it is true, plenty of help offered by those who were willing to devote themselves to the sufferers; there were also a few vacant buildings in which to shelter the homeless; it was possible to help others

to leave the city; but of food and clothing, the most immediate necessities, there was no supply. The little that was brought in during the first afternoon was quite inadequate to the demand, which was increasing enormously every hour. Soon, however, the first carload of provisions arrived in the city, coming from towns within a distance of eighty miles from Chicago, and from that time the supplies came in steadily, bringing cooked food of all kinds, clothing, blankets, bedding, stoves, money—anything that could be of use. The first measures of relief taken were necessarily indiscriminate, as there was no time in the urgency of feeding the hungry people to inquire into the worthiness of each request. As the work progressed, however, a system of accounts and registration was evolved that made the work judicious as well as thorough.

The churches that were used for refuge were quickly made ready for the great numbers of distressed who were pouring in. Beds for the sick and injured were improvised from chairs and benches, tables were prepared both for the distribution of food and for the convenience of the doctors who had come to offer their services. Everywhere there were lost children crying piteously, who were comforted and fed until they might be returned to their parents. Here was a German woman with her brood of nine children, complaining that her husband was lost in the flames while carrying her feather bed to a place of safety; she bewailed the loss of the feather bed much more bitterly than the fate of the husband, who, she said, had drunk so much that he could not "go fast" with it. In one corner was a woman with her baby wrapped in a shawl, weeping for her husband and four children, all lost in their burning home. When the flames were discovered, she seized her baby, called to her husband to bring the other children, and fled from the house. The sympathetic helper offered to take the baby while the mother lay down to rest; she unwrapped the shawl—and quickly closed it again in horror, but not before the distracted mother had seen that this last one of her beloved children was dead in her arms. Her reason left her, her eyes wandered, and she was cared for as were others whose sorrows on that awful day were too great for conscious endurance.

Little groups of children were here and there under the protection of an elder sister or brother, some playing carelessly, others wailing desolately; on one of the benches all by itself lay a little baby a few months old, contentedly sucking its thumb and gazing up at the stained glass windows in meditative interest. A disconsolate Norwegian woman who had saved none of the furniture but the cook stove gathered her children about it, and sat near by, in glum despair. When she was told that she could have a pail of hot soup, free, every day during the winter, she wept in an abandonment of joy, shook hands with everyone in the room, and set to polishing her stove with all her might.

ALL CLASSES IN NEED

Among the people who came to ask for clothing the contrasts were just as strange—here was a woman in a handsome black velvet gown which she had put on that she might thus save it; she had come to ask for clothes more in keeping with the sombre day; then came a group of unfortunates who had long known the wretchedness of begging and who now asked for clothes because they had fled from

the Poor House, which burned. And there was a judge of the Supreme Court, and near him a young English couple who were visiting America on their wedding tour, and had lost their trunks in escaping from the burning hotel. Though they were given the best there was, they found themselves wearing strange bridal garments. The greatest demand was for clothes for babies, babies from two hours to two years old, many of the orders calling for outfits for twins.[12]

On that evening hundreds were given their first good meal after the age-long night and day of flight and terror and exhaustion. It was a democratic feast; the mayor of the city was there, as glad of his plate of cooked beans as was the cheerful Irish washwoman who thanked the good God for her slice of sirloin of beef, a more bountiful meal than her wonted fare of potatoes and bread; the hungry banker crowded onto the bench with the hungry teamster, and they were all served by the men and women who had come to offer their time and efforts for whatever period they could be helpful. The next day, with the assistance of the Lost and Found Department which had been established, great numbers of little children who had been lost were restored to their parents; many there were, on the other hand, who hunted in vain for their dear ones, visiting those places which had been made repositories for the dead bodies found among the burned ruins.

ASSISTANCE SENT FROM ALL PARTS OF THE WORLD

The carloads of food and clothing sent by towns in the vicinity of Chicago brought to the city the first relief from outside. During the day of the fire the news of it had spread abroad, and the whole civilized world was aroused. Beginning on October 9, and continuing thereafter for many days, telegrams came in to the mayor from cities of every country, offering assistance of any kind, sending assurances of sympathy and of help already on the way, or notifying the mayor of appropriations made for the benefit of the sufferers. Committees were sent from cities in all parts of this country and Canada, well prepared to give needed assistance. On Wednesday morning, October 11, it was estimated that representatives of over one thousand committees had visited the relief head-quarters since Monday noon. The governors of many of the states came, to see what was needed and offer words of encouragement. This but indicates the universal expression of sympathy and helpfulness that followed what General Sheridan had well designated in his telegram to Secretary of War Belknap as a national calamity.

By Tuesday evening the work of the General Relief Committee was progressing with systematized efficiency. The records showed that $1,500,000 had been received from people all over the country; that six hundred and fifty wagon loads of cooked provisions, clothing, bedding, etc., had been delivered to the homeless; that two thousand and fifty-four wagon loads of women and children had been brought to the churches, schoolhouses and other places of shelter. Besides, there were probably at the same time two thousand private vehicles carrying homeless people to places of safety, and taking supplies from the cars to groups of the needy. This good record of accomplishment gave the workers much encouragement. By Wednesday an abundant supply of cooked food had come in, and the storage rooms were well stocked. As many families had obtained permanent shelter and

[12] The Great Conflagration, p. 307.

had been given cooking utensils, there was a diminished call for prepared food; it was therefore recommended by the committee from abroad that the provisions sent to these be henceforth uncooked. The misery throughout the city was greatly alleviated by a limited water supply pumped from the river in small quantities by the fire engines and other engines loaned for the purpose. In some streets the water was carried through mains laid on the surface of the ground. With this scant water supply, which could not be forced above the basement and lowest stories, continued watchfulness was necessary lest there be another outbreak of fire. Conditions were further improved by the fact that homes for some of the families were now ready for occupancy on the outskirts of the town. An order had been given on Monday for the construction of houses,—very simple and small they were—and on Wednesday it was reported that thirty were finished, and two hundred more under way.

A feeling of security and of order restored was prevalent in the city when the announcement was made on Tuesday, October 10, that the headquarters of the mayor and health department had been established at the corner of Ann and Washington streets, that police headquarters were located at Union and Madison streets and that the military and police power would combine to preserve order. Here was indeed a sturdy and cheerful people who could turn from so overwhelming a catastrophe to the establishment of new foundations and the continuance of former institutions.

PROGRESS OF RELIEF WORK

The relief work during the first few days had been conducted by volunteer workers, self-organized in the urgency of the moment, who had assumed the name of General Relief Committee. Into their hands were given all sums of money sent to the city for the sufferers, as well as the carloads of supplies which came during the period of their management. During the existence of this committee Mr. Orrin E. Moore acted as chairman; the duties of treasurer were undertaken by Mr. C. C. P. Holden until, at a meeting of the organization on Wednesday, he resigned as treasurer, and moved the appointment of David A. Gage, the city treasurer, to the position. This motion was carried, and contributions were then receipted by Mr. Gage. Upon the request of a number of members of the Chicago Relief and Aid Society, it was decided by the mayor to transfer the entire work of relief over into their hands, as being an incorporated institution of long standing. Accordingly on Friday, October 13, the contributions were transferred to the Society by proclamation of the mayor, and accepted by it two days later. To cope with the immense work, a general plan was prepared by Wirt Dexter, chairman of the executive committee, and adopted by the Society. In accordance with this plan, many were added to the force of the Society, its system was enlarged and extended, and to secure efficiency committees were appointed to receive and handle the supplies; to provide shelter in tents and barracks to the homeless; to find employment for able bodied applicants; to manage transportation, the distribution of passes and freight accommodations for supplies; to receive visitors and acknowledge telegrams and letters; to distribute food, clothing and fuel; to have charge of sick, sanitary and hospital measures; to administer the large affairs of the Society.[13]

[13] Report of Chicago Relief and Aid Society, p. 137.

Charles C. P. Holden

Immediately after the fire the Health Department began gathering together the sick and injured who could not find shelter in private families, and sheltering them in the churches and schoolhouses, where they were cared for by physicians and volunteer helpers. A few days later, under the management of the Relief and Aid Society, the city was divided into districts, a medical superintendent with a number of visiting physicians appointed for each district, dispensaries established, and hospital accommodations provided for. With the care that was exercised during the months following the fire, the death rate was diminished.

The employment committee, with Mr. N. K. Fairbank as its chairman, was a sort of labor exchange to which both employers and workmen applied. In the large plans for rebuilding, there was at once a great demand for unskilled labor, which was easily met. The next need was for mechanics, many of whom were unable to work, having lost their tools in the fire. In hundreds of cases, by furnishing a skilled workman with from ten to twenty dollars' worth of tools, he was given the means to find immediate work and support himself and his family. For the benefit of unemployed women special relief societies were organized. Abundant work was found for seamstresses, and sewing machines were provided for those to whom they were necessary as the means of support.

CARE OF THE HOMELESS

At once the most difficult and imperative of all the questions which must be considered by the Relief Society was that of sheltering the thousands of people who were camped in the door yards and empty lots of the city, and on the prairie west of the city. These people were literally on the ground, with no covering to protect them from rain or cold. Many of the homes on the West and South Sides were already sheltering friends or strangers; the suburbs of Chicago were at that time so few and so distant that but a small number had found refuge there; the winter was imminent. The easiest solution of the difficulty lay in the plan to build barracks, but this plan was recognized as a bad one, its fulfillment leading to disease and discomfort and vice; at best it would be but a temporary expedient. It was therefore decided to house in barracks only those who could not otherwise be provided for, and to provide for the rest small but comfortable cottages. So well organized and efficient was the work of the committee on shelter that their labors were more successful than the most hopeful of them had expected.

The houses that were given to applicants were of two sizes; one, 20x16 feet for families of more than three persons; the other, 12x16 feet for families of three. The floor joists were of 2x6 inches timber, covered with a flooring of planed and matched boards; the studding was of 2x4 inches, covered with inch boards and battened on the outside or with planed and matched flooring; the inside walls were lined with thick felt paper; and each house had a double iron chimney, two four-panelled doors, three windows, and a partition to be put up where the occupant pleased. Many of the houses were afterward shingled, painted and plastered. The establishment was completed in a simple way that was sufficient for comfortable living by the addition of a cooking stove and utensils, several chairs, a table, bedstead, bedding, and sufficient crockery for the use of the

family; the total cost of the house when thus furnished was one hundred and twenty-five dollars; exclusive of furniture, the cost was about one hundred dollars.

The majority of those who received the prepared material for these houses were mechanics enough to put them together for themselves, or had the means to hire builders; but for the large class of widows, infirm, or otherwise helpless persons, the house was built and put in complete readiness by the committee. Between October 18, 1871, and May 1, 1873, the Shelter Committee built 7,983 houses, thus providing, at the estimate of five to a family, good homes for more than thirty-nine thousand people. Of the number of houses built, 5,226 were constructed within a month from the time the committee commenced work. It was estimated that the rental of these houses might be valued at ten dollars a month; in no case, however, was rent taken from the occupants, the houses and furniture being given outright to those found worthy. By wise forethought the committee secured the lumber for these houses at a price which anticipated the rise in the price of timber due to the great amount of it burned in Chicago lumber yards and in the forest fires of the regions supplying the city.

Besides these houses there were four barracks in different parts of the city, each one accommodating twelve hundred and fifty persons. Each family in these barracks had two rooms furnished in the same way as were the isolated houses. Each community was under the careful and constant supervision of medical and police superintendents, and as most of the dwellers in these barracks had before the fire been occupants of tenement houses, their moral and sanitary condition now was unquestionably better than formerly.

THE WORLD'S CHARITY

A report of the Chicago Relief and Aid Society was printed in a bulky volume in 1874, from which we quote the list of contributions in money received for the relief of the sufferers by the Chicago fire. The report referred to also gives a list of supplies contributed for the same purposes, the printed list of which occupies forty-six pages of the volume.

SOURCES AND AMOUNTS OF CONTRIBUTIONS IN MONEY

United States		*Foreign*	
Maine	$ 21,043.47	Canada	$ 153,462.78
New Hampshire	22,727.15	Nova Scotia	6,707.63
Vermont	5,789.43	Newfoundland	1,090.00
Massachusetts	629,672.41	New Brunswick	9,411.64
Rhode Island	59,507.33	British Columbia	640.70
Connecticut	107,183.92	Island of Cuba	16,393.37
New York	1,358,451.50	Mexico	2,272.25
New Jersey	158,397.75	Central America	402.25
Pennsylvania	482,976.72	Venezuela	295.63
Delaware	8,070.70	Brazil	10,677.21
Maryland	182,122,30	Argentine Republic	868.45
Virginia	11,362.66	Uruguay	1,441.05
West Virginia	15,596.40	Peru	10,311.41

United States		*Foreign*	
District of Columbia	94,470.48	Sandwich Islands	1,635.00
North Carolina	115.00	China	2,897.70
South Carolina	1,117.55	India	2,325.32
Georgia	2,065.75	England	435,023.18
Florida	1,049.23	Wales	3,163.46
Alabama	5.00	Ireland	74,161.36
Mississippi	65.00	Scotland	75,315.62
Louisiana	28,933.96	France	62,782.80
Texas	8,110.11	Belgium	131.00
Ohio	75,882.25	Holland	241.35
Indiana	46,751.62	Germany	81,393.29
Illinois	66,527.18	Austria	3,801.50
Kentucky	27,769.20	Switzerland	15,740.95
Tennessee	23,856.70	Russia	145.91
Michigan	38,414.64	Italy	847.71
Wisconsin	422.90	Portugal	317.28
Minnesota	24,417.90		
Iowa	17,648.60	Total, Foreign	$ 973,897.80
Missouri	67,504.25		
Arkansas	2,725.85		
Kansas	21,231.85		
Nebraska	17,470.32		
Colorado Territory	12,835.85		
Nevada	1,505.83		
California	168,512.43	Total, United States	$3,846,032.71
Oregon	13,883.52	Total, Foreign	973,897.80
Dacotah Territory	90.00	Sundry, Unclassified	217.65
Washington Territory	1,509.83		
Utah Territory	15,381.11	Total Sum	$4,820,148.16
Wyoming Territory	800.00		
New Mexico	1,495.50		
Miscellaneous	561.56		
Total United States	$3,846,032.71		

It should be remarked that as the above list includes contributions of money only, while many states made large contributions of supplies the value of which cannot be given exactly, no just comparisons can be made on the basis of the amounts of the money contributions only. It is estimated that the contributions, including both money and supplies, reached a total of five millions of dollars.

CHAPTER XXXIII

CHICAGO FIRE—CONTINUED

THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF SYMPATHIZING FRIENDS—EDWARD EVERETT HALE'S APPEAL—STIRRING ALLUSIONS TO THE DISASTER—NEWSPAPERS RESUME PUBLICATION—PROPERTY LOSSES—LOSS OF LIFE—DESTRUCTION OF LIBRARIES AND ART GALLERIES—DESTRUCTION OF CHURCHES—SERVICES HELD IN THE OPEN AIR—EFFECTS OF THE FIRE—OFFICIAL INVESTIGATION INTO ITS ORIGIN—CONDITION OF THE FIRE DEPARTMENT—TRIBUNE'S REVIEW ONE YEAR LATER—CHARACTER OF LOSSES—CHICAGO'S RECUPERATIVE POWER—RECORDS OF LAND TITLES DESTROYED—LEGAL REMEDIES BY THE LEGISLATURE—PROFESSOR SWING'S "MEMORIES OF THE CHICAGO FIRE"—SWING'S DESCRIPTION OF THE FIRE—PERSONAL EXPERIENCES—DEMEANOR OF THE PEOPLE—INCIDENTS OF THE FIRE—RETREAT AND FLIGHT—ASPECTS OF THE CONFLAGRATION—LOSS OF VALUABLES—SAFETY UNDER THE OPEN SKY—"ALL LOST, BUT ALL HERE"—THE WORLD'S CHARITY—WHITTIER'S POEM ON THE CHICAGO FIRE.

THE GENEROSITY OF THE GIFTS

THE total amount of money sent for the relief of Chicago was $4,820,148.16, of which $973,897.80 came from foreign countries. It would be difficult to estimate the value of contributions in the form of carloads, wagonloads, barrels, and boxes of supplies of every kind. There were all sorts of things, from a shipment of fifty-nine barrels of syrup to a box of fine old brocade silk gowns made in the style of 1700, with immense sleeves and short waists; storehouses were filled with the cooked provisions and the clothing which came in, and those who needed help had but to apply for it as the committee directed. Transportation on trains leaving Chicago was given to thousands, and shipments of supplies were brought to the city without charge. Gifts were gladly and eagerly made, and with many of the donations came messages of sympathy and encouragement. In churches in distant parts of the world sermons were preached to arouse the listeners in Chicago's behalf, and in countless towns in the United States were men entrusted by the citizens with a fund to be sent to the sufferers from the great fire. In Boston a special meeting was held at Faneuil Hall, at which Rev. Edward Everett Hale made an eloquent appeal for help, in these words:

"Mr. Mayor and Gentlemen:—It is but a single word that I have to say here. I have simply to remind you that this is no mere matter of voting in which we are engaged. I have to remind you that these people, our people in Chicago, by their munificence, by their generosity, by their strength, by their public spirit, have made us debtors to them all. There is not a man here, the beef upon whose table yes-

terday was not the cheaper to him because these people laid out their world-renowned and wonderful system of stock-yards. There is not a man here, the bread upon whose table today is not cheaper because these people, in the very beginning of their national existence, invented and created that marvellous system for the delivery of grain which is the model and pattern of the world. And remember they were in a position where they might have said they held a monopoly. They commanded the only harbor for the shipping of the five greatest states of America and the world, and in that position they have devoted themselves now for a generation to the steady improvement, by every method in their power, of the means by which they were going to answer the daily prayer of every child to God when praying that he will give us our daily bread, through their enterprise and their struggles. We call it their misfortune. It is our misfortune. We are all, as it has been said, linked together in a solidarity of the nation. Their loss is no more theirs than it is ours in this great campaign of peace in which we are engaged.

"There has fallen by this calamity one of our noblest fortresses. Its garrison is without munitions. It is for us at this instant to reconstruct that fortress, and to see that its garrison are as well placed as they were before in our service. Undoubtedly it is a great enterprise; but we can trust them for that. We are all fond of speaking of the miracle by which there in the desert there was created this great city. The rod of some prophet, you say, struck it, and this city flowed from the rock. Who was the prophet? What was the rock? It was the American people who determined that that city should be there, and that it should rightly and wisely, and in the best way, distribute the food to a world. The American people has that to discharge again. I know that these numbers are large numbers. But the providence of God has taught us to deal with larger figures than these, and when, not many years ago, it became necessary for this country in every year to spend not a hundred millions, not a thousand millions, but more than a thousand millions of dollars in a great enterprise which God gave this country in the duty of war, this country met its obligation. And now that in a single year we have to reconstruct one of the fortresses of peace, I do not fear that this country will be backward in its duty. It has been truly said that the first duty of all of us is, that the noble pioneers in the duty that God has placed in their hands, who are suffering, shall have food and clothing; that those who for forty-eight hours have felt as if they were deserted, should know that they have friends everywhere in God's world. Mr. President, as God is pleased to order this world there is no partial evil but from that partial evil is reached the universal good. The fires which our friends have seen sweeping over the plains in the desolate autumn, only bring forth the blossoms and richness of the next spring and summer.

"I can well believe that on that terrible night of Sunday, and all through the horrors of Monday, as those noble people, as those gallant workmen, threw upon the flames the water that their noble works—the noblest that America has seen—enabled them to hurl upon the enemy, that they must have imagined that their work was fruitless, that it was lost toil, to see those streams of water playing into the molten mass, and melt into steam and rise innocuous to the heavens. It may well have seemed that their work was wasted; but it is sure that evil shall work out its own end, and the mists that rose from the conflagration were gathered to-

gether for the magnificent tempest of last night, which, falling upon those burning streets, has made Chicago a habitable city today. See that the lesson for this community, see that the lesson for us who are here, that the horror and tears with which we read the despatches of yesterday, shall send us out to do ministries of truth and bounty and benevolence today."

The ministries of Boston were indeed bountiful and large hearted, and for them Chicago has always since felt a special gratitude to that generous city.

A study of the report of the Chicago Relief and Aid Society for the years 1871, 1872 and 1873, will convince the reader that the work of relief was managed with unusual efficiency by the Society, and that its means were quickly and well adapted to the enormous demands unexpectedly made upon it. So systematized was the work and so thorough were the investigations made into the needs of those asking help that there was small opportunity for fraud and imposture, the relief being given with great discrimination.

IMPROVED CONDITIONS IN THE CITY

Eight days after the fire General Sheridan reported to the mayor on the condition of the city under his surveillance:

"*Headquarters Military Division of the Missouri,*

Chicago, October 17, 1871.

To *His Honor,* Mayor Mason, Chicago, Illinois:—

I respectfully report to your Honor the continued peace and quiet of the city. There has been no case of violence since the disaster of Sunday night and Monday morning. The reports in the public press of violence and disorder here are without the slightest foundation. There has not been a single case of arson, hanging, or shooting—not even a case of riot or street fight. I have seen no reason for the circulation of such reports. It gives me pleasure to bring to the notice of your Honor the cheerful spirit with which the population of this city have met their losses and suffering."

Peaceful conditions continuing in the city, the mayor addressed a letter to General Sheridan a few days later, providing for the discontinuance of military aid in the city.

"Lieutenant-General P. H. Sheridan, U. S. A.

Upon consultation with the Board of Police Commissioners, I am satisfied that the continuance of the efficient aid in the preservation of order in this city which has been rendered by the forces under your command in pursuance of my proclamation is no longer required. I will therefore fix the hour of 6 p. m. of this day as the hour at which the aid requested of you shall cease. Allow me again to tender you the assurance of my high appreciation of the great and efficient service which you have rendered in the preservation of order and the protection of property in this city, and to again thank you in the name of the city of Chicago and its citizens therefor. I am respectfully yours,

R. B. Mason, *Mayor.*

Chicago, October 23.[1]"

[1] Report of Chicago Relief and Aid Society, p. 21.

The water supply of Chicago had been limited during the first week after the fire to the streams that could be forced through the pipes by a few pumps driven by engines pressed into service. On Tuesday, October 17, a week after the temporary supply had begun, the engine at the water works was started up and the usual water supply resumed. This brought the greatest relief to the city, and was one of the first steps in the general recovery.

NEWSPAPERS RESUME PUBLICATION

One manifestation of Chicago enterprise was the early starting up of the newspapers. By Monday evening, the very day of the fire, the *Journal* had found a job printing office in Canal street, west of the river, and issued a sheet four by six inches. Wednesday morning the *Tribune,* also established for the time being on Canal street, issued a sheet, and the other large papers were soon coming out. The advertising columns were full of notices of removals, of rooms to rent "at reasonable prices" in the unburned portions of the city, and of inquiries for articles lost in the flight from the fire.

PROPERTY LOSSES FROM THE FIRE

In 1870 the city of Chicago occupied a space about three miles wide which extended six miles along the lake shore; houses were scattered along the shore line, however, to the southern and to the northern boundaries of the city, in all a distance of ten miles. Owing to the rapid growth of the city and the demands of its increasing commerce, homes and business blocks had been hastily and insecurely built, with too little regard to danger from fire. To some extent these earlier buildings had been torn down and replaced by larger, more solid and much more pretentious structures, which in many cases stood side by side with small, often dilapidated, frame buildings. Within the limits of the burned district alone were about thirty miles of pine sidewalk. The most massive buildings, those constructed of supposedly imperishable materials had, nevertheless, joists, partitions, floorings, cornices, door and window frames of wood, and very few had iron shutters. On each side of the river, which flows down through the heart of the city, were immense coal yards, lumber yards, planing mills, and various other combustible material.

In the West Division, where the fire originated, one hundred and ninety acres were burned, five hundred buildings, mostly inferior ones, were destroyed, and twenty-five hundred persons made homeless. In the South Division four hundred and sixty acres were destroyed, the business center of the city, including most of the largest buildings of the city, all the great wholesale stores, the newspaper offices, the principal hotels and places of amusement, railway depots, churches, and a large number of handsome residences. Three thousand six hundred and fifty buildings were destroyed, including the homes of twenty-two thousand people. The fire in the North Division swept over one thousand, four hundred and seventy acres, burning thirteen thousand, three hundred buildings, among these being churches, schools and the dwellings of seventy-five thousand people. The most of the West Division of the city was saved, owing probably to the area burned the night before, as well as the fact that the Oriental Flouring Mills, located on

the west side of the river at Madison street, had a powerful force-pump driven by the engine in the mill, which threw two streams of river water upon the walls and over the roof of the mill, and at the same time saving Madison street bridge from destruction, thus preventing the spread of the fire westward. Beyond Twelfth street, the South Side was untouched. At that time the avenues and cross streets of that district were well built up as far as Twenty-second street, and on Cottage Grove avenue there were dwellings and stores as far as Thirty-ninth street.

THE LOSS OF LIFE

The loss of life in the fire was estimated as not less than three hundred, and the bodies of the dead, as far as they could be found, were put in the county burial ground. The population of Chicago in 1871 was 334,270.

To summarize, the entire area burned was two thousand, one hundred and twenty-four acres, or nearly three and one-third square miles; and by this, one hundred thousand people were made homeless. The total loss was estimated to be $196,000,000, on which the salvage in foundations, and material which could be used in rebuilding was said to be $4,000,000, making the real loss $192,000,000, on which about $50,000,000 was made good by insurance.[2]

In the enormous demand upon the insurance companies to make good these losses, many of them could not stand the strain, and among the number of companies who were forced to suspend business were twenty in New York, six in Connecticut, five in Rhode Island, three in Massachusetts, and three in Ohio. Fourteen Chicago companies, whose assets were destroyed, these not amounting to over ten per cent of their losses, were completely prostrated. The number of American companies that suffered losses from the Chicago fire was two hundred and forty-nine, their aggregate assets being $74,930,216 and their aggregate loss $88,634,122. Besides these, six English companies with aggregate assets of $145,879,521, suffered losses amounting in all to $5,813,000. Regarding the business methods of fire insurance companies in that day, we read in the account of the great disaster written by Mr. James W. Sheahan and Mr. George P. Upton, that "during the week preceding the fire there had been numerous fire alarms, and there was put in type, intended for the Sunday issue of the *Tribune*, an editorial discussing the subject of insurance, and pointing out the criminality of the mode in which insurance companies were taking risks, at ruinous rates, spending their receipts in commissions to brokers and agents, imperilling honest risks in case of fire, and inciting by reckless over-insurance incendiarism and false swearing. This article was crowded out on Sunday morning, but was enlarged by some references to the fire of Saturday night, and was actually printed in the Monday morning's paper on the 'first side.' The second side never got to press, and the whole edition was burned up." [3]

By an ordinance passed November 23, 1871, the fire limits were extended beyond those established in 1849, forbidding the erection of wooden buildings within

[2] Colbert and Chamberlin: "Chicago and the Great Conflagration," p. 301.
[3] The Great Conflagration, pp. 145, 130.

an area comprising the entire district burned, as well as certain places beyond that district.

ART GALLERIES AND LIBRARIES

The loss to the fine arts was severe, the three principal art galleries, many excellent private libraries and several loan libraries being destroyed. Of these, the Young Men's Association Library, the largest circulating collection in the city, contained 20,000 volumes; and the Young Men's Christian Association had a library of 10,000 volumes, mostly theological. The art collection of Crosby's Opera House was carried away and saved, but with the exception of Rothermel's large historical painting of "The Battle of Gettysburg" and a few other pictures, the collections of the Academy of Design and of the Chicago Historical Society were for the most part lost. In the rooms of the latter were many portraits by G. P. A. Healy, a library of 200,000 valuable books and pamphlets, a collection of manuscripts, several complete newspaper files, and a priceless document—the original draft of the Emancipation Proclamation. The only articles said to have been saved from this building were some charred fragments of books, and a small vial containing a section of tapeworm, which was in the collection of curiosities. On this loss Mr. Andreas, with a historian's bitter disgust, comments, "The wealth of literary knowledge, the large collection of rare and valuable things, even the original Emancipation Proclamation—all were lost; and this disgusting vial alone remains."

The newspapers of the South told as a fact that many of the simpler negroes, when it became known that the Emancipation Proclamation had burned up, thought they must all be remanded to slavery. The story was told in the New Orleans *Picayune* that a mistress was reading to her servants an account of the fire, when an old colored woman who had all her life been a slave, and to whom manumission had meant the "kingdom come," hearing that the instrument of her liberty was destroyed, cried out, "What dat? burned up?" "Yes, auntie, burned up." "Den what gwine come of us again?" "I don't know; maybe you'll be slaves as before." "Den dis chile gwine to die right now." [4]

DESTRUCTION OF CHURCHES

During the previous decade, many beautiful churches had been built in Chicago, and of those burned—about two score—more than one-half were new. Almost every denomination suffered greatly in the fire, the Roman Catholics losing more than any other, including St. Mary's church, at the corner of Madison street and Wabash avenue, and six other churches. The Congregationalists lost their New England church, on Dearborn avenue, facing Washington square; the Presbyterians lost three churches, the Baptists three, the Methodists six, including Grace church, at the corner of La Salle and Chicago avenues. Rev. Robert Collyer's Unity church was the largest Unitarian church in the city and the only one burned; St. Paul's Universalist church on Wabash avenue was destroyed; the Protestant Episcopal denomination lost St. James, their largest and handsomest church, Trinity church, the Church of the Ascension and St. Ansgarius. There were two Jewish syna-

[4] Colbert, p. 436.

gogues burned, and several German Lutheran churches.[5] On Sunday, October 15, Dr. Collyer and the ministers of most of these destroyed churches gathered their congregations together in the open air, and there, beside the ruins of their sanctuaries, preached sermons of encouragement and promise.

A notable feature of the fire was the explosive and apparently spontaneous manner in which many buildings ignited. The presence of inflammable gases in abundant quantities explains the sudden leap of fire from building to building, the darting of a blue flame along a cornice, followed the next instant by a roar and whirl of fire that enwrapped great buildings, which in five minutes by the watch were burned to the ground. The hurricane of wind, acting as a blow-pipe on the flames, explains the intense heat which destroyed much that is usually left standing after a fire. There was no wood, even charred, left anywhere in the burned district. The heat was so great that building stone crumbled away, and in the paint and oil store of Heath and Milligan, on Randolph street, the melting of white lead and other substances showed that the heat reached at least 3000 degrees of temperature. Safes which were exposed to such intense heat were often of no account whatever, everything within them being consumed,—books, papers, money,—nothing left but charred remains. A resident of Chicago who first came to the city in August, 1872, tells of seeing, in a large coal yard on the east side of the river near Madison street, a huge pile of coal which was then, ten months afterward, still on fire or smouldering from the Great Fire.

FAILURE OF "FIRE PROOF" BUILDINGS

The failure of all the ordinary standards of combustibility as regards city structures was well illustrated in the case of the *Tribune* building, which was considered to be thoroughly fire proof when it was erected. So confident were the owners of the *Tribune* in its security that no insurance was carried either on the building or its contents, it being regarded as an unnecessary and uncalled for expense. A day or two after the fire S. H. Kerfoot, a well known real estate man of those days, met Alfred Cowles, the secretary of the *Tribune* company, who stood ruefully gazing upon the ruins of the *Tribune* building, and remarked: "Why, Cowles, I thought you said this building was fire proof." "So I did," replied Cowles, "and so it was. But I never claimed it was hell-fire proof."

The era of fire proof constructions had begun before the period of the great fire, and there were many examples of such construction, but the crucible like heat of the conflagration, unchecked by water, reduced seemingly incombustible materials to formless masses of slag and cinders, as one might imagine would be the case in the final combustion of the universe.

INQUIRING INTO ORIGIN OF FIRE

The official investigation into the origin of the fire was begun on November 23, 1871, under the direction of the Board of Police and Fire Commissioners. The inquiry into the starting of the first blaze among the dwellings on De Koven street resulted in more amusement than information to the court. The fire was thought

[5] Sheahan and Upton, p. 136.

to have started in Mrs. O'Leary's barn, through the antics of an incendiary cow. When she and her family were aroused from bed on hearing of the fire, her excitement and grief at her loss were so great that she noticed little else which she could remember to tell later in court. Pat McLaughlin, the fiddler living in the front of her house, was giving a party that night, and had no occasion to be starting fires or milking cows. Dennis Rogan and Dan Sullivan, neighbors, could tell little more that was satisfactory, except that they called at the O'Leary's house early in the evening and found them in bed. The sum of the evidence points to the fact that the fire started in the barn in the rear of the O'Leary house, and that the entire family were in bed before it was kindled. The time of its discovery was about 8:45 o'clock, Sunday evening, October 8th, and engines answering the local alarm did not reach the fire until thirty minutes after that time, when it had already made great headway.

The investigation included the taking of testimony from the fire marshal and other members of the department, as well as from those on guard in the court house tower. The watchman there, Mathias Schaffer, saw the fire and gave the alarm fully thirty minutes after it had become large enough to illumine the sky. The signal was then given to alarm box 342, which was not the box of the district in which the fire began. The watchman, seeing his mistake and being in doubt of what to do, did not give the correct signal, since he knew that the engine replying to alarm box 342 would pass the location of the fire, and another alarm might cause confusion. The correct signal, had it been given, would have called out engines not brought out by the alarm of box 342. This was a critical blunder. The number of engines that came out at first was not sufficient, the result might have been different had they been. The fire had grown to such magnitude when the first engines arrived that it was beyond their limited power to check it, and each moment the wind carried it farther and wider with accelerated speed. From the examination of Fire Marshal Williams and other firemen who were early upon the scene little satisfaction was gained. In the spread of the fire and the inadequacy of the means to cope with it their efforts were unorganized, and they themselves were confused.

The fire department in 1871 consisted of seventeen steam engines, four hook and ladder trucks, fifty-four hose carts, two hose elevators, one fire escape, forty-eight thousand feet of hose, and eleven alarm bells. This, however, does not represent their efficiency on the night of the great fire, for on account of the frequent fires of the previous week much of the equipment was out of order, and the men were exhausted from their efforts of the night before, some of them having worked steadily for eighteen hours. The charge of bad management in the department was not without foundation, as a great deal of the fire hose had for weeks been out of order, and could not be used in this time of greatest need. The reports and examinations showed as unfounded the charge that many firemen were intoxicated when the call came. Some of the men and boys about the streets who had drunk the liquor which was then free to all, had put on firemen's helmets, the word thus spreading that it was the firemen who staggered helplessly about.

A REVIEW ONE YEAR LATER

In its issue for October 9, 1872, the *Tribune* printed on the first anniversary after the great fire of 1871 in an editorial reviewed the causes of the fire: "The peculiar geographical position of Chicago intensified the dangers growing out of its defective construction. It lay upon a flat prairie, open to the winds from whatever quarter they might come. Those which come from the lake are generally wet, and hardly more than once in the history of Chicago had a fire moved from east to west. Those from the west, especially the southwest, were hot and dry, and before they reached the substantial buildings within the fire limits, they had extracted all the moisture from acres of frames, and left them as dry as tinder. The business quarter of the city was on the wrong side of the city, if it were to be located with special reference to its protection from fire. But that is a matter which settles itself and does not depend upon men. The location of the business portion of Chicago, as well as the greatness of the city, arose chiefly from natural causes, and while it is in this one respect unfortunate that the best buildings should be where they are, it is inevitable. Thus, these wooden buildings, dried by southerly gales, lay on the weak side of the structures embraced in the fire limits, overlapping and outflanking them at both extremities, and penetrating them at all points between those extremities.

"Chicago, then, had for years been exposed to a destructive fire. All that was required was the concurrence of certain circumstances, which separately were constantly occurring—a long continued dry season; a fire starting from buildings on the West Side; a negligent or worn out fire department, and a gale of wind strong enough to carry the fire brands across the South Branch and the river. On the 9th of October they happened together."

As the fire spread over wide areas principally by the showers of sparks falling from above and igniting the roofs of dwellings and business blocks, one of the greatest defects in building was demonstrated, namely, the material used and the manner of construction of the roofings, which were mainly of tar and felt. The wooden cornices, along which the flames shot the length of a block, the wooden signs, cupolas and mansard roofs were all as piles of kindling for the falling embers, and were one of the causes of the frightful rapidity of the progress of the fire.

CHARACTER OF LOSSES

While the loss to Chicago in money value was estimated at almost $200,000,000, or one-half the total value of the city, the loss considered from all standpoints was very much less than this proportion. Much of that which was the substance of Chicago and her prosperity remained the same as before. The reasons for the rapid rise of the city to a place of importance were not affected by the calamity which for a few weeks checked the activities of trade. Chicago still had the advantage of a position at the head of a great water way leading to the Atlantic ocean; she was located, as before, in the midst of a vastly productive agricultural region, for which she had become the market; the harbor and river were uninjured; the great number of railroads with termini at Chicago remained; and the city was on the great highway between the Atlantic and the Pacific oceans. Most valuable of all, the cheerful spirit of enterprise and the indomitable will which

has characterized Chicago undertakings from the beginning of her history, were quickened by misfortune, and became the motive power of reconstruction. The foundations and supports of prosperity were unharmed, though the superstructure was a heap of ashes.

As the surrounding country had developed, through agriculture, cattle raising and lumbering, Chicago of necessity grew to meet the demands as a center of receiving and shipping the products of these industries, and as a manufacturing city for handling and re-shaping them. Chicago, being so great a market and manufacturing city, her interests became bound up with those of New York and of every other great center of business in the country. The commerce which Chicago had built up had inspired such confidence in her that millions of Eastern capital was put at her disposal. So when the fire came and destroyed much of her visible wealth, the commercial structure of which Chicago was an integral part held her up and kept her from ruin. The momentum of the trade activities of the nation carried her along; it was inevitable that she should rise and march on.

DESTRUCTION OF LAND TITLE RECORDS

The records of land titles in the Recorder's office of Cook County were totally consumed in the great fire. Thus there was no way by which owners could show title to real estate, the legal evidence of title being lacking. Something had to be done and done at once, for owners of realty in many cases were without money to rebuild the structures destroyed in the fire, and would be obliged to borrow on the security of the land to enable them to do so. In order to do this a perfect title must be shown, and this could not be done under the law as it then existed. It was of vital importance to the city that this emergency should be promptly met. The Legislature which convened in the winter following the fire passed the necessary law, which was approved on April 9th, 1872. Before quoting the law it should be stated that under the Constitution of 1870 special legislation was prohibited in cases where a general law could be made applicable. This accounts for the special case of Cook County not being referred to in the law as passed.

The language of the statute, quoting the essential portion only, was as follows: "Whenever it shall appear that the records, or any material part thereof, of any county in this state have been destroyed by fire or otherwise, any map, plat, deed, conveyance, contract, mortgage, deed of trust, or other instrument in writing affecting real estate in such county, which has been heretofore recorded, certified copies of such, may be re-recorded; and in recording the same the recorder shall record the certificate of the previous record, and the date of filing for record appearing in said original certificate so recorded shall be deemed and taken as the date of the record thereof. And copies of any such record, so authorized to be made under this section, duly certified by the recorder of any such county, under his seal of office, shall be received in evidence, and have the same force and effect as certified copies of the original record."

This act enabled bona fide owners of real estate to establish title to the satisfaction of lenders, and since that time, with such amendments as have from time to time been made, the act has served its purpose completely, and has passed every test in the courts.

PROFESSOR SWING'S ACCOUNT OF THE GREAT FIRE

An account of the great fire, written by David Swing twenty years afterward, and printed in Scribner's Monthly for June, 1892, is included in this chapter. Professor Swing, who although a prominent preacher of Chicago from 1866 to 1894, always retained the title of "Professor" because of his earlier connection with Miami University in Ohio as an instructor in Greek and Latin, possessed a finished literary style which gave his sermons and addresses a charm that attracted large audiences, and were regularly printed in the Monday morning issue of a city daily for many years, and read by multitudes of persons.

At the time of the fire Professor Swing was the pastor of the Fourth Presbyterian Church located in the North Division, and his residence was in the same neighborhood. This portion of the North Division was swept by the advancing tide of the great conflagration, and with his family he was obliged to seek safety on the open prairie to the west of the city. In his account here given he relates the adventures he passed through on this thrilling occasion.

DAVID SWING'S "MEMORY OF THE CHICAGO FIRE"

"If to us, who were wandering homeless in front of the great conflagration of 1871, anyone had whispered the words of Acestes: 'It will be a pleasure some day to remember these things,' he would have seemed to be trifling with the sufferers and the event. But twenty years have sufficed to justify the words of the Latin. With a great pleasure I shall pass again along the path which once was so beset with smoke and fire. Emerson once wrote in the blank leaf of a book these words:

> " 'A score of piny miles will smooth
> The rough Monadnock to a gem.'

"With his usual spirituality he thus declared that twenty years would transform a painful experience into a rather pleasing dream.

THE STORY BEGINS

"The Chicago fire began on Sunday evening, October 8th, 1871, at a quarter before nine o'clock. It raged until half past ten the next evening, pausing suddenly in a large isolated dwelling house, which fell into ruins at that time. The work of destruction, under the impulse of a driving wind, thus lasted only about twenty-six hours. The houses destroyed were about fourteen thousand; the people rendered homeless ninety-eight thousand; the value of property destroyed two hundred millions of dollars.

"The rain of cinders upon the water works soon made the roof timbers fall in upon the pumping engines and block their working beams. In three or four hours from the outset of the conflagration, the whole city was without water. It lay helpless. Had the wind changed at any time within two days, no part of Chicago would have remained. The historian would have recorded the total erasure of everything above ground. But the wind, which caused the destruction, intervened to limit its extent. It never veered for three days, and thus it held the destroyer to a definite channel widening out to the northwest. The gale blew until it sank down under the smitings of the rain.

"It was never learned how the rumor originated that a cow had kicked over a lamp and had burned a city. The fire started at a quarter before nine. The O'Learys had milked their cow at five o'clock, and had no lamp lighted that Sunday in either cottage or barn. The air was so much like summer that the inside of both stable and house was deserted. It is probable the cow story sprang up out of the inventive power of some man or woman who was hungry for a small cause for a great disaster. . . .

LOSS OF LIFE IN THE FIRE

"It was never learned how many lives were lost in the burning and falling of so many buildings. The coroner was called upon to make report on one hundred and seventeen bodies. But against such a report one fact must be kept in mind, that the wind and blaze, acting together, created a form of blast-heat before which window glass dropped like rain, and in which iron columns melted as though made of lead. Many bodies may have been obliterated so completely as to leave no trace of a life or a death.

"It was about ten o'clock at night before any person a half-mile from the place where the great flame started knew that the situation was unusual and alarming. The dryness of every roof, the high wind, the exhausted condition of the fire department, combined to make the red sky a painful spectacle. It has many times happened, in the lives of most men, that an alarm of fire has awakened a sudden desire to walk rapidly to the doomed building, and, boy-like, enjoy the battle between engine and blaze; but there was something in this October night that depressed the spirits and made the foot fall as though made of lead. Already in the sky overhead there was a great line of sparks moving slowly toward the northwest. It was a fiery belt, having a breadth of perhaps two hundred feet, and composed of millions of sparks and bits of material on fire. This hot upper river added to the seriousness of the scene, and raised the question: What is to be the end?

SWING'S PERSONAL EXPERIENCES

"My own domestic group soon went to the roof of our house to battle if need be with falling coals. But as we watched and worked the stream in the sky grew wider and the sparks grew in size, until not a few of the burning objects seemed as large as a plate or as long and wide as a shingle. Our home was in the exact line of the wind and fire, and all this red volume was rolling along directly over our heads. It was, perhaps, four hundred feet above the level of the streets.

"So unusual was the scene that the thought came into my mind: the city will burn up to-night. I determined to go at once toward the field of battle, and soon I was nearing the place and source of the destruction. Men hurrying back paused long enough to tell me that the trouble had begun in a stable a mile to the southwest of the city's heart; that the conflagration had spread out fan-like; that it was raging in more than a hundred houses; had crossed the river, and was coming along on the wings of the wind. The reports were terrible, but I walked on, not in the least sceptical, but wishing to make a survey and an estimate for myself. I walked slowly and looked back often to see if the rainbow of fire in the sky were not assailing the city in some other places—far away from the point of

first attack. Soon before me were streets arched over with flame, and massive buildings, the pride of each citizen, were smoking, blazing, falling.

DEMEANOR OF THE PEOPLE

"There was not much clamor of men, women, or children. It is probable that the awfulness of the situation made the mind silent rather than noisy. Personal friends said to me: 'The city is gone,' or 'No power can save us,' or 'All is lost;' but beyond such ejaculations few were the words to be heard. Quite a stream of vehicles and persons were moving northward, but the movement did not seem that of a panic, but rather that of an orderly retreat. The guests were issuing from the Tremont and Sherman hotels. The banging of trunks was only a little more violent than usual, and the vehicles into which trunks were going showed that the exodus of guests was informal; and yet not much was said by the man with the team or the man with the trunk. The fire was raging in the business district, and its population at midnight was not great. The scene was not that of families fleeing for life, with mothers calling to child and child crying for parent. The ruin was advancing in the great commercial blocks, whose clerks and business heads were perhaps miles distant from their counters and desks. It was a common event to see one or two men come down from a bank or office, unload their arms or a basket into either an express wagon or a well equipped carriage, and then hasten away. Where there was distrust of a vault, the valuable contents were extracted and headed for some place not yet doomed.

"One banker hailed a colored man who was moving along slowly with an express wagon. Whether the two persons had ever met before I do not now remember, but the banker had dragged as far as down to the sidewalk a large trunk full of bills and bonds. The African and his wagon assumed the form of a special providence. A bargain was soon made. Its terms seemed liberal to Sambo. The banker simply said, 'If you will see that my trunk and I are safe and secure, I will give you a thousand dollars.' The two moved toward the lake, and there the acute negro drove into the water to a depth which enabled him to fight well, with all kinds of splashing, the rain of hot coals which smote wagon and trunk, driver and horse. He triumphed, and in a few hours had in his possession, in place of the usual fifty cents for carrying a trunk, the more satisfactory fee of a thousand dollars.

AT CLOSE QUARTERS WITH THE FLAMES

"My advance ended at the Court House. All beyond was a furnace. Here, and a little after midnight, the fact that the city was doomed, that my home was doomed, and that tens of thousands of persons would be homeless and penniless in a few hours, was fully realized. Before me lay in one mass of fire a district nearly a mile long and fully four squares wide; and, under a wind which was almost a hurricane, this red army was advancing. At intervals, like minute guns, came the boom of some falling wall. I turned to go home. The tumbling buildings made a solemn sound like the pulsations of a volcano, or the heavy artillery of some field of battle.

"Many of those moving in the same direction were acquaintances, but few were the words from our lips. My own memory was full of all the doleful phrases and

sentences which had long before come into it from classic and modern sources. Terms which had been long forgotten came back and were saying to me with Croly: 'Rome was an ocean of flame. Height and depth were covered with red surges that rolled before the blast like an endless tide. The distant sound of the city in her convulsion went to the soul. The air was filled with the steady roar of the advancing flame, the crash of falling houses, and the hideous outcry of myriads.' St. John came with his deep bass: 'Babylon the great is fallen, fallen,' while mingling with the Bible and Croly, came all those precious tears from Virgil, such as: 'Once Troy stood,' and 'Time too great for grief,' and 'The end of all fortune,' that '*finis fatorum*' of Anchises.

RETREAT AND FLIGHT

"The way homeward was beset with fire. The rain of sparks set going little groups of autumn leaves and bunches of dried grass. The bridge on which we were crossing was on fire. Here a wooden fence, there a stable, or a wooden porch was blazing. Fire and ivy were both seen winding around the same columns of a veranda. Far in advance a large building was burning, thus revealing the fact that the enemy was holding a line two and a half miles in length, and was reaching out right and left for more churches, hotels, palaces, and cottages.

"From one family learn the motions of thousands of households. Trunks were packed hastily. Servants and mistress and children were one in mutual helpfulness. Each attempted to put the house into a trunk. Some were absent-minded for a moment and locked an empty drawer as though to keep the fire from getting in; one put a gold watch and money into a trunk, and then prepared to carry in hand a two-dollar clock; one turned down the gas through habits of economy; one neighbor, routed at half-past one, put on a dressing gown and began to shave himself. It was difficult for each one to do the best thing for the occasion, but all made an earnest effort to be sensible. In a few minutes three or four large trunks were down on the sidewalk. But why were they there? No promises, threats, or money could bring a wagon. My wife, two little daughters, and I made up a specimen group—prepared for exile. The wife carried a favorite little marble clock, one daughter carried the cat, the other daughter a canary bird in its cage, while I held on to a hand trunk in which were all my manuscripts up to date. There was no weeping. All who joined us or passed us seemed satisfied with the remark: 'It is awful.' We were dumb rather than tearful. A theological student relieved me of my box of sermons and lectures, and told me to trust those things implicitly to him. It was well that I did; for he soon found a pretty girl who was carrying a bundle of fine dresses. He threw the box of manuscripts down and enlisted in the service of attractive womanhood. Those documents never again were spread out to weary a metropolitan or rural audience. And after all the girl married a lawyer.

ASPECTS OF THE CONFLAGRATION

"Few historians of the fire have done justice to the velocity of the wind. After midnight, at least, it was so violent that it was difficult to walk in its face. The tall spire of the Church of the Holy Name had just been blown down. It lay in the street as we passed, but no fire had yet been kindled in the spire or the build-

ing. It was a perfect riot of wind and fire. At intervals the wind would seem to dip down from above and roll around us a hot volume of smoke, fire, and dust, such as often rolls out from the rear of an express train. For one instant only in that night did our group seem on the margin of death. When we had walked a few squares the fire seemed continuous upon three sides of us, and the open space in front seemed narrow. Suddenly a tidal wave of red flame rolled across that open place, and it rolled so long and hot that the thought came quickly: Perhaps this is death. No one of us spoke. We stood still. My own heart seemed to follow that habit hearts have of 'coming up to the throat.' The wind bounded up again and revealed once more an open street. We all walked rapidly or ran until we had gotten through that narrow gate.

"To recall this part of the great event, the reader must remember that this was not a poor man's fire. It smote the rich and middle class. After destroying six hundred great business houses, great churches, hotels, and theatres, it crossed the river and attacked the most fashionable homes in the North Division. The scene at four o'clock in the morning was most wonderful in this, that fine residences were open to anybody. The inmates had left them. Pictures, books, pianos, clothing, table-ware, ornaments, were alone, waiting for fire or some one to take them. It was not just to call by the name of thief the man or the woman who ran up a front step and looked around the parlor rapidly for something to transfer to basket or pocket. There were not thieves enough in the North Division to meet the demand of the night. If any there were, it was the most honest night any of them had ever lived. One citizen, having run back home, found a plain man coming out with his arms full of the gentleman's clothing. If the loaded man was a thief he must have been amazed at the greeting from the owner of the goods: 'That is right, my man, take anything you want, it is all yours.'

LOSS OF VALUABLES

"The houses were full of varied articles, and the sidewalks and streets were rich in choice objects for which the owners had expected to find a wagon or a cart; great baskets full of dishes and plated ware, bookcases and books, trunks, costly pictures in rich frames, pianos, carpets, and rugs. And yet the crowd moved along among these things as it would move among stones or stumps. In many instances a costly piano, with its lid off, had caught sparks enough to be already on fire. Trunks were burning and letting silk dresses loose to cut high antics in the wind.

"In the business blocks there was stealing of the meanest form. Where merchants were loading up into trunks valuable packages of silks, laces, and velvets, there the professional criminals were active, and merchants were robbed before their own eyes, and in return for any word of remonstrance got a threat or an oath. But in the residence portion of the burning district there were not criminals enough to ransack the houses, or appropriate even the goods in the street. Many a domestic had a furnished house given her by the retreating mistress, and Bridget was queen for an hour.

"The flames cut their first channel through to the lake in a few hours. This channel was then widened on both sides with more of deliberation on the part of the enemy. The houses which escaped the first wave had only to wait for the

second rush. Coming to La Salle avenue we found the houses still inhabited, but the inmates were debating whether they would have to retreat at nine o'clock or ten or at noon.

"It was about four in the morning when our little group dropped out of the motley procession and went into the luxurious home of a near friend. Quite a number of neighbors had assembled, and the consumption of coffee and biscuit and butter was very great. The heat of the night had brought to the hands and face perspiration enough to serve as a fluid for mixing soot and dust into a paste for the complexion. The nearest friends were recognized with difficulty. Ladies thought beautiful now held a teacup in hands that were black as those of a coal-heaver, and polite 'thank yous' and 'if you please' came from faces which looked as though dirt had been flung into them with a shovel. And yet the coffee and biscuits were delightful. All the houses of these residence streets were thus open to passing people, and each dining-room was transformed into a restaurant.

SAFETY AT LAST UNDER THE OPEN SKY

"It must have been ten o'clock Monday morning when the flames had come so near as to make it necessary for us to move on, and for the La Salle avenue people to join the exodus. It was not necessary to run, or even to walk rapidly. It was necessary only to work toward the open fields outside the limits of the city. At no point was there a crowd or a panic, for the fire being in the centre of the city the victims could at many points pass into the long circumference. In our line of retreat there were not more than ten thousand persons; and these were spread out through many squares, reaching out toward the west. Each wagon, each wheelbarrow, each family on foot had plenty of room. My little family impressed an abandoned handcart into service, and with our living and inanimate plunder placed in this little two-wheeled affair we moved along in a manner more comfortable even if not more elegant. A man driving a fine team and having a great truck-load of valuable goods, looked down upon us with not a little air of a better consciousness, but when we informed him that his load was ablaze in the rear of the big mountain his vanity passed away, and he hastily unhitched his horses, and left all else to become a bonfire in the street. The dresses of many women and children took fire, but there were many eyes watching, and many hands ready, so that personal injuries were rare. Late in the afternoon our group reached an open field. It had been recently plowed. It contained nothing which could be burned. It offered us the one thing most needed—rest and security. Here we encamped and sat down with faces toward a mass of smoke and fire now four or five miles in breadth.

'ALL LOST, BUT ALL HERE'

"No memory returns in more of charm than the fact that few of these homeless ones were loud in any lamentings. Families which had in a single day been reduced to poverty were glad that no child or member was missing. Many a father or mother said, 'We have lost all our property, but we are all here.' That eventful time was evidence complete that no educated person compares the ashes of a dwelling-house with the silent face of a dead child or a dead father or mother. In

those open fields, where so many of us were to pass the night, there was one sentence which made the distant column of smoke powerless, and which would make the midnight stars seem kind, the words: *We are all here.* Great as the love of money is, civilization has built up home ties which are tenfold stronger than the chains which bind humanity to gold; and the same civilization forbids us to compare this burning of a city with those convulsions of nature which have made the living bow in grief over those loved forms hurried by death away from each household.

"And yet this fire of 1871 was, to many excellent men, a financial blow from which they never recovered. To many homes where the father had passed his fiftieth or sixtieth year, the loss came too late to be retrievable. The family accepted the complete ruin, and soon dropped out of public sight. The city went forward, but many noble men could go forward no more. The time, the means, and the hope were gone.

"In the night of Monday, on ground which had been dried by a sun that had been unrelenting in summer and autumn, on a field where no grass remained to attract a blaze, under a sky as balmy as June, we all lay or reclined and fell into a deep sleep. This sleep had been made the more possible by the news that the fire had been checked on the south and west, and had only one or two more houses to consume at the north. The great enemy was dying out at the edge of Lake Michigan. Peace came over us and we slept. At some time in the night a slight shower beat us all gently in the face. The children did not so much as wake, and the old hearts wakened only far enough to rejoice that water was coming from heaven.

"When we awoke we were in a new world. The line of Byron was reversed, and we marvelled, not 'that on a night so sweet such awful morn could rise,' but that on a night of such ashes and poverty there could come a dawn so roseate with the world's charity. The tens of thousands of sleepers sunk away in weariness and grief, but when they awoke they saw around them a great circle of states and empires all colored deeply by an undreamed of civilization."

OLD AND NEW CHICAGO

The characteristics of the city in the days preceding the great fire were profoundly modified by the changes brought about by the destruction of such a vast amount of wealth in the form of buildings and the stocks of goods contained in them. New men and new influences became prominent as the city rose from its ruins. In the ordeal of fire old things had been brought to the severest possible test and many of them were found not worthy to survive. "Individualism," says Graham Taylor, "left its mark on every feature of the city" in the former period. "As in most new cities, each one was for himself and was a law unto himself, more than any one can be, even if he wants to be, when the place has been longer settled and the community life has ripened."

"Before the fire" and "after the fire" divide the history of Chicago almost as definitely as the Christian Era divides the World's history, says Taylor. "That eventful experience clearly marked the end of the old Chicago and the beginning of a new Chicago. And the end of the old was as essential to its growth as was the beginning of the new. No one will dispute this who caught a glimpse of the

Chicago before the fire or who afterward came here in time to see some of the things that were not burned up but survived until changed by the new spirit."

Instances are cited by this writer to show that the changes which followed the great disaster were necessary to the city's improvement. "The grades of the streets and alleys differed, apparently, as the owners of the abutting property wished or did not care. The building lines likewise wavered, at least in appearance, and as for the pavements, they zig-zagged, went up and down stairs and were of every conceivable material—brick or boards, stone or cement, cinders or clay by turns, according to personal preference or the local sentiment.

"It may be fairer to say that the physical features of the city's site and soil and surroundings left their mark upon every citizen. For all these diversities bore the common characteristics of the struggle of every inhabitant alike to find foothold amid the adverse material conditions which disputed their possession. The courage, will and staying qualities of Chicago's pioneers loom large over against such problems as the drainage of a city built on a wet soil, lying only a few feet above the level of the lake. It is no wonder that each man built the city's wall over against his own house as best he could. With no natural boundaries except the lake, it is no wonder that the city straggled off into the illimitable prairies like the improvised thing that it was.

"Moreover its early temporariness in appearance and fact was the inevitable feature of the transitional place Chicago was, while it continued to be principally a port of entry from the east and a point of departure for the west. Through most of its history it has been less of a terminal point than a transfer station, from lake to land, from vessel to railway, and from one railway to another—America's 'grand crossing' in fact. This affected the population, its constituency, characteristics, distribution. It prompted if it did not require the individualism of its earlier citizens.

"The fire made an end of the temporariness and forced permanency and co-operation, not only over the burnt district, but throughout the city's limits. Chicago then began to be one city instead of three towns. It began to cultivate a community of interest instead of the special interests of competing individuals. It began to be a permanent abode instead of a jumping-off place. It began to have some fixed standards of taste for its growth, instead of growing according to the personal or local whims of its people. It became more social than individualistic a city, not merely a dock within the harbor or a railway station at the intersection of tracks."

THE CHICAGO FIRE

By John Greenleaf Whittier

Men said at vespers: All is well!
In one wild night the city fell;
Fell shrines of prayer and marts of grain
Before the fiery hurricane.

On threescore spires had sunset shone,
Where ghastly sunrise looked on none;
Men clasped each other's hands and said:
The City of the West is dead!

Brave hearts who fought, in slow retreat,
The fiends of fire from street to street,
Turned, powerless, to the blinding glare,
The dumb defiance of despair.

A sudden impulse thrilled each wire
That signalled round that sea of fire;
Swift words of cheer, warm heart-throbs came;
In tears of pity died the flame!

From East, from West, from South, from North,
The messages of hope shot forth,
And, underneath the severing wave,
The world, full-handed, reached to save.

Fair seemed the old; but fairer still
The new the dreary void shall fill,
With dearer homes than those o'erthrown,
For love shall lay each corner-stone.

Rise, stricken city!—from thee throw
The ashen sackcloth of thy woe;
And build, as Thebes to Amphion's strain,
To songs of cheer thy walls again!

How shrivelled, in thy hot distress,
The primal sin of selfishness!
How instant rose, to take thy part,
The angel in the human heart!

Ah! not in vain the flames that tossed
Above thy dreadful holocaust;
The Christ again has preached through thee
The gospel of humanity!

Then lift once more thy towers on high,
And fret with spires the Western sky,
To tell that God is yet with us,
And love is still miraculous!

CHAPTER XXXIV

THE UNIVERSITIES

BEGINNINGS OF THE STATE UNIVERSITY—CONVENTION AT CHICAGO IN 1852—THE INDUSTRIAL LEAGUE OF ILLINOIS—CONGRESS PETITIONED FOR ASSISTANCE—INDUSTRIAL UNIVERSITY PLANNED—LEGISLATURE TAKES ACTION—LAND GRANT ACT OF 1862—IMMENSE RESULTS FLOWING FROM THIS ACT—THE UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS ESTABLISHED IN 1867—PROFESSIONAL SCHOOLS IN CHICAGO—UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO—OLD UNIVERSITY ESTABLISHED IN 1857—CARRIED DOWN BY DEBT IN 1886—NEW START MADE IN 1890—LIBERAL BENEFACTIONS RECEIVED—THE YERKES TELESCOPE—ROCKEFELLER'S LAST GIFT—ART INSTITUTE OF CHICAGO—NOTABLE GIFTS—TREASURES IN ITS POSSESSION—ITS SPLENDID BUILDING—THE FERGUSON BEQUEST.

BEGINNINGS OF THE STATE UNIVERSITY

ON the 24th day of November, 1852, a convention was held in Chicago, which though it attracted little public attention at the time was fraught with momentous results for the future University of Illinois. This convention was the third of a series that had been held in the state, the previous ones having met at other places, one of them at Granville, a small town in Putnam County, on the 18th of November, 1851, and the other at Springfield, June 8th, 1852. The object sought to be attained by those interested in the movement was "to take steps towards the establishment of an Agricultural University." Professor Jonathan B. Turner, of the Illinois College, at Jacksonville, was the leading spirit in the promotion of the movement.

President Edmund J. James has recently given a full account of the early movement, here referred to, in a bulletin of the University of Illinois, in the preface to which he states that Professor Turner "deserves the credit of having been the first to formulate clearly and definitely the plan of a national grant of land to each state in the Union for the promotion of education in agriculture and the mechanical arts, and of having inaugurated and continued to a successful issue the agitation that made possible the passage of the bill," that is, the bill known after its passage as the "Land Grant Act," otherwise as the "Morrill Act," passed July 2d, 1862, further mention of which will be made below.

THE CONVENTION AT CHICAGO

The third convention of the series of four conventions which were held in the years 1851, 1852 and 1853, was held in Chicago, as stated above, on November 24th, 1852. At this convention it was resolved to organize "The Industrial League

of the State of Illinois." The purposes of this League were "to keep up a concert of action among the friends of the industrial classes," to disseminate information on the subject, and to employ lecturers to address citizens in all parts of the state. It was also resolved "that this convention memorialize Congress for the purpose of obtaining a grant of public lands to establish and endow Industrial Institutions in each and every state in the Union."

The names of those present at the Chicago Convention as given below are gathered from the proceedings printed in the pamphlet already referred to entitled, "Origin of the Land Grant Act of 1862," and from the issue of the "Prairie Farmer" for February, 1853. This is not a complete list probably, but the names given are all that could be found in the two sources mentioned. They were: Professor Jonathan B. Turner of Jacksonville, Dr. John A. Kennicott of Northfield, Cook county, and editor of the "Prairie Farmer," Dr. William H. Kennicott of Northfield, William Gooding of Lockport, Bronson Murray of La Salle county, William A. Pennell of Putnam county, J. T. Little of Fulton county, Dr. L. S. Pennington of Whiteside county, John Gage of Lake county; and the following gentlemen whose addresses do not appear, John Davis, L. S. Bullock, Ira L. Peck, Seth Paine, Dr. George Haskell, Ira Porter; and the following gentlemen whose first names and addresses do not appear, Dr. Daggett, Messrs. Warner, Brewster, Gaston and Bross, the latter perhaps William Bross of Chicago. Charles Kennicott was the "junior secretary." Some of these may not have been present, though their names appear either as taking part in the proceedings or on committee appointments.

FURTHER DETAILS OF THE PROCEEDINGS

The plan for an "Industrial University" which had been previously submitted to the Granville Convention by Professor Turner, and thus referred to as the "Granville plan," was read section by section, and with some changes was approved. The reading and discussion of this plan occupied a large part of the time during the two days that the convention was in session.

In the account of the proceedings given in the issue of the "Prairie Farmer" for February, 1853, it would seem that the discussion afforded an opportunity for the expression of some strong opinions. The plan proposed by Professor Turner contained the clause "whether a distinct classical department should be added or not, would depend on expediency." One of the debaters, however, declared that "such a contingency could never arise without the destruction of our (proposed) institution, by sinking its peculiar feature of practical work-a-day usefulness under the dead weight of dead languages." Another speaker said that "we want no 'classical drones,' nor men of more learning than common sense or practical ability."

Meantime diligent efforts were made to arouse public sentiment on the question, so that the demand should be heard by the law making bodies of the state and nation. A committee was appointed to prepare an address to the citizens of the state on the subject of industrial education, and the establishment of an Industrial Institution.

THE CONVENTION AT SPRINGFIELD

The fourth convention of the series referred to was held at Springfield January 8th, 1853. Instead of addressing Congress direct on the subject it was de-

BURRILL AVENUE, UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

EDMUND J. JAMES

President of the University of Illinois since 1904

AGRICULTURAL BUILDING, UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

SCENE ON THE CAMPUS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

LIBRARY OF UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

COMMENCEMENT PROCESSION, UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

cided at this convention that a "Memorial" should be presented to the State Legislature, and such a memorial was prepared. In this memorial were set forth the considerations in favor of industrial universities in every state of the Union to be established by Congress, and petitioning the Legislature to memorialize Congress on the subject.

The memorial opened with the statement that "we are members of the industrial classes of the state, actively and personally engaged in agricultural and mechanical pursuits. We are daily made to feel our own practical ignorance, and the misapplication of toil and labor, and the enormous waste of products, means, materials, and resources that result from it." It is further stated that while the several learned professions are amply provided with "universities and colleges, with libraries voluminous and vast, able and learned professors and teachers, constantly discovering new facts, and applying all known principles and truths directly to the practical uses of their several professions and pursuits," the industrial classes are without such advantages.

The Memorial continues: "We have neither universities, colleges, books, libraries, apparatus, or teachers, adapted or designed to concentrate and apply even all existing knowledge to our pursuits, much less have we the means of efficiently exploring and examining the vast practical unknown that daily lies all around us, spreading darkness and ruin upon our best laid plans, blighting our hopes, diminishing our resources, and working inevitable evil and loss to ourselves, to our families and to our country. Some think one-half—no intelligent man thinks that less than one-third or one-fourth of the entire labor and products of our state, are made an annual sacrifice to this needless ignorance and waste. Knowledge alone, here, is power, and our relief is as clearly obvious as our wants. We need the same thorough and practical application of knowledge to our pursuits, that the learned professions enjoy in theirs, through their universities and their literature, schools and libraries that have grown out of them. For even though knowledge may exist, it is perfectly powerless until properly applied, and we have not the means of applying it.

"We would, therefore, respectfully petition the honorable Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Illinois, that they present a united memorial to the Congress now assembled at Washington to appropriate to each State in the Union an amount of public lands not less in value than five hundred thousand dollars, for the liberal endowment of a system of industrial universities; one in each state in the Union, to co-operate with each other and with the Smithsonian Institute at Washington, for the more liberal and practical education of our industrial classes and their teachers, in their various pursuits, for the production of knowledge and literature needful in those pursuits, and developing to the fullest and most perfect extent the resources of our soil and arts, the virtue and intelligence of our people, and the true glory of our common country."

ACTION OF THE LEGISLATURE

The Memorial, as prepared at the Springfield convention, was promptly presented to the Legislature then in session, and the merits of the plan were fully discussed by able and eloquent advocates. Resolutions were unanimously adopted

by that body, one of the preambles to which recited that "a system of Industrial Universities, liberally endowed in each State of the Union, co-operative with each other, and the Smithsonian Institution at Washington, would develop a more liberal and practical education among the people, tend more to intellectuallize the rising generation, and eminently conduce to the virtue, intelligence and true glory of our common country, therefore be it

"Resolved, by the House of Representatives, the Senate concurring herein, That our Senators in Congress be instructed, and our Representatives be requested, to use their best exertions to procure the passage of a law of Congress donating to each State in the Union an amount of public lands not less in value than five hundred thousand dollars, for the liberal endowment of a system of Industrial Universities, one in each State in the Union, to co-operate with each other, and with the Smithsonian Institution at Washington, for the more liberal and practical education of our industrial classes and their teachers; a liberal and varied education adapted to the manifold wants of a practical and enterprising people, and a provision for such educational facilities, being in manifest concurrence with the intimations of the popular will, it urgently demands the united efforts of our national strength.

"Resolved, That the Governor is hereby authorized to forward a copy of the foregoing resolutions to our Senators and Representatives in Congress, and to the Executive and Legislature of each of our sister States, inviting them to co-operate with us in this meritorious enterprise."

PUBLIC OPINION AROUSED

There was general approval of the movement by distinguished editors and educators throughout the country. The New York *Tribune* quoted the resolutions passed by the Illinois State Legislature, and remarked upon them in this language: "Here is the principle contended for by the friends of practical education abundantly confirmed, with a plan for its immediate realization. . . . Whether that precise form of aid to the project is most judicious and likely to be effective, we will not here consider. Suffice it that the legislature of Illinois has taken a noble step forward, in a most liberal and patriotic spirit, for which its members will be heartily thanked by thousands throughout the Union."

The governor of New York took up the subject in his message to the New York legislature, and advocated the plan of "combining in one college two distinct departments for instruction in agricultural and mechanical science," and said that such an institution would "contribute to the diffusion of intelligence among the producing classes, during all future time." The Massachusetts legislature adopted resolutions, one of which was in this language: "That Massachusetts deems it expedient and just that Congress appropriate a portion of our public lands to establish and endow a National Normal Agricultural College, which shall be to the rural sciences, what West Point Academy is to the military."

The Industrial League of the State of Illinois, for the organization of which provision was made at the Chicago Convention November 24th, 1852, and which received a definite charter February 10th, 1853, "was organized," says President James in his treatise, "for the express purpose of making propoganda for the

whole idea of industrial and practical education in the first place, and in the second place for the definite plan of establishing in each state of the Union an Industrial university based upon a Federal land grant to each state."

It should be a matter of pride among the citizens of our state that the initial steps in this movement were taken here. "There seems, then," says President James, "to be little doubt that Illinois was the first state to commit itself formally through the action of the legislature to the advocacy of this measure, and that the farmers of Illinois, under the leadership of Jonathan B. Turner of Jacksonville, were the first to formulate this plan at Springfield, June 8th, 1852, in the definite shape in which in all essential particulars it was finally accepted a decade later, and found legal expression in the Land Grant Act of July 2nd, 1862."

Hon. Justin S. Morrill, representative from Vermont, introduced a bill in Congress, containing the provisions for industrial universities in each of the states of the Union, together with appropriations of public lands for their endowment and support. He accompanied its introduction with these remarks: "There has been no measure for years which has received so much attention in the various parts of the country as the one now under consideration so far as the fact can be proved by petitions which have been received here from the various states, north and south, from state sessions, from county sessions, and from memorials." The measure passed both houses of Congress, but was vetoed by President Buchanan in 1859. It was again introduced and became a law in 1862, with the signature of President Lincoln.

LAND GRANT ACT OF 1862

"The Federal act, signed by President Lincoln July 2nd, 1862," says President James, "by which a grant was made to each state in the Union of thirty thousand acres of land for each senator and representative to which it was entitled in the Federal Congress, for the purpose of promoting 'the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes in the several pursuits and professions in life,' has turned out to be, in the course of time, the greatest endowment of higher education ever made at one time by the act of any legislature."

At its session in 1863, the Illinois legislature accepted a grant of 480,000 acres of public lands granted to the state under the act, and in 1867 the "Illinois Industrial University" at Champaign was established. This name was changed, in 1885, to "University of Illinois." In later years Congress added largely to the endowments of the several state universities. Under the terms of the Hatch act of March 2nd, 1887, a permanent appropriation to each state was made of $15,000 per year, "for the purpose of establishing an agricultural experiment station in each state." Subsequent acts made increased appropriations for the same general purposes, though the full amounts are not yet available. "Thus ere long," says President James, "the sum of $80,000 per year will be appropriated by the Federal government to each state in the Union, in addition to the proceeds of the original Land Grant of 1862, for the endowment of these institutions which have been created in the different states."

The total number of acres of land granted to the states under the Act of 1862 was 10,578,529; of which 1,026,847 acres still remain unsold. The number of professors and teachers in colleges of agriculture and mechanic arts, which

have received the benefit of the Land Grant Act of 1862, is 5,618, and the enrollment of students in 1909 was 72,865, one fourth of which number were women.

In some cases the benefits flowing from the Land Grant Act of 1862, and the various appropriations since, were bestowed upon institutions previously in existence on condition that they should provide for instruction in the new subjects. Some of these were state institutions and some private. Thus in Massachusetts the money was partly given to the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and partly to a department of Amherst College. In Wisconsin and Minnesota the money was given to their state universities, which had already been formed. In other states institutions were organized upon the basis of the Land Grant, and they have grown to be great state universities, extending their scope to all the subjects usually found in American universities. This was the case of the University of Illinois, which has become the largest, richest and most comprehensive of those institutions which owe their origin to the Act of 1862. State appropriations have supplemented these unprecedently generous gifts of the national government. The Federal grants have clearly proved a great stimulus to the individual states and to private citizens in giving toward the support of these institutions. In giving an account of the origin of the Land Grant Act President James writes: "With the growth of these Federal and state appropriations for the support of this great chain of institutions extending from Maine through California to Hawaii, and from the state of Washington through Florida to Porto Rico, and with the increasing size and importance of these institutions, it is natural that people should become interested in the history of this great movement, which has resulted almost over night in this great creation. The great German thinker Lessing says in one place that 'that which you do not see growing, you may find after a time grown;' and so this great undertaking for the purpose of promoting higher education has gone on from increase to increase, unconsciously in large part, without attracting general attention, without the knowledge of the average voter whose interests were certainly deeply concerned in this development."

"It is not too much to claim, then, that the Federal land grant of 1862 marks the beginning of one of the most comprehensive far-reaching, and one might almost say, grandiose, schemes for the endowment of higher education ever adopted by any civilized nation."

Readers who may be interested in pursuing further this episode of history, in connection with the great educational institutions of our city and state, should read the treatise by the President of the University of Illinois, entitled "Origin of the Land Grant Act of 1862," (No. 1, Vol. IV, in the series of "University Studies," issued in November, 1910,) printed by the University Press at Urbana, Illinois.

PROFESSIONAL SCHOOLS IN CHICAGO

There are several branches of the University's work carried on in Chicago, under the control of the University. The College of Physicians and Surgeons, otherwise known as the College of Medicine of the University of Illinois, is located at the corner of Congress and Honore streets. This college was founded in 1882, and fifteen years later, namely in 1897, it became the medical department of the University. The circular announcement for the year 1910 states that "Chi-

cago is the center of medical study in the United States. For many years it has contained a larger number of medical students than any other city in the Western hemisphere." The college buildings of the medical department occupy three-fourths of a city block, and are provided with every facility for the purposes of the institution. There was an attendance in 1909-10 of five hundred and twenty-six students. The teaching faculty is composed of one hundred and thirty-seven professors and instructors.

The School of Pharmacy of the University of Illinois is situated at the corner of Michigan Boulevard and Twelfth street. This institution is equipped with appliances and laboratory apparatus necessary for its purposes. In the year 1910 there was an attendance of one hundred and seventy-four students, with a staff of professors and instructors. The School of Pharmacy was originally the Chicago College of Pharmacy, and was incorporated September 5th, 1859. A course of lectures was instituted. The war interrupted the work of the college and it was suspended until 1870. In this year it was reopened only to be broken up again by the great fire, which destroyed its equipment. Friends of the college came to the rescue and it was furnished with new apparatus and a working library, which became the nucleus of its present complete equipment. In 1872 instruction was resumed, and has since continued without interruption. The College was formally united with the University of Illinois on May 1st, 1896.

The College of Dentistry of the University of Illinois occupies a building adjoining the College of Medicine. It has a faculty of thirty-one professors and demonstrators, and it had an attendance in 1910 of one hundred and eight students.

Its building is a five-story stone and brick structure, constructed at a cost of $100,000. The laboratories are supplied with all necessary apparatus, and the institution is well fitted to prepare students for the profession of dentistry.

SOME FACTS REGARDING THE UNIVERSITY

It is of interest to every resident of Illinois to contemplate in a brief review the great institution which stands in the front rank of State Universities among all the states of the Union. When the University began, in 1867, with a faculty of four professors and seventy-seven students, it is doubtful if any of those who were instrumental in the work of establishing it had any idea that, within a space of forty-three years, this institution would have an attendance of 5,118 students and a faculty of 538, but such is the case. Few of the hundreds of thousands of tax payers in Illinois, who annually contribute to its support, have any conception of its great extent. There are now seven colleges and six schools conducted under the general auspices and authority of the University of Illinois. Ten of these colleges and schools are located at Urbana, and three in Chicago, besides an Agricultural station, an Engineering station, an Entomologist station, a State Laboratory of Natural History, and the departments of the Geological Survey and the State Water Survey.

The range of subjects within the scope of these various branches of the University's work is very wide. "In the College of Literature and Arts," says the writer of a recent descriptive article on the subject, "besides the usual subjects of language and history there are business courses, commercial courses, and courses

in journalism. In the College of Science, besides the ordinary sciences, as biology, botany and mathematics, there is also included the study of ceramics, which carries along with it a great deal of investigative work. Nearly every field of agriculture is now being developed in connection with the College and Experiment Station, and the same is true of the Engineering College and Station. A recent movement has been made, urged along by the railway officials of the state, to develop at the University of Illinois a great railway school, in which men shall be trained in the practical affairs of a railway, not only in engineering, but in the administration of railways."

THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNIVERSITY

The duties of the head of a great institution like the University of Illinois are multifarious and exacting, requiring a man of first rate ability, and boundless energy to discharge them in a satisfactory manner. An institution that has the distribution of a million and a half dollars annually is a great business organization and with a faculty of between five and six hundred professors and instructors whose various duties and departments must be kept in co-ordination, the task devolving upon such a man is a very great one. President Edmund J. James has filled this post since 1904, and under his control the prosperity of the institution has greatly increased.

No account of the University would be complete without mention of the "University Regiment." This organization is composed of 1,450 cadets and officers, the military instruction being supplied by a regular United States army officer detailed for the purpose. This is said to be the largest university regiment in the United States, and is also one of the most proficient.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Within twenty years there has grown up in Chicago an institution of learning that ranks as an equal among the great universities of this country. Its beginnings were such as to promise the rapidity of its development and the width of its scope, for no small number of the great educators of the country were active in planning its foundation, and an initial endowment fund of one million dollars, soon followed by other moneys, formed the basis of its material resources.[1] The project of founding a college, conceived by the Baptist Education Society, was recommended by the Society for discussion to nine prominent educators of broad views, who began their investigations in 1889, and made a report thereon to the society. The further history of the movement we shall follow after a glimpse into the past.

The present University of Chicago is not the first to be so named. In 1855 a number of Chicago citizens visited Stephen A. Douglas to ask him to assist in the establishment in that city of an institution for higher education. As a result of this visit, Mr. Douglas gave a tract of ten acres for a campus, at Thirty-fourth street, bordering on Cottage Grove avenue; upon this ground a stone building was erected, and the University opened for work in 1857, with Reverend John C. Burroughs, a Baptist minister, as its first president. The financial history of the in-

[1] University of Chicago: An Historical Sketch, by William R. Harper.

stitution was always troublous, and finally, in 1886, the property was seized by an insurance company under foreclosure proceedings. When this event was imminent, the board of trustees of the University had asked the advice of the association of Baptist ministers in Chicago; these men, at their regular weekly meeting on February 8, 1886, discussed the financial condition of the university, and it was then agreed by various speakers that there seemed no way to relieve the indebtedness; that the attempt should be abandoned, and that a fresh start should be made. It was hoped that the interest of wealthy Baptists would be aroused, and the foundations laid for a prosperous institution. During the next two years there was much consultation and correspondence among prominent Baptists of Chicago and other parts of the country. The time seemed ripe for a great educational movement, and the denomination under whose auspices the early enterprise had been directed made efforts to enlist the interest of those who would forward their plans. Happily for the practical outcome of this interest, it was felt by men whose means were commensurate with their views and sympathies.

A NEW ERA FOR THE UNIVERSITY DAWNS

In the fall of 1888 Mr. John D. Rockefeller, after consulting with Dr. William Rainey Harper, then professor of Semitic and Biblical literature at Yale University, said to Dr. Harper and to Dr. Thomas W. Goodspeed, of Chicago, "I am prepared to say that I am ready to put several hundred thousand dollars into an institution in Chicago." Mr. Rockefeller communicated with the American Baptist Education Society, as a result of which they appointed nine able men, before referred to, who made an elaborate report on the scope of the institution, the location, the funds required for a substantial foundation, the extent to which the Education Society could wisely cooperate in the undertaking, and other points. These nine men were Dr. William R. Harper, Dr. Samuel W. Duncan, Dr. Henry L. Morehouse, Dr. Alvah Hovey, president of Newton Theological Institution; Dr. James M. Taylor, president of Vassar College; Dr. H. G. Weston, president of Crozier Theological Seminary; Dr. E. Benjamin Andrews, professor of history in Cornell University; Reverend J. F. Elder, and Hon. C. L. Colby.

In May, 1889, after the board of the Education Society had formally decided to enter on the undertaking, the pledge of Mr. Rockefeller was announced, as made in the following letter from him:

"26 Broadway, New York, May 15, 1889.

Rev. Fred T. Gates,
Corresponding Secretary American Baptist Education Society.

My Dear Sir:

I will contribute six hundred thousand dollars ($600,000) toward an endowment fund for a college to be established at Chicago, the income only of which may be used for current expenses, but not for land, buildings, or repairs, providing four hundred thousand dollars ($400,000) more be pledged by good and responsible parties, satisfactory to the Board of the American Baptist Education Society and myself, on or before June 1, 1890, said four hundred thousand dollars, or as much of it as shall be required, to be used for the purpose of purchasing

land and erecting buildings, the remainder of the same to be added to the above six hundred thousand dollars as endowment.

"I will pay the same to the American Baptist Education Society in five years, beginning within ninety days after the completion of the subscription as above, and pay five per cent. each ninety days thereafter until all is paid, providing not less than a proportionate amount is so paid by the other subscribers to the four hundred thousand dollars; otherwise this pledge to be null and void.

Yours very truly,

JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER."

A meeting of the board of the Education Society was then held in Chicago in June, 1889, and a college committee of thirty-six was appointed, with E. Nelson Blake as chairman, to cooperate with the Society in the effort to fulfill the conditions proposed in this letter. This work was successfully accomplished, and at the annual meeting of the board, held on May 23, 1890, the committee appointed to examine the subscriptions made a report, which is embodied in the following telegram:

"Chicago, May 23, 1890.

John D. Rockefeller, No. 26 Broadway, New York:

We are directed by the Executive Board of the Education Society to wire you as follows: The Board, through a committee consisting of E. Nelson Blake, C. C. Bowen, and J. A. Hoyt, have personally examined every pledge of the $400,000 and find what they believe to be good and satisfactory pledges amounting to $402,083. Further funds are promised and are coming in at the rate of $1,000 per day. The Board find that in addition to the above sum gifts of libraries and apparatus have been made valued at $15,000. Mr. Marshall Field's pledge is not included in the above. The Board certify that your terms are fulfilled to their satisfaction. Your certificate that pledges are satisfactory is desired at once to announce here to subscribers and to secure a site. Shall we send a messenger to you with pledges for examination? Please wire your wishes to the Auditorium Hotel.

F. T. GATES, *Secretary.*
GEORGE DANA BOARDMAN, *Chairman.*
ALBERT G. LAWSON, *Recording Secretary.*"

LIBERAL GIFTS RECEIVED

The pledge of Mr. Field which is referred to was that for a site for the university, on condition that the four hundred thousand dollars be secured. The raising of this money, as well as the gifts dependent on it, secured to the university an endowment fund, a site for a campus, and the means to erect on it the first buildings. With the interest that was aroused by these initial gifts and the pride that the citizens already felt in the new enterprise, one might have forseen, even in those early years, the present magnitude and scope of the university.

Resolutions based on the report of the committee of nine, and approved by Mr. Rockefeller, were adopted by the Education Society. Among these resolutions were those providing for the founding of the institution within the limits of Chicago, for the admission of persons of both sexes on equal terms, for the minimum area of the site to be placed at ten acres, for the raising of the founda-

HUTCHINSON HALL

BOTANICAL BUILDING

EDUCATIONAL BUILDING

HULL COURT

COBB HALL

tion fund as prescribed by Mr. Rockefeller, and for the provision of the governing of the university. The last and eighth resolution, referring to this point of government, we shall quote:

"(8) *Resolved,* That the Board shall secure the incorporation of the proposed institution as early as practicable; that the Board of Trustees shall consist of twenty-one members, divided into three equal classes, with terms of service expiring respectively in one, two, and three years; that the choice of persons for the first Board of Trustees shall be subject to the approval of the Executive Board of this Society, and that the President of the institution, and two-thirds of the Board of Trustees of the same, shall always be members of Baptist churches."

The executive board of the American Baptist Education Society, having approved of the choice of the first board of trustees of the university, made after the reading of these resolutions at their meeting, and the Society having collected all funds for the proposed institution, the control of the university passed out of its hands into those of the trustees at the time when, in the judgment of the board, the institution was solidly founded. The Society had acted as promptly as possible in securing the incorporation of the institution, which was done on September 10, 1890. The articles of that incorporation designated the corporation as "The University of Chicago," prescribed its particular objects, its management, its location, and named the trustees who were to act during the first year of its corporate existence. A special clause made it clear that the university was to be non-sectarian.

RELATIONS BETWEEN THE OLD AND NEW UNIVERSITIES

In the report made to the trustees of the new university by Reverend Fred T. Gates, corresponding secretary of the Education Society, the relation between the new institution and the old University of Chicago, which had ceased to exist, is made clear in a short paragraph:

"There is a certain obligation of honor which we have gladly assumed, the full charge of which we desire to commit to you. The trustees of the University of Chicago founded in 1857, the work of which was discontinued some years since, have unanimously and heartily bequeathed to you the name 'University of Chicago,' and with the name they bequeath also their alumni. The new University of Chicago rises out of the ruins of the old. The thread of legal life is broken. Technicalities difficult or impossible to be removed have prevented our use of the charter of 1857. The new University of Chicago, with a new site, a new management, new and greatly improved resources, and free from all embarrassing complications, nevertheless bears the name of the old, is located in the same community, under the same general denominational auspices, will enter on the same educational work, and will aim to realize the highest hopes of all who were disappointed in the old. A generation hence the break in legal life will have lapsed from the memory of men. In the congeries of interests, affections, aspirations, endeavors, which do in fact form the real life of an institution of learning—in these there has been no break. The alumni of the institution in its older form are the true sons of the new, and as such we bespeak for them such appropriate and early recognition as your thoughtful courtesy may suggest."

On February 2, 1891, the trustees adopted the following resolution:

"*Resolved,* That in view of the relation of the new University of Chicago to the institution that formerly bore that name, we hereby confirm and re-enact the degrees of B. A. and B. S. conferred by the former University of Chicago, and we invite the graduates to consider themselves the alumni of the University, and to co-operate with us in building it up to greatness."

In handing over the affairs of the incipient university reports were made by Dr. Thomas W. Goodspeed, the financial secretary of the Baptist Education Society, and Dr. Fred T. Gates, and from these reports much can be learned of the early history of the university. Following the presentation of these reports the board of trustees organized by the election of E. Nelson Blake, president; Martin A. Ryerson, vice president; Charles L. Hutchinson, treasurer; and Alonzo K. Parker, recording secretary. This first meeting of the trustees was in September, 1890. Later in the same month, at the second meeting of the trustees, a letter was read from Mr. Rockefeller, in which he promised one million dollars more to the university, with certain provisions for its use, and stipulated that the Baptist Union Theological Seminary of Chicago become an organic part of the university. Besides being important for the promise of this magnificent gift, the meeting was notable for another reason. Just before the letter from Mr. Rockefeller was read to the trustees, the committee to nominate a president reported, recommending the selection of Professor William Rainey Harper, of Yale University. The report was unanimously and enthusiastically adopted by a rising vote, and a committee was selected to inform Dr. Harper and present him to the board. On entering, he expressed his appreciation of the honor conferred, and asked for six months' time for consideration of the important offer. At the end of that time Dr. Harper wrote a letter to the trustees, accepting the presidency of the Universiy of Chicago, and naming July 1, 1891, as the time for entering upon his duties.

The union of the Theological Seminary with the university was effected during 1891, under the provisions of a carefully prepared contract. The Theological Union which thus furnished the Divinity school for the University of Chicago had its origin in a meeting of a small company in the lecture room of the First Baptist church of Chicago in 1860.

SYSTEMATIC WORK OF THE UNIVERSITY

In January, 1891, the first formal bulletin regarding the work of the new institution was published. Seven bulletins were planned, the first of which was a general account of the new university, including statements about the history of the movement, the board of trustees, the charter, the site, the election of the president, the opening of the colleges, the work of the university, its organization, the general regulations, and remarks thereon. The work of the university as set forth in the bulletin, is arranged under three general divisions: (1) the University proper, to include academies, colleges, affiliated colleges and schools; (2) the university extension work, to include regular courses of lectures, evening courses, correspondence courses, special courses and library extension work; (3) the university publication work.

Before its publication the plan of the university was submitted to the criticism

of officials of more than fifty American universities and colleges, and an examination of its principal features in the light of the experience of the years since the organization of the university will be convincing evidence of the carefulness of preparation on the part of those who planned for the institution in its formative days.

The erection of buildings was begun in 1891, ground being broken for the first building on November 26th. From a number of architects who had submitted plans for university buildings, Mr. Henry Ives Cobb was chosen to plan the buildings. His general plan for the entire group shows four quadrangles for dormitories, with the public buildings, such as library, recitation halls, laboratories, and museums, as central features. It was decided that all permanent buildings of the university should be erected of blue stone from Bedford, Indiana.

Among the things accomplished during this busy year was the appointment by the trustees of a professor, when in July, 1891, they chose Mr. Frank Frost Abbott, of Yale University, as University examiner and associate professor of Latin. At the same meeting Mrs. Zella Allen Dixson, the librarian of the Baptist Union Theological Seminary, was made assistant librarian of the university. At the meeting on November 16, 1891, the first head professor was elected, when Professor William Gardner Hale, of Cornell University, was made head of the department of Latin; soon afterwards Professor James Laurence Laughlin, of Cornell University, was chosen head professor of political economy. In the spring of 1892 a large number of professors and instructors were appointed on the faculty.

ADDITIONAL GIFTS CONTINUE TO BE RECEIVED

Gifts continued to come in; from the estate of William B. Ogden a designation was made by the executors of the will for a graduate scientific school and its maintenance, to be known as the Ogden Scientific School. Mr. Sidney A. Kent, of Chicago, gave two hundred and fifty thousand dollars for a building to be devoted to chemistry. A gift of one million dollars was made by Mr. Rockefeller in the spring of 1892. At about the same time Mr. Marshall Field offered to the university one hundred thousand dollars on condition that, including Mr. Kent's subscription just mentioned, the sum of one million dollars be secured by the tenth of July following. Within the ninety days intervening between the pledge and the day set for its fulfillment the money was subscribed, including the gift of Mr. Silas B. Cobb for Cobb Recitation Hall; of that of Mr. George C. Walker for a museum building, known as the Walker Museum; and that of Mr. Martin A. Ryerson, which was used in building the Ryerson Physical Laboratory. There was great rejoicing among the trustees and the citizens of Chicago when, on the last day on which the offer was open, with $38,000 still to be raised, at a meeting of the trustees, announcement was made of a gift of $50,000, pledged at the last moment. The sum was made up, and a recitation building, two laboratories, a museum, dormitories for men and women, and an academy secured to the university, with a large residue to be used for other purposes.

During the summer of 1892 the university campus was the scene of partially erected buildings, long trenches where pipes were being laid, grading of ground about the buildings and laying out of streets. On October, 1892, the first real

work of the university began. A large staff of instructors was ready for work on the day set for opening. The recitation building was not fully completed, and students passed under scaffolding to enter the recitation rooms; yet classes were conducted and work done in regular routine as if that were a matter of course. The only opening exercises approaching a public nature were those of the first chapel assembly. Members of the university, with some friends, assembled in the chapel room at 12:30 o'clock on the first day, where a brief service of prayer and singing was held.

The year of the opening of the university was well rounded out in December, 1892, by an added gift of Mr. Rockefeller of one million dollars.

The first quarterly convocation of the university was held in Central Music Hall, January 1, 1893. After a scholarly address by Head Professor von Holst on "The Need of Universities in the United States," the president made his first quarterly statement on the condition of the university, in which he compared the institution of that time, comprising buildings, land, endowment, instructors, and students, with the institution as it existed a year before, when the grounds were desolate land, the university was only announced and still on paper, and the funds in hand were entirely inadequate. At the time of this report, at the completion of the first quarter, there were one hundred and nine professors and instructors who were giving instruction, and the total enrollment of students was five hundred and ninety-four.

THE YERKES TELESCOPE

In any account of the University of Chicago the Yerkes Telescope deserves some mention. Although this great instrument is housed in a splendid observatory at Williams Bay on Lake Geneva in Wisconsin, it is a part of the equipment of the University. The telescope was the gift of Charles T. Yerkes, and was presented to the University before a location for an observatory had been decided upon. This was in 1892, and its completion and dedication did not take place until five years thereafter, namely, on October 21, 1897.

This great gift to the University and to the cause of science followed closely upon the opening of the doors of the University and soon after President Harper had assumed charge. Mr. Yerkes, in his letter of December 5, 1892, said that he would not only pay for the great forty-inch objective proposed for the observatory, but would also pay for the frame and mountings, and, when the site was decided upon, the buildings required for the observatory as well. The object glass was made by Alvan Clark & Sons of Cambridgeport, Massachusetts.

The question of site was considered carefully and the claims of many different localities were passed in review. It was finally decided that Williams Bay was the most desirable point at which to locate the observatory, fulfilling the requirements in all respects. The report of the committee appointed to select the site refers to the subject in these words: "It is conceded by all concerned that no site thus far suggested combines in itself so many of the requirements to so great a degree. The site is high and beautifully located. The atmosphere is clear and without danger from the encroachments of manufactories, railroads or electric lights." Williams Bay is eighty miles from Chicago, and is one of the picturesque indentations of that charming body of water known in the early time by the name

THE YERKES OBSERVATORY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO, SITUATED AT LAKE GENEVA, WISCONSIN

WILLIAM RAINEY HARPER

President of the University of Chicago from its beginning, in 1891, until his death in 1906.

HARRY PRATT JUDSON

President of the University of Chicago from 1907 until the present time.

of Gros-Pied, so called by the French, and by the settlers Big Foot. Mrs. Kinzie, in Wau-Bun, describing the journey made by her party from Chicago to Green Bay in 1833, says that on approaching the lake they observed "a collection of neat wigwams," which formed "no unpleasant feature in the picture." The party burst into shouts of delight as the charming landscape broke upon their view. "It was like the Hudson, only less bold. No, it was like the lake of the Forest Cantons, in the picture of the chapel of William Tell! What could be imagined more enchanting?"

In this charming locality, thus referred to by the author of Wau-Bun, the home of the great telescope was established. The form of the building for the observatory is that of a Latin cross, with three domes and a meridian room at the extremities. The dome for the great equatorial is eighty-five feet in diameter, and, like such constructions in all observatories, it is movable, so that the tube can be pointed in any direction above the horizon. The tube itself with its attachments is about seventy feet in length. The driving clock to regulate the motion of the telescope when pointed towards a star or planet, of itself weighs a ton. The tube mounted in position was a prominent object as an exhibit in the Manufactures Building at the World's Fair, though the object glass was not mounted within it; and the driving clock kept it in motion for the entertainment of visitors. The site of the observatory includes about fifty-five acres of land beautifully diversified with woodland and bordering the lake. The grounds were the gift of John Johnston, Jr.

The land on which the Observatory is built was valued at the time of its purchase at $30,000. The cost of the completed object glass of the great refractor was $66,000; of the telescope mounting itself, $55,000; of the dome and rising floor, $45,000; and of the remainder of the Observatory building, including the southeast dome and the power-house and its equipment, about $150,000.

It is stated in one of the publications of the University that "undergraduate instruction in astronomy is not given at the Observatory. This is provided at the University, together with thorough courses in theoretical astronomy and celestial mechanics. . . . All candidates for the doctor's degree in the department are required to work at least one quarter at the Observatory." The Observatory library contains about six thousand volumes and pamphlets. "The pressure for time for scientific use has made it impossible to permit visitors to see through the telescopes." There is given opportunity, however, for them to inspect the Observatory and the great refractor, once a week, on which occasion a member of the staff demonstrates the operation of the large telescope and explains the work of the Observatory. At the present time Professor Edwin B. Frost is in charge of the institution, and with him is associated a staff of three astronomical professors, and seven computers and other assistants.

MR. ROCKEFELLER'S LAST GIFT TO THE UNIVERSITY

In December, 1910, Mr. John D. Rockefeller made a final gift to the University of Chicago amounting to the stupendous sum of ten millions of dollars, at the same time terminating his relations with the institution finally. "In his letter accompanying this magnificent reinforcement of the resources of the Uni-

versity," says the "Outlook" of December 31, 1910, "Mr. Rockefeller characterizes his gift as final. He recognizes the fact that it is better that the University should be supported and enlarged by the gifts of many than by those of a single donor, and declares that from the beginning he has endeavored to assist the University by stimulating the interest and securing the contributions of many others, at times making his own gifts conditional on the gifts of others. The citizens of Chicago and the West have generously responded to these efforts and the University has received more than seven millions of dollars from other donors. Mr. Rockefeller expresses his appreciation of the extraordinary wisdom with which the University was planned and its early policy determined, of the fidelity with which the officers and trustees of the University have conducted its affairs, and declares that his highest hopes have been far exceeded by the number of students, the high character of the institution established so early in its career, the variety and extent of original research conducted by it, the valuable contribution to human knowledge it has made, and its great and inspiring influence on education throughout the West. In making an end of his gifts and withdrawing his personal representatives from the Board of Trustees, Mr. Rockefeller says that he is acting on an early conviction that the University, being the property of the people, should be controlled, conducted, and supported by the people."

"One million, five hundred thousand dollars," continues the "Outlook," "is to be set apart at his request for the building of a great University chapel, which shall embody the architectural ideals expressed by the buildings already constructed, and so placed that these buildings shall seem to have caught their inspiration from the chapel. In this way the group of University buildings, with the chapel centrally located and dominant in its architecture, will proclaim that 'the University in its ideal is dominated by the spirit of religion, all its departments are inspired by the religious feeling, and all its work is directed toward the highest ends.' The balance of this gift is left in the hands of the trustees of the University, without restriction.

"Mr. Rockefeller has now given to the University of Chicago the noble endowment of thirty-five millions of dollars, assuring its future, and equipping it for the highest efficiency in the educational field. It was the great good fortune of the donor and of the University to secure a man of the ability, courage, and working power of President William R. Harper to organize and direct the institution in its early stages. His energy, scholarship, and broad view of what was needed and could be done for education in the central West put the institution in a place of leadership from the beginning, and it has secured throughout the Central West and the South an influence quite incalculable in its stimulus and beneficence.

"It should be added, in justice to Mr. Rockefeller, that never, from his first gift, has he interfered in any way, directly or indirectly, with the management of the University; that he refused to allow it to bear his name, and that he has given its trustees and faculty an absolutely free hand. If there has ever been a time in its career when its policy has seemed to defer to his wishes, it has not been because those wishes found any expression from him."

In the minute adopted by the board of trustees on the occasion, it is emphatically asserted that Mr. Rockefeller has never suggested the appointment or

removal of any professor, and has never "interfered, directly or indirectly, with that freedom of opinion and expression which is the vital breath of a university." "It is gratifying," commented the "Nation" on this statement, "to find these aspects of a university's life and significance made so conspicuous on an occasion in which the magnitude of the series of gifts now brought to a close might have overshadowed other considerations. The total of $35,000,000 is beyond all precedent, but for that very reason the importance of guarding against the suspicion of domination by the power of the purse has, from the beginning, been peculiarly great in Chicago."

OTHER PRESS COMMENTS

This great and final gift to the University was generally commented upon by the press of the country. "The Christian Science Monitor" of Boston, in its issue of December 22, 1910, takes a broad view of the wealth possessed by some of the leading universities, in the following editorial:

"It is somewhat difficult to measure the relative financial resources of the great universities of this country, for the reason that statistical matter covering them has no fixed basis. The nearest that it is possible to come to it is by comparing the figures given by five of the principal institutions with relation to what is termed their productive funds. At the close of last year the relative standing in this respect of the establishments referred to was: Columbia, $26,704,539; Harvard, $22,716.750; Leland Stanford, Jr., $18,000,000; Chicago, $15,070,903; Yale, $10,561,830.

"The John D. Rockefeller gift just made to the Chicago University carries with it responsibilities of course, and these will take on the form of obligations which will involve an increase in fixed charges. It requires a great deal of capital sometimes to carry donations of this nature. What proportion of the latest gift must go to making preliminary arrangements for its employment, and what proportion will find its way eventually into the so-called productive fund of the institution, cannot be told at this time. But, with the Rockefeller gifts now aggregating $35,000,000, and $7,000,000 from other sources, over and above the ordinary receipts, it is fair to infer that Chicago University, from a financial point of view, will soon rank among the very richest of educational establishments.

"It is pleasant to imagine the coming of the time when we shall hear less of the universities in connection with their financial affairs and more of them in connection with their educational achievements. Some of them have already reached the point where a desire for mere bigness has given place to a settled aspiration for efficiency. These, however, are among the older foundations. They have long since become secure; they have long since outgrown all fear of rivalry; they are completely out of the competitive field; their great aim is for excellence rather than material growth.

"All this is commendable and as it should be. Thinking people will welcome the day when all universities and colleges and schools may give their undivided attention to the advancement of learning. But the greater part of the country is still very young. Most of it, from the higher educational point of view, is still in the planting period, and the plants require careful cultivation and constant watering. There are evidences of sturdy growth on all sides. It is the opinion

of the shrewd and successful business man who has done so much for the University of Chicago that that institution can now, practically, stand alone. This means a great deal for advanced education in the middle West. It means a great deal for the future of an institution founded only yesterday, as it were, upon the remains of a college which, though having but a fraction of the size and consequence of its successor, yet fell short of its purposes because it was somewhat in advance of the times."

ART INSTITUTE OF CHICAGO

While Chicago is known widely as a commercial center, and has often been charged with offering up sacrifices exclusively to the Goddess of Getting On, there are a few institutions in the city which prove that her higher interests are being fostered and are taking a prominent place in her development. Among these is the Art Institute of Chicago, incorporated May 24, 1879, for "the founding and maintenance of schools of art and design, the formation and exhibition of collections of objects of art, and the cultivation and extension of the arts of design by any appropriate means."

As early as 1866 there was established in the city a school of art practice, including work from the human figure. This was one of the first art schools in the country.[2] The class then organized formed a society which soon became the Chicago Academy of Design, an association of artists which continued to exist until about 1882. The school continued uninterruptedly during those years, a valuable institution in the city, being suspended only at the time of the Great Fire. Owing to business vicissitudes, the Academy of Design was reorganized in 1878 into what was at first known as the Chicago Academy of Fine Arts, this name being changed not long afterward to the Art Institute of Chicago.

The first president of the board of trustees of this new organization was George Armour, followed in the next year by Levi Z. Leiter, who two years later was succeeded by Charles L. Hutchinson. Mr. Hutchinson has been the president continuously since his first election. From the beginning of the Art Institute Mr. William M. R. French has been the director of the school and museum, and Mr. Newton H. Carpenter, the secretary, has been in the business department.

At first, from 1879 to 1882, the Art Institute rented and occupied rooms at the southwest corner of State and Monroe streets; in 1882 property was bought and a brick building was erected on the southwest corner of Michigan avenue and Van Buren street. In this building 72 x 54 feet, were class rooms, and galleries to contain the small collections of pictures, marbles and casts then possessed by the Art Institute. Purchases and the cost of maintenance were provided for by subscriptions, membership fees, and the issue of bonds secured on the property. In 1885 twenty-six feet of land adjacent on the south was purchased and during the following two years a building of brown stone, 80 x 100 feet, and four stories high, of Romanesque design, was erected on the site of the former brick building. The Institute grew so rapidly that in five years its building was inadequate to hold the collections of casts, pictures, metals, and antiquities which had come into its possession. During the following years of its growth, it had gained the favor and interest of the community, so that it was prepared to take advantage of the

[2] Historical Sketch of the Art Institute, by W. M. R. French.

HENRY FIELD ROOM, ART INSTITUTE

Containing paintings of the Barbizon School

Courtesy of Art Institute of Chicago

ART INSTITUTE ON MICHIGAN AVENUE, FACING ADAMS STREET

opportunity offered by the plans for the Columbian Exposition to obtain a location on the lake front. The projectors of the Exposition had determined to expend $200,000 upon a temporary building there, for the use of sessions of world's congresses. The officers of the Art Institute proposed that they be allowed to add to this sum whatever amount they could raise for the erection of a permanent building, to be occupied by the Art Institute after serving its purpose as a meeting place for the world's congresses. A city ordinance of March, 1891, permitted the erection of the building on the lake front, at the foot of Adams street. Although an injunction was issued restraining the city from allowing any building to be erected on the lake front, it was made of no avail by the fact that the state legislature had in 1890 authorized the city to permit the erection there of buildings connected with the Columbian Exposition, and to retain some of them permanently. By this exceptional and fortunate circumstance de we have on its present most fitting site one of the very beautiful and valuable possessions of the people of Chicago. The cost of the original building was $648,000, of which $27,000 represented the expense for two temporary halls that were removed at the close of the Exposition. Of this total sum, $448,000 was paid by the Art Institute, and was raised by the sale of former property and by subscription. On December 8, 1893, the building was formally opened as a museum.

CONDITIONS OF TENURE

The ownership of the building was in the hands of the City of Chicago until 1904, when it passed to the South Park Commission. The right of use and occupation belongs to the Art Institute so long as it shall fulfill the conditions of its incorporation, shall open the museum to the public free on Wednesdays, Saturdays, Sundays and public holidays, shall make the mayor and comptroller of the city ex officio members of the board of trustees, and shall conform to certain other simple conditions. The property on which the building stands, comprising four hundred feet along Michigan avenue, is exempt from all taxation. By this arrangement the Art Institute practically gave to the people of Chicago the money which it expended on the building, and gained a public character which at the same time benefits itself and does credit to the people who have fostered the plan.

The advantages of the location of the Institute are great, from the standpoint both of beauty and convenience. The building is of Bedford limestone, fireproof, in Italian Renaissance style, with classic details of the Ionic and Corinthian orders. It is set forty feet back from the avenue and is three hundred and twenty feet in length. Great care was taken in the plans to insure excellent conditions for exhibitions of pictures and other objects of art, and to secure proper lighting, accessibility, simplicity of arrangement and convenience of classification. The building policy has been fully justified, for within the first year after the completion of the building, art treasures were given which in value equalled half the cost of the building; and gifts have since been made which without a proper place for their keeping would never have been entrusted to the Institute. Both the beauty and the safety of the building have stimulated interest and generosity.

Although except upon stated days in the week there is a small admission fee, still on all days the doors are open to members and their families and friends, to professional artists and public school teachers, and to pupils in the public schools

when accompanied by their teachers, and on certain easy conditions to classes studying art.

The support of the Art Institute is derived from membership dues, admission fees, voluntary gifts, and, in later years, bequests; besides these there is an annual tax which is levied by the South Park Commissioners according to an act of the legislature, to be used towards the maintenance of the Art Institute and the Field Columbian Museum.

GIFTS TO THE ART INSTITUTE

A few of the notable gifts to the Institute demand especial mention. In 1897 a lecture room with five hundred seats was built in accordance with the original plans of the building, and presented as a memorial to Alexander N. Fullerton by his son, Charles W. Fullerton. In 1900 a library was built, as provided for in the original plans, by Martin A. Ryerson, a trustee, and is called the Ryerson library. In it is a large collection of volumes and of photographic copies of the art pieces of most of the well known galleries of Europe. This library, being open to the public on free days, is then practically a free public reference library. Not only is it comfortable, ample and well appointed, but it is a quiet and beautiful spot for one who would go there merely to admire its construction and design.

The collection of architectural casts presented by Mr. and Mrs. Timothy B. Blackstone, which occupies Blackstone Hall, completed in 1903, is unique among collections in America. It consists chiefly of casts of French historic sculptures, including those of cathedral portals and other architectural sculpture dating from the eleventh to the nineteenth century. The collection was brought to the Columbian Exposition by the French government, and thence came into the possession of the Art Institute.

An invaluable gift is the Henry Field collection of Barbizon paintings, which has been placed by Mrs. Henry Field for permanent keeping in the Art Institute, in a gallery fitted up for its reception with mosaic floor, and marble, and stained glass skylights. In this collection are Breton's "Song of the Lark," Millet's "Bringing Home the New-born Calf," and fine examples of Troyon, Rousseau, Corot, Constable, Daubigny and others of their school. Mrs. Field also provided for the placing on each side of the wide approach to the building a monumental bronze lion, to be executed by Edward Kemeys, the sculptor of animals. These lions were placed in position in May, 1894.

In another collection are paintings by old masters of the Dutch school, among these being important works of Rembrandt, Frans Hals, Holbein, Van Dyck, Rubens, Teniers, Ruisdael and Hobbema. In still other collections are representative examples of the work of many other leaders of the modern world of art. To indicate the scope of the Art Institute it may be mentioned that there are collections of original Egyptian antiquities, of Japanese, Chinese and East Indian objects of art, of gems and jewelry, of musical instruments, armor and other valuable and interesting curiosities.

EXHIBITION HALLS

Certain halls are reserved for the use of temporary exhibitions, which form a most varied and profitable addition to the permanent exhibits, and which dur-

Courtesy of Art Institute of Chicago

DOME AND GRAND STAIRWAY OF ART INSTITUTE, COMPLETED IN 1912

ing the active season of the year form a large element in the interest of the Art Institute calendar.

This sketch can merely indicate the value and variety of the collections that are treasured in the Art Institute, and does but suggest the privileges which are there offered for the public to enjoy if it will. There are now in 1911, fifty public exhibition galleries, of which twenty-seven are skylighted, and plans are being made to extend the building to the eastward by bridging the Illinois Central railroad tracks with skylighted galleries and building new museum halls upon the land reclaimed from the lake. Work has been begun on the building of the great central staircase, which will add immensely to the dignity and beauty of the main rotunda. This staircase will for the immediate future be surmounted by a plain, lofty skylighted roof, which will later be replaced by a dome, and the whole finished with impressive architectural work.

The school of instructors in art practice has from the beginning been a vital part of the institution. In the rear of the main building are low, skylighted studios, and the list of departments includes those of paintings, sculpture, decorative designing, normal instruction and architecture. In addition to this, the students have the full use of galleries, library and lectures. The school had a total enrollment in 1909-1910 of about 2,500 students; it is self-supporting, with an annual income and expense of about $65,000. Advanced branches are taught, and artists and teachers from abroad give occasional instruction. Honors are awarded in the academic department, and diplomas are given in the departments of decorative designing, normal instruction and architecture.

NOTEWORTHY BEQUESTS

One noteworthy bequest made to the Art Institute was that of Maria Sheldon Scammon for an annual series of lectures to be given by persons of authority on the history, theory and practice of the graphic and plastic arts, the primary purpose of these lectures being for the benefit of students.

Through a bequest made by Benjamin F. Ferguson, who died in 1905, a sum of money was left in trust, a large part of the income from which is to be paid annually or oftener "to the Art Institute of Chicago, to be known as the B. F. Ferguson Fund, and entirely and exclusively expended by it under the direction of its Board of Trustees in the erection and maintenance of enduring statuary and monuments, in the whole or in part of stone, granite or bronze, in the parks, along the boulevards or in other public places, within the city of Chicago, Illinois, commemorating worthy men or women of America or important events of American history. The plans or designs for such statuary or monuments and the location of the same shall be determined by the Board of Trustees of such Institute." The bequest has begun to yield interest for this purpose at the rate of about $25,000 a year and a contract was made with Mr. Lorado Taft of Chicago for the erection of a bronze monument in the form of a fountain after his design called "The Fountain of the Great Lakes."

With an annual income of such magnitude, and the standard of taste which its wise expenditure will cultivate, the prospect of the future possibilities in art for Chicago is almost beyond conception.

CHAPTER XXXV

FIRE DEPARTMENT AND FIRE LOSSES

FIRST FIRE ORDINANCES—EARLY ORGANIZATION—FIRE OF 1839—EARLY FIRE CHIEFS—FORMATION OF ENGINE COMPANIES—FIRE OF 1857—FIRE DEPARTMENT CRITICISED—GREATER EFFICIENCY DEMANDED—END OF VOLUNTEER FIRE DEPARTMENT—COMPANIES DISBANDED—PAID FIRE DEPARTMENT ORGANIZED IN 1858—U. P. HARRIS' LONG SERVICE—CONDITION OF DEPARTMENT IN 1871—DEPARTMENT'S SERVICES IN THE GREAT FIRE—DESTRUCTION OF APPARATUS—WATER WORKS DESTROYED—FIRE LOSSES AND ADJUSTMENTS—R. S. CRITCHELL'S NARRATIVE—INSURANCE BUSINESS AFTER THE FIRE—INCIDENTS OF ADJUSTMENTS—FAILURES AMONG INSURANCE COMPANIES—SURVIVAL OF THE STAUNCH COMPANIES—GREAT PROSPERITY OF THE SURVIVORS—BOUNDARIES OF THE BURNED DISTRICT—FIRE OF JULY, 1874—FIRE DEPARTMENT REORGANIZED—GREAT ELEVATOR FIRE OF 1908—FIREBOATS—FIREMEN'S BENEVOLENT ASSOCIATION—CHICAGO BOARD OF UNDERWRITERS—FIRE INSURANCE IN THE SIXTIES—DONALDSON AND GRIMWOOD'S FATAL BALLOON ASCENSION—FINDING OF GRIMWOOD'S BODY.

THE FIRE DEPARTMENT OF CHICAGO

WE ARE indebted for many of the facts here given to the "History of the Chicago Fire Department," prepared by James S. McQuade, and published in 1908 by the Firemen's Benevolent Association. With its excellent topical arrangement and complete index to its contents the book calls for special commendation and the gratitude of those who are seeking for information and facts concerning this interesting subject.

It will be remembered that Chicago was incorporated as a town (not a city) on August 12, 1833. Most of the people lived on the south side of South Water street at that time, the north side of the street being entirely free from buildings. The first fire ordinance was passed in November, 1833. It prohibited "the passing of any stove pipe through the roof, partition or side of any building, unless guarded by tin or iron six inches from the wood." The town was divided into four wards in September, 1834, and a warden was appointed for each. Soon afterward another ordinance was passed, making the warden of the district in which a fire should occur the chief for the time being, the other wardens to serve as his assistants. Each warden had power to summon bystanders or citizens to aid in putting out a fire.

In November, 1835, every owner or occupant of a store or dwelling was directed by ordinance "to have one good painted leathern fire bucket, with the initials of the owner's name painted thereon" for each fire place or stove in the

building, and hung in a conspicuous place. Whenever a fire occurred in the town the owner of a fire bucket must go promptly to the scene of the fire with his bucket. A "Fire Guards Bucket Company" was formed soon after, which appears to have been the first fire company enrolled in the history of Chicago. In December of the same year the "Pioneer Hook and Ladder Company" and "Engine Company Number 1" were formed, a fire engine was ordered to be purchased, at a cost of $894, and an engine-house built on the Public Square at a cost of $220. Hiram Hugunin, president of the Board of Trustees, was chosen chief engineer of the fire department. He resigned soon afterwards, and George W. Snow was appointed in his place.

Early in 1837 Snow was succeeded by John M. Turner as chief engineer. The list of the names of the members of the Pioneer Hook and Ladder Company are given in Andreas' "History of Chicago," and in the list are found many names well known in our early history. In addition to the name of the chief engineer above mentioned, there were the following: J. K. Botsford, S. B. Cobb, S. F. Spaulding, John L. Wilson, J. Meeker, W. H. Taylor, W. Osborne, E. C. Brockett, Joseph L. Hanson, Grant Goodrich, Charles Adams, Charles Cleaver, P. F. W. Peck, James A. Smith, J. McCord, S. J. Sherwood, Isaac Cook, and Tuthill King. Late in the year 1837, another fire company, the "Tradesmen's," the name of which was afterwards changed to "Metamora, Engine Company Number 2," was formed. It was in this year that Chicago was incorporated as a city, the date being March 4, 1837. Alexander Loyd was the fourth chief, serving from 1838 to 1839. The fifth chief was Alvin Calhoun, who served from 1839 to 1840.

THE FIRST FIRE OF IMPORTANCE

The first fire of any great importance in Chicago broke out on Lake street, near Dearborn street, on October 27, 1839. This fire destroyed eighteen buildings, among them the Tremont House, which had been built some years before, and was then situated on the northwest corner of Lake and Dearborn streets, diagonally opposite its later location. In passing we may mention that the Tremont House was rebuilt and opened in 1840, on the southeast corner of the same streets where it was again destroyed by fire on July 21, 1849. It was rebuilt and opened the next year, and it thus remained until the Great Fire of 1871, when it was destroyed for the third time, in that conflagration.

Luther Nichols acted as chief from 1840 to 1841. In September, 1841, the "Chicago Bag and Fire Company," often called the "Forty Thieves," was formed. Alson S. Sherman, the sixth in the line of fire chiefs, became head of the department and served from 1841 to 1844. On September 7, 1841, "Bucket Company Number 1," also known as "Neptune," was organized. It was provided with one hundred and sixty buckets and a hose cart.

"Engine Company Number 3," known as "Osceola," and afterwards as "Niagara," was organized in November, 1844, popularly known as the "Kid Glove Company," because its members were residents of the North Side, then the high class residence district of the young city. "Neptune," above referred to as "Bucket Company Number 1," was reorganized in November, 1846, as "Red Jacket Engine Company Number 4."

OTHER CHANGES IN THE DEPARTMENT

In 1844, Stephen F. Gale succeeded A. S. Sherman, who in that year was elected mayor of Chicago. Gale served until 1847, and during his term the "Philadelphia, Hose Company Number 1" was formed (in 1845), the "Excelsior, Engine Company Number 5" in 1846, and the "Rough and Ready Bucket Company Number 1" in 1847. Gale was succeeded by Charles E. Peck, who was chief for the next two years, during whose term "Hope Hose Company Number 2" was formed (in 1848), and "Protector Engine Company Number 6," in 1849. From 1849 to 1850, Ashley Gilbert was chief, when he was succeeded by Cyrus P. Bradley, who served until 1851.

In 1850, "Lawrence Engine Company Number 7," afterwards changed to the "Eagle," was organized, and in 1851, a third hose company, called the "Lone Star," the name of which afterwards was changed to the "Illinois," was also formed. In the same year the "Phoenix Engine Company Number 8," afterwards changed to "Cataract," was organized, composed principally of sailors. It seems that very few of the companies which adopted names, as it was the fashion to do, remained satisfied with the one chosen, and changed them at a later time. Like most of those already mentioned, we find that in 1854, the "New England Engine Company Number 9" was organized, the name of which was afterwards changed to the "America." In 1852, U. P. Harris became chief, and continued in that office for two years, succeeded in 1854 by J. M. Donnelly, who served one year. Silas McBride became chief in 1855, and so continued until 1858. Early in the latter year Denis J. Swenie was elected chief, the last one in the series of fire chiefs under the old system.

In January, 1855, "Washington Engine Company, Number 10" was formed. The fire alarm was sounded on the bell of the First Baptist church, then situated at the southwest corner of Washington and Clark streets. This church was taken down and removed before the Great Fire to the West Side, and was rebuilt just as it was before on the southwest corner of West Monroe and Morgan streets, where it stands today. In February, 1855, a large bell was hung in the tower of the new courthouse, which from that time performed the service of sounding alarms of fire.

The name of Neptune came to life again in the formation of "Neptune Engine Company, Number 11," formed in 1856. In the same year "Wide Awake Engine Company, Number 12," and "Torrent Engine Company Number 13," were formed. In 1857 the "Red Rover Engine Company, Number 14" was also formed. Three more hose companies and a hook and ladder company were added to the fire fighting strength of the department. This covers the period of development of the fire department while it continued under the volunteer system.

THE FIRE OF OCTOBER, 1857

A disastrous fire occurred on October 19, 1857, which was the most serious conflagration the city had yet to contend with. It broke out in a large brick store at numbers 109 and 111 South Water Street, and spread rapidly in every direction. In a short time some of the finest and most costly business structures in the city were in flames. A few days before the fire took place there had been

a County Fair held in Chicago, and several of the engine companies had engaged in a contest of skill and endurance, with the result that two of the engines were seriously damaged, and others burst their hose, so that the fire apparatus was in a crippled condition. Before the flames were subdued property to the amount of nearly half a million dollars had been destroyed and twenty-three lives were lost. The greatest loss of life occurred when a force of merchants and firemen were engaged in saving the goods on the ground floor of a large building. "The excessive use of free whiskey during fires in the early days," says McQuade, in his History of the Fire Department, "was, doubtless, partly responsible for the many disorganized and futile attempts made during the course of this fire to save valuable goods."

The fire demonstrated to the business men of Chicago, which then had a population of ninety-three thousand, that the fire department as then organized was wholly unequal to the task of coping with a widespread conflagration. The engine houses had become the resort of idlers, too lazy to work at regular employments, but who were always ready to run with the engine. These men could not be relied upon for serious work, and were no doubt largely responsible for the loss of many valuable articles which took place while fires were in progress. Business men and insurance companies united in the formation of the "Citizens' Fire Brigade." This brigade was to have been organized on the model of a military company, with officers and firemen, the latter to be invested with police powers. The organization was, however, a short lived one, as it met with the opposition of the older members of the department. It was not until after the great fire of July, 1874, that the Fire Department was at length efficiently organized on the same plan substantially as the one which had thus failed.

END OF THE VOLUNTEER FIRE DEPARTMENT

But the Volunteer Fire Department was approaching the termination of its existence, soon to be succeeded by the much more efficient service of men regularly paid for their work, and at the same time excluding from the ranks of the firemen that worthless class who had always considered themselves privileged to assist at fires, and who by their thievery and drunkenness had brought the fire service into disrepute. The change came with the regular employment of the steam fire engine in place of the former hand engines. In the year 1855, a steam fire engine had been purchased by the City of Chicago, but in a test it failed to throw a stream as far upward as one of the old style machines, and this, aided by the strong opposition of the volunteer firemen, induced the authorities to sell it.

However, when John Wentworth became mayor of the city, he favored a steam engine, and one was bought, which out of compliment to him was called the "Long John." The test of this engine was successful in every way, but the members of the volunteer department were violently opposed to the machine, as they saw in it the end of their system. Feeling ran so high that it was feared there would be a riot when the machine appeared. McQuade, in his history, says that "a number of the malcontent companies, headed by a band, marched through the principal streets and into the courthouse square. An outbreak was prevented only by the prompt action of the mayor, who ordered an extra force of

two hundred policemen to arrest the disorderly firemen. Most of the latter fled, leaving their engines or apparatus in the hands of the police."

These disorderly proceedings were followed by action of the City Council which, on March 22, 1858, disbanded five companies; and, as some of the companies formed in the earlier years had already disbanded for one cause and another, the strength of the department was seriously reduced. For a time special policemen were employed to be in readiness to take engines to fires when their use was required. On August 2d of the same year the City Council passed an ordinance organizing the Paid Fire Department of Chicago, and the Volunteer Fire Department passed out of existence.

THE PAID FIRE DEPARTMENT

The steamer "Long John" had already begun to be useful at fires before the new system was inaugurated, and, soon after, three more steamers were purchased,—the "Enterprise," the "Atlantic," and the "Island Queen." The department had now four steamers, three hand engines, two hose carts, and one hook and ladder truck. Denis J. Swenie, who had been the last chief elected under the old system, was chosen the first chief under the new. Swenie was in sympathy with the change and had exerted his influence to bring it about. In March, 1859, U. P. Harris became chief of the department, and so remained for nine years. Upon the resignation of Harris in 1868, Robert A. Williams was named his successor. During the year 1870, the most destructive fire which up to that time had taken place in the history of the city occurred on September 4th. The Drake Block, a seven-story building on the southeast corner of Wabash avenue and Washington street, was consumed. This building had a highly combustible mansard roof, which the fire department had great difficulty in reaching. At that time it was the custom to raise the firemen in buckets by means of the machine hose elevators, when a stream had to be thrown to a great height. At this fire the bucket machine would not work, and the department was practically helpless. The loss was about three millions of dollars.

Up to 1865 the head of the fire department was known as the "chief engineer," but in that year the title of the chief was changed to "fire marshal," and this title has been continued in use to the present time.

THE FIRE DEPARTMENT IN 1871

At the time of the Great Fire of 1871, the officers of the Fire Department were as follows: Fire Marshal Robert A. Williams; first assistant, John Schank; second assistant, Lorenz Walters; and third assistant, Mathias Benner. The following fire engines were in service at that time; "Long John," "Wabansia," "Jacob Rehm," "Chicago," "Little Giant," "Economy," "Frank Sherman," "John B. Rice," "A. C. Coventry," "T. B. Brown," "A. D. Titsworth," "Fred Gund," "Illinois," "Winnebago," and "R. A. Williams." There were two others in the repair shop which are not included in this list, the "Liberty," and the "William James." There were in addition to these seventeen engines, two hose elevators, fifty-four hose carts, and four hook and ladder trucks. There was also forty-eight thousand feet of hose, though a large part of the hose proved to be worth-

less when it was most needed. The force consisted of two hundred and sixteen men, including officers, fire wardens, and members of the fire alarm service.

A narrative of the Great Fire is given elsewhere in this work, and this portion of the account of that thrilling event is confined to the part taken by the fire department. McQuade, in his History, says, that "at the time of the Great Fire the city had an area of 23,000 acres, nearly thirty-six square miles. There were 59,500 buildings, most of them built of pine, thus forming the largest wooden-built city in the world. Fires were frequent and almost of daily occurrence in the wooden portions, and the well-built sections were constantly menaced. The most substantial buildings lay in the northern part of the South Division, that being the center of trade, and chosen because of its natural facilities for commerce. The wooden portions lay chiefly in the West Division, in the southern part of the South Division, and in the North Division."

The population of the city at the time of the Great Fire was 334,370, and the property within its limits was valued at six hundred and twenty millions of dollars. The city water works were situated near the lake shore, just north of Chicago avenue. The actual distance between the water works from the point where the fire originated was two miles and twelve hundred and fifty-two feet. The capacity of the pumps was fifty-seven millions of gallons of water daily.

CONDITIONS PRECEDING THE FIRE

A long continued drought prevailed throughout the western and northwestern country in the fall of 1871, and there were extensive forest fires in the pineries to the north, the smoke from which was often plainly visible to the people of the city. The winds were almost constantly from the south and southwest, and blew like sirocco blasts over the dry and parched regions, until they swept over the tinder-like constructions of the outlying districts in Chicago. The fire department was constantly active in the work of extinguishing fires, and the day before the outbreak of the Great Fire the firemen had been called upon to fight a conflagration which not only exhausted the men but made extensive repairs to the apparatus necessary. When therefore the department was called upon to combat the mighty march of flames and fire on the night of the 8th of October, the men and the means were found inadequate and unequal to the task.

The fire broke out in the stable at the rear of the cottage Number 137 De Koven street, owned and occupied by Patrick O'Leary, at about nine o'clock Sunday evening, the 8th of October. After the first alarm the steamer "Little Giant," with William Musham, foreman, and John Campion, assistant, was the first on the scene at seventeen minutes after nine o'clock. "It was too much for us," said Mr. Musham at a later time. "The fire spread and got into the cottages east of O'Leary's, crossed the alley and pushed its way into the buildings fronting north on Taylor street. After a long time Number 5 [the 'Chicago'] made its appearance, but did nothing to aid us in keeping the fire where it should have been kept, that is, south of Taylor street." The fact was that Number 5 was damaged after it arrived on the scene and had been at work only a short time, and was thus unable to perform any effective service.

THE ALARM SOUNDED

Some time after the first alarm was received, which had been sent in from a fire alarm box, the watchman in the tower of the courthouse observed the blaze, but was unable to determine its location. He decided that it was at the corner of Halsted street and Canalport avenue, and signaled to the night operator, who was stationed in the third story of the same building, the number of the box at that point. Soon afterward the watchman called the operator again and told him the fire was not so far off, but, as the engines would have to pass the spot, it was decided between them not to sound a different alarm, fearing that it might cause confusion. This was a very serious error, for had the watchman sounded the correct alarm after he had discovered the mistake of location several engines not in service under the call made would have been brought out. "The wrong alarm given out from the watch tower, and the temporary disablement of Engine Number 5 when it arrived at the scene of the fire," says McQuade, "practically sealed the fate of Chicago." Had the alarm been properly sounded other engines would have been on the spot in a short time, but in the high wind blowing from the southwest the fire had reached uncontrollable proportions long before the greater number of engines had arrived.

THE CITY DOOMED

When the fire crossed Taylor street, the next street north of De Koven street, at half past nine, the city was doomed. After that the efforts of the Fire Department were like the impotent struggles of a child in the hands of a giant. The men could not approach the fire on account of the intense heat, and soon the planing mills and furniture factories in that neighborhood were wrapped in flames, rendering it still more difficult to do anything to check its advance.

"The firemen stubbornly contested every foot of the ground," says McQuade, "and often finding themselves almost surrounded by the flames, they were obliged to cut their way out and retreat for a short distance, then turn again and pour their thousands of gallons of water into the face of the hurricane of fire. 'Frank Sherman' Engine Number 9 stood at the plug, at West Polk and Clinton streets, until the heat scorched the hair from the horses, and the brave engineer and the stoker had lost nearly all their whiskers. When the command to retreat was given, the firemen ran until they arrived at the nearest plug and then ordered the driver to stop and let them try it again. 'Fred Gund' Engine Number 14, which had been partly disabled in the Saturday night fire, and manned by officers and men of splendid daring and skill, kept at their post, near Van Buren street bridge, until the steamer was completely surrounded by fire. The men barely escaped with their lives, but the engine with steam up, had to be abandoned to its fate. Never did firemen fight more fiercely, and never were their efforts so utterly in vain."

THE FIRE CROSSES THE RIVER

Before midnight the fire had crossed the river to the South Side, and in the district near the old gas works, east of Adams street bridge, there was a rolling sea of flame. No human power could withstand its onward rush, and by 1:30 a. m.

of the 9th, the courthouse was reached, and in half an hour the bell in the tower, weighing over five tons, fell with a mighty crash. "It must be remembered," says McQuade, "that the course of the fire was not continuous, as the blazing brands set fire to buildings far head of the main center of combustion. This was so with the courthouse and water works." By 3:20 a. m. the water works on the North Side was in flames, and the great pumping engines ceased their activity.

But while the efforts of the firemen were foiled at the front of the advancing torrent of fire, at some points on the South Side they succeeded in preventing its spread to the south below Harrison and Congress streets. The fire advanced southward on Wabash avenue and State street. Only two engines were in that section, and they were powerless from lack of water. The fire had reached Congress street, where some buildings which the fire threatened were blown up, thus checking its course in that direction. In another place the playing of a stream by one of the engines, which had secured a supply of dead water in the mains, contributed largely to keep the fire north of Harrison street. At the west end of Madison street bridge the owners of the Oriental Flouring Mills used their engines to throw two powerful streams pumped from the river against the advancing flames, which threatened to leap the river at this point. By this means Madison street bridge was saved from destruction, and the fire prevented from getting a new start on the West Side.

THE FINAL SCENE

The Great Fire spent itself at last late on Monday night, the 9th, at a point about four and a half miles from the spot at which it originated. The number of buildings destroyed during the twenty-five hours in which the fire raged was about seventeen thousand and five hundred, comprised within an area of two thousand, one hundred and twenty-four acres, or nearly three and one-third square miles of territory; and one hundred thousand people were rendered homeless. The value of the property destroyed was variously estimated at from one hundred and eighty-five to one hundred and ninety-six millions of dollars.

In the Police and Fire Commissioners' report, issued soon after the fire, it was stated that the number of lives lost, as far as then known, was about two hundred, though it is believed that these figures were far below the actual number who perished. There was no loss of life among the members of the Fire Department, but thirty-five of the men lost everything they possessed, and sixty-two nearly everything. A special relief fund was raised for their benefit, largely contributed by their brother firemen in Canada and the United States.

FIRE INSURANCE LOSSES AND ADJUSTMENTS

A most interesting account of the Great Fire, from the standpoint of an insurance man, is found in a small volume which appeared in 1909, written by Mr. Robert S. Critchell, well-known in Chicago as one of the leading general agents of the city. Mr. Critchell was at the time of the fire in charge of the western business of the Phenix Insurance Company of Brooklyn, N. Y., and for some time preceding that calamity was refusing business, under instructions from his

company, for less than three-fourths of one per cent on mercantile risks. "As the prevailing rates on stocks of merchandise were from forty to fifty cents," says Critchell, "it will be readily imagined that I did not do very much business of that class, and, when the Chicago fire came in October, 1871, the Phenix sustained a loss of $400,000, which it could well handle, whereas most of those companies that had accepted business, at the crazy rates then prevailing, including all the local companies of Chicago, in most cases, got more losses than they wanted or could pay."

An account of the principal events of the Great Fire are given elsewhere in this history, but it will be of interest to follow Mr. Critchell's narrative, including as it does his personal observations as well as his experiences in settling fire losses. The first knowledge he had of the fire, he says, was about three o'clock in the morning. "I had been awakened before that by members of my family and told that there was a big fire burning downtown. My house being located about two miles from the fire, I looked out of the window and concluded that what they saw was only the reflection of the sky of the remnants of the Saturday night fire." In the morning Mr. Critchell was aroused by one of his special agents, and told that the city was burning, and, "as far as the downtown district was concerned, was already burned up, naming my office, the courthouse, the Sherman House, and other prominent buildings as having already been destroyed." Hurriedly dressing himself, he went down town and climbed to the roof of the flour mill at the west end of Madison Street bridge, and "looked at the tremendous fire which was sweeping in great waves from building to building on the opposite side of the river. It was a terrible sight."

From this point of observation Mr. Critchell watched the fire for several hours, "during which time," he says, "I saw several steam fire engines which had come in from Elgin, Aurora and other nearby cities, on telegraphic calls from Chicago, take position on the banks of the river and really do some good work." In the thirty or forty years of its rapid growth from a frontier village Chicago had outgrown all the calculations of its various city governments, and at this particular time "there was but one pumping station to force water from the lake through the entire system of city water pipes. This building, not being fireproof, was burned early Monday morning, consequently there was no force of water in the street pipes to supply the fifteen or sixteen engines that the city had, and the only place that fire engines could work, where they could get water, was along the river bank."

In order to make his way across to the South Side Mr. Critchell was obliged to go as far south as the Twelfth street bridge, and after getting over he observed that the fire had made a clean sweep from Congress street north. "I met on Wabash Avenue," he says, "former United States Senator Charles B. Farwell, and, recognizing me, he made the remark that he would sell me all the insurance that he had in my agency for fifty cents on the dollar. I had placed for the firm of John V. Farwell & Co., of which he was a leading partner, only about a week previously sixty thousand dollars of insurance, of which ten thousand dollars was in the Phenix of Brooklyn, forty thousand in the Imperial of London—which latter policy I had obtained from the New York office of that company, as its Chicago agency had been closed on account of a newly enacted Illinois law re-

quiring a large special deposit in Illinois—and ten thousand dollars in the People's of San Francisco. I was certain that the Phenix and Imperial would pay in full, and I was confident that the People's would pay quite a percentage; . . . so I said to Mr. Farwell that if I had the money to do it I would accept his offer. The firm of J. V. Farwell & Co. afterwards collected $52,500 on this $60,000, as the Phenix and Imperial both paid in full and the People's paid about twenty-five cents on the dollar."

About this time it occurred to Mr. Critchell that the Phenix Insurance Company would be anxious to get some information from him as to the extent of its losses. But how to get this information to the company presented a difficult problem. "The telegraph office downtown was burned and the outlying small branch offices could take no messages, because their mode of handling telegrams was through the downtown office. I went to the branch telegraph office nearest my house and found the young woman in charge there was going to La Porte, Indiana, that evening, and, in consideration of my paying a large price for doing it, she agreed to take a telegram and dispatch it from La Porte. So I wired the Phenix at its New York office that its losses would not exceed $300,000, and recommended that the company send some one with thirty thousand dollars in currency with which to pay small losses, as the banks were all burned and were not liable to be opened for a week, and prompt cash for losses would be very beneficial to the company at this time."

ASCERTAINING THE LOSSES

The first thoughts of the business men of Chicago after the fire had burned itself out and the "tumult and the shouting" had ceased, was what would be the extent of their losses. It was realized at once that many of the insurance companies would not be able to pay the policies they had written upon the property destroyed, and there was much anxiety to ascertain what might be expected so that plans for the future could be made. We will here continue Mr. Critchell's account.

"The next morning, October 10th, I went downtown and rented a temporary office on Canal street, near Madison street, and moved to it an office desk which I had at my home. There were no Chicago newspapers published on the 10th (Tuesday), as I remember, except the publication as an extra, by some small West Side society journal. I hunted up the office of this paper and had some letterheads printed, but I found plenty to do in answering the anxious queries of policy-holders who wanted to know how much they could get on their insurance. To all of them I was glad to reply that the Phenix would pay in full, I was certain, but that I could not tell how much the People's of San Francisco would pay. On October 12th, Frank Williams, the cashier of the New York office of the Phenix, and T. R. Burch, who was acting as general agent at the New York office, arrived from New York and told me that copies of all the reports of policies in the burned district were being made as rapidly as possible by the Phenix office force and would be sent to me and instructed me to adjust and pay the losses at once. They also told me that Mr. Williams had in a buckskin belt, which he wore

around his person, the currency which I had wired the Phenix requesting to be sent, out of which small losses could be paid.

"This was very good news. I may say, to illustrate the extent of the fire, that on account of there being no hotel to go to, Messrs. Burch and Williams stopped at my house, where we had for a few days an average of sixteen to twenty visitors, some of whom were friends that had been burned out and others visitors from outside the city. I was ambitious to have the Phenix pay the first loss and, as I walked along the streets I was on the lookout for some one that I could settle a loss with." He was successful in his search and paid the first loss to the firm of Hart, Asten & Co., grain bag manufacturers. "I went that evening," continues Mr. Critchell, "to the temporary office of the Chicago *Tribune*, and finding Mr. Horace White, who was then managing editor of that paper, and whom I knew, I told him that it might be a good item to publish, that the adjusting and paying of losses by insurance companies had actually commenced. He asked for the name of the parties to whom the loss had been paid, and I gave him the facts, which he published in the *Tribune* next day."

It was not long before it became evident to the people of Chicago that all the home companies would be unable to pay their losses. "It was said that the Chicago 'Firemen's' had losses of about $6,000,000, with a capital and net surplus of less than $400,000. There were in all nearly twenty home companies. The Liverpool & London & Globe, William Warren, agent, and the North British & Mercantile, S. M. Moore & Co., agents, were the only two English companies having actual agencies in Chicago at the time of the fire. All the other English companies had been driven out by a law passed by the Illinois legislature, which took effect in 1870, requiring a heavy deposit in Illinois for the exclusive benefit of Illinois policyholders from companies located outside of the United States. The North British had one-third of its losses reinsured in the Phoenix Assurance Company of London. The largest total amount of losses paid by any one company was that of the Aetna of Hartford."

FIRE LOSS ADJUSTMENTS

"Adjusters and company officials congregated in Chicago from all parts of the world, and numerous and diverse were the plans discussed by them for adjusting the large number of losses. There was a distinct line of demarcation between the representatives of the companies that paid in full and those that were able to make part payments only. The largest and best hotel that was open was the Sherman House on West Madison street, which in later years was known as the Gault House. . . .

"My premium receipts as local agent for the Phenix averaged nearly one thousand dollars per day for weeks after the fire." The author of the little work which we have thus quoted from found that some of the people he had dealings with were willing to stoop to methods not approved by honorable men, in order to get more than they were entitled to. "One of these," he says, "was the case of a railroad man who came in and said he thought he had a policy in the Phenix but did not know. If he had a policy he was sure it was for $3,500. I looked over all the daily reports that had been sent to me from the company and could not

find any policy issued to him, and so informed him. He then said he would give me $500 for evidence that he had a policy in the Phenix. Without considering his proposition at all, I wrote to New York and received in due course a daily report for a policy issued according to his description for $3,500. I then had the ruins of the house which it covered examined by a builder and ascertained that it would cost more than $4,500 to restore it. In the course of a week this gentleman came in again and I informed him that he had a policy in the Phenix for $3,500, and I was satisfied that the loss was more than the policy, and I was ready to give him a draft after he made proof to the loss. He seemed very much pleased at this and the proofs were at once made out, whereupon I made a draft on the company in his favor and full payment of his loss for the amount of $3,000. He seemed surprised at this, when I told him that I had acted exactly in accordance with his proposition, in which he said that he wanted to give me the $500. I told him that I could not see any difference to him, and that was the only way I could do business, so he reluctantly took his draft for $3,000 and went away."

An insight into the harassing work of adjusting such a volume of losses as had occurred in the Great Fire is given in Critchell's experience in the work in which he found himself so deeply engaged. "It was soon found," he says, "that the largest number of adjusters in the city were interested in the losses of the great dry goods firm of Field, Leiter & Co., and many of them had no interest in any other loss, as this firm's insurance included many companies not having Chicago agents." By degrees these and other losses were adjusted and settled, and at length it became clear what companies had failed and ceased to do more business and which ones were continuing to write insurance. "No such losses had ever occurred to companies before," says Critchell. "There were one or two companies like the Continental of New York, that had provided a 'conflagration fund,' which fund, of course, was entirely wiped out by the Chicago Fire. The retiring companies—other than the home companies of Chicago—as a rule reinsured their outstanding and unburned risks, so as to make it certain what amount of funds they would have left with which to pay their already incurred losses. I do not remember any companies which compromised their losses and then went on doing business in the same company name. There were some companies which compromised and afterwards resumed business with the wreck of their assets, but under other names."

FAILURES AMONG THE INSURANCE COMPANIES

The non-survival of the home companies is commented upon by Critchell. He says: "The Republic of Chicago, with five millions of dollars of subscribed capital, of which one million dollars, or one-fifth had been paid in, and stock notes given for the balance, had its golden opportunity, but 'flunked' and commenced paying such of the claims against it as it could settle for thirty cents on the dollar. This went on until some policyholder who knew of the stockholders' notes for the unpaid part of the capital, threatened, and perhaps did, commence proceedings in bankruptcy against the company, which action caused the Republic to call on its stockholders for all or nearly all their unpaid subscriptions. As the liabilities of the Republic were over three millions of dollars, it was a frequently expressed

opinion that if the company had commenced to pay its losses in full, and made the stockholders meet their obligations at the outset, it would have weathered the storm and, through large premium receipts, been able to keep along and do a large business. The Springfield Fire & Marine of Massachusetts, the Home of New York, and a number of other companies levied assessments on their stockholders to make good the depletion of capital and net surplus caused by the large loss payments, and went through the disaster with flying colors, and gained great reputation."

It was no surprise, however, that many fire companies failed in consequence of the enormous losses suffered in the Chicago fire, the disaster being so unexpected and so overwhelming. "The fact," says Critchell, "that the Liverpool & London & Globe and the North British & Mercantile paid in full, and the few policies of other English companies, written in New York, were also paid in full, gave a widespread impression that foreign companies were much more reliable than American companies. Still intelligent men who held policies in companies like the Springfield of Massachusetts, the Home of New York, the Aetna of Hartford, and others, whose stockholders bravely paid an assessment on their already full paid stock, in order to pay in full their large Chicago losses, had faith in United States companies, and these companies obtained, and held, the confidence of people generally." The short sighted policy already referred to, shown by our law makers in requiring heavy deposits in Illinois from companies located outside of the United States for the exclusive benefit of Illinois policyholders had operated to exclude many good companies, and for this reason the business property of Chicago citizens was not protected by sound insurance to the extent it would have been had there been no such law enacted. It cost the people of Chicago many millions of dollars, and after the fire a great effort was made to get the Illinois legislature to repeal the law. This effort, supported as it was by the influential Chicago property owners, was at length successful, and resulted in an influx of English and other foreign companies, very much to the benefit of the business community.

BOUNDARIES OF THE BURNED DISTRICT

As given in Andreas' "History of Chicago," the boundaries of the district burned over in the Great Fire were as follows:

In the West Division, commencing at the corner of De Koven and Jefferson streets; thence northerly along Jefferson street to near the corner of Harrison street; thence northeasterly to near the corner of Clinton and Van Buren streets; thence east to Canal street and the river; thence southerly along the river to Taylor street; thence west to the corner of Taylor and Clinton streets; thence south to De Koven street; thence west to Jefferson street.

In the South Division, commencing at Taylor street and the Chicago river; thence east to Sherman street; thence north to Harrison street; thence east to Wabash avenue; thence north to Congress street; thence east to the lake; thence northerly along the lake shore to the mouth of the Chicago river; thence westerly and southerly along said river to Taylor street and the river bank.

In the North Division, commencing near the mouth of the Chicago river;

STREET SCENE IN THE GHETTO

thence westerly along the river to Market street; thence north to Michigan street; thence west to the river; thence northwesterly along said river to near Division street; thence northeasterly to near the corner of Division and Wesson streets; thence west to the corner of Division street and Hawthorne avenue; thence easterly to Clybourn avenue; thence easterly to Orchard street; thence northeasterly to Vine street; thence north to Center street; thence east to Hurlbut street; thence north to Belden avenue; thence northeasterly to Franklin street; thence south on Franklin street, by Lincoln Park, to Clark street; thence southerly to Wisconsin street; thence east to the lake; thence southerly along the lake shore to the place of beginning.

TEMPORARY FREEDOM FROM GREAT CONFLAGRATIONS

After the great fire there was an increased degree of watchfulness and a consequent freedom from any extensive conflagrations, until the city was again overtaken by the "little big fire" of July, 1874. "I do not believe," says Robert S. Critchell in his "Recollections of a Fire Insurance Man," "that in the years 1872 and 1873 losses to companies generally in Chicago amounted to ten per cent of the premiums," so that the profits to fire insurance companies with their increased rates were very large. Critchell says that there was little or no loss on the business written by him during this period, and companies and agents alike realized a high degree of prosperity.

FIRE OF JULY, 1874

It will be remembered that the territory burned over by the great fire of 1871 reached no farther south than Harrison street on the South Side. A large portion of the city south of that line was covered by a poor class of inflammable wooden buildings. A fire broke out on July 14th, 1874, on South Clark street, near Harrison, late in the afternoon; and was not checked until early the next morning, meantime having burned over an area of forty-seven acres, extending from Wabash avenue on the east to Polk street on the south. The number of buildings consumed in this fire was eight hundred and twelve, mostly one and two story frame structures of the kind built in the early days of the city. Some thirty-six of the buildings were classified as four and five story brick structures. Among the buildings burned were eight churches and one school house. The losses sustained in the fire amounted to $3,845,000, with an insurance of $2,200,000. On the ensuing day another fire broke out and destroyed twenty-five buildings near the corner of Milwaukee avenue and Sangamon street.

The occurrence of these fires, so soon after the Great Fire of 1871, was followed by vigorous protests from the Board of Underwriters, who at a meeting on the 15th of July adopted resolutions demanding "the reorganization of the fire department, the vesting of absolute authority in the hands of the fire marshal, a rigid enforcement of the fire limits, regulations against frame structures, the enlargement of the city water mains, prohibition of combustibles in the city, and the tearing down of wooden awnings, cornices and cupolas." As there was no immediate action taken by the city authorities, the National Board of Underwriters, on October 1st, adopted a resolution calling upon all insurance com-

panies to withdraw from Chicago. For a time many of the insurance companies ceased to do business, until the reforms recommended were carried out.

"Through the efforts of the Citizens' Association and the Chicago Board of Underwriters," says McQuade, in his History of the Fire Department, "General William H. Shaler, of New York, a retired army officer, was brought to Chicago to co-operate with Fire Marshall Benner in reorganizing the department, and in instructing and drilling the force. The Citizens' Association contributed five thousand dollars towards the services of General Shaler, and the National Board of Underwriters five thousand dollars. In accordance with General Shaler's suggestions, the uniformed force of the department, known as the fire police of Chicago, was constituted a brigade, under the command of the Fire Marshal as chief, and divided into six battalions. Each battalion was placed under the command of an assistant fire marshal. . . . Each battalion was assigned to a district, and each was composed of several companies in charge of their respective captains. In the company organizations the title of foreman was changed to captain, and that of assistant foreman to lieutenant. The titles of the other positions were virtually the same then as at the present time, with the exception of privates or firemen, who are now called pipemen or truckmen, as the case may be. The reorganization of the fire department on military lines was a wise step, as it could not fail to improve the force in methods of training, discipline and service."

FIREBOATS

In 1877 the city employed three tug boats and equipped them with fire fighting appliances. This was the first use made in Chicago of fireboats on the river. Two of these boats were stationed near the lumber district on the South Branch and one at the foot of Franklin street. All these so-called fireboats, however, were makeshifts. The Geyser was specially constructed as a river fireboat in 1886, chiefly through the earnest efforts of Fire Marshal Swenie. Swenie had been ordered to visit New York and other eastern cities to examine the fireboat service there. On his return the Geyser was built at an expense of $39,000. The Geyser was also used to open up the river in winter, and in 1887, she rendered splendid service in this way when the river was gorged with ice during the winter, and the flood of 1849 was likely to have been repeated. In the same year the Geyser proved herself a complete success as a fireboat, performing highly effective work at several fires in the lumber district. Soon afterwards the fireboat Chicago was added to the little fleet, and the efficiency of the department was thus increased twenty-five per cent in the neighborhood of the river and slips.

A new fireboat, the Yosemite, was launched in May, 1890, which was utilized during a portion of the year 1891, in place of the Geyser and the Chicago, the two latter being stationed at outlying districts. In 1892, the fireboat Fire Queen, a light draft boat designed for service in the lagoons on the Exposition grounds, was built by the Exposition company, and after the Fair had closed was turned over to the city. In 1899, the new steel fireboat Illinois was placed in service; the fleet consisting then of five fireboats,—the Geyser, the Chicago, the Yosemite, the Fire Queen, and the Illinois.

The name of the fireboat Geyser was changed to that of Denis J. Swenie on

January 1st, 1903. The name of the fireboat Yosemite was changed to Protector, and again changed, on January 15th, 1907, to Michael W. Conway, and stationed at South Chicago. The Fire Queen, being in poor condition, was put out of commission in 1905.

THE GREAT ELEVATOR FIRE OF 1908

On the 3d of August, 1908, a fire of great magnitude occurred near the corner of Sixteenth and Canal streets. Not since the fire of 1874, were the people of Chicago so stirred by the fear of another general conflagration as they were by this great fire. The conditions were similar to those of the great fires of 1871 and 1874, a strong southwest wind and the highly inflammable nature of the structures at the origin of the fire. Two immense elevators were consumed in this fire, besides a great number of freight cars, before the department was able to get it under control. The difficulties confronting the Fire Department were from the outset almost insurmountable, the nearest hydrant being nearly half a mile away, and while the fire was in progress water was conveyed in many cases through nearly a mile's stretch of hose. "One of the spectacular sights of the fire," says the history of the Chicago Fire Department, prepared by James S. McQuade, "was that of eighteen engines dotted along the river bank to the north of the main conflagration, drawing water from the river, and six others at the end of one of the slips getting water from that source. Sixty engines in all were in operation during the fire." The fireboats were efficiently employed on this occasion.

Fire Marshal Horan, in an interview printed in the *Tribune* the next day said, "It was the hottest and hardest fire to fight that I have seen in years. For more than two hours I was in dread of a conflagration that would sweep all over the city. If the flames had got to the south we would have had another great Chicago fire, or if the numerous fires that started across the river had not been promptly extinguished it is hard to say what the outcome would have been." In the afternoon of the next day the fireboat Illinois lay between the ruins of the two great elevators in the Armour slip, nearly under a fragment of the brick wall of one of them. Suddenly a tremendous explosion occurred, caused by the generation of gas in the heated grain, threw the wall outward, and it fell on the bow of the boat. The ropes fastening the vessel to the dock kept her above water for a short time, but she soon sank in twenty feet of water. She was raised and again put into commission, in three weeks after the accident.

A TRAGIC FIRE AT THE STOCK YARDS

A disastrous fire occurred at the Union Stock Yards on the 22d of December, 1910, on which occasion twenty-two firemen lost their lives. Included in this number were the chief of the Fire Department, Fire Marshal James Horan, Second Assistant Fire Marshal William J. Burroughs, three captains, four lieutenants, four pipemen, seven truckmen, one driver, and one member of a private fire department. Ten persons, members of the fire department, were also more or less injured.

The fire originated in the beef house of Morris and Company, a building four

stories in height, and upon the arrival of the engines the chief and his assistant with about twenty firemen took a position on the east side of the structure standing upon a long platform over which was a canopy or shed. Others were stationed on the roof of the shed. At the side of the platform a line of freight cars was drawn up taking on loads of beef for shipment.

Streams of water were quickly directed upon the flames through the doorways from the platform, and through the windows from the roof of the shed, when suddenly an explosion of ammonia pipes within the building occurred, and the wall of the house fell over upon the canopy instantly crushing it down upon the unfortunate men beneath who were thus caught as in a trap. Owing to the obstruction caused by the cars standing alongside the platform, it was impossible for the rescuing parties to reach the men buried beneath the wreck of the canopy and the fallen bricks in time to save their lives, although instant and heroic efforts were made to do so.

Chief Horan had been fire marshal nearly five years at the time of his untimely death. He had come up through all the grades of promotion and had received the appointment as fire marshal from Mayor Dunne in 1906, and a reappointment in 1907 from Mayor Busse when he came into office. Horan was an efficient officer and enjoyed a remarkable degree of popularity. His death and the death of the men who were with him caused an outburst of grief and sympathy on the part of the people, and a general subscription for the relief of the families of the firemen was immediately started. A committee to collect funds was formed of which Mr. H. N. Higinbotham was made chairman, and in a few weeks, owing to the force and persistency of the appeals of the committee and the generous response made by the public, the total contributions amounted to over $211,000. There were more than two thousand contributors to this fund, the contributions ranging in amount from twenty-five cents to twenty-five thousand dollars.

FIREMEN'S BENEVOLENT ASSOCIATION

The Firemen's Benevolent Association was formed in 1863, and at the time of the Great Fire of 1871, the Association had a fund amounting to five thousand dollars invested in the stock of a fire insurance company, whose losses in the fire compelled them to pay out their entire capital. This deprived the stock of any value and the treasury of the Association was therefore completely exhausted. By means of firemen's balls and other entertainments funds began to be realized, and by slow degrees it accumulated enough to resume its functions as a relief organization. Besides funds thus derived the Association is benefited by the dues paid into its treasury by its members. These dues have varied at different times and are now five dollars per year. As membership is entirely voluntary, many of the firemen are not enrolled.

The benefits to be derived from membership in the Association are that in case of the death of a member his widow receives a pension of fifteen dollars, and each child under sixteen five dollars, per month. In some cases firemen too old to continue in service receive pensions. There is also an allowance for funeral expenses. The funds in the possession of the Association on September 15th, 1908, amounted to $52,001.08, in cash and securities.

PRESENT CONDITION OF THE FIRE DEPARTMENT

At the end of the year 1909, the Department embraced one hundred and seventeen engine companies, thirty-four hook and ladder companies, including one water tower and fifteen chemical engines and one hose company. There are six fireboats in service at the present time, two new ones having been placed in service during the year. Of the fireboats now owned and operated by the Department only the two new ones are in first-class condition,—the "Joseph Medill" and the "Graeme Stewart." The others,—the "Illinois," the "D. J. Swenie," the "Michael W. Conway," and the "Chicago," are in need of repairs, and it is hoped that at least three new ones will be provided in the near future.

In the Fire Marshal's report, dated January 1st, 1910, the total number of men in the service of the Department is given as 1,838, of which 1,760 were in the class of uniformed officers and men, and 78 not uniformed, belonging to the office and repair shop forces. Seven hundred and forty horses belong to the equipment. The valuation of the property in use by the Department is stated to be $3,040,651. The expenses of the Department for the year 1909 were $2,915,437.

FIRE INSURANCE

The Chicago Board of Underwriters, comprising a membership among the general agents of fire insurance companies doing business in Chicago, began its corporate existence on February 22d, 1861. It had been in actual operation for some years before that date, however, as there are in existence copies of rate books bearing date of 1859. Gurdon S. Hubbard was the first president of the board and J. K. Rogers its first secretary. These were succeeded by John H. Kinzie as president and Arthur C. Ducat as secretary.

Of Hubbard and Kinzie we have written elsewhere. In this connection some account of Ducat will be of interest. Mr. Ducat's first appearance in Chicago was in 1856, his first appointment being as assistant to Mr. Julius White, who was then an insurance agent and "the head of a feeble Board of Underwriters," as we read in a memoir of General A. C. Ducat, published in 1897. The energy and ability with which Mr. Ducat discharged the duties attached to his office soon brought him into prominence. After the formation of the Board of Underwriters, of which he was the second secretary, he gave his entire time to the duties of that position. He took a leading part in the reorganization of the Fire Department, in 1858. "He was now in a position," says the Memoir above mentioned, "to attack the whole organization of the Volunteer Fire Companies, and it was plain that public opinion was at last on the side of the modern system of a paid fire department under responsible direction. The change was advocated before the Council by Mr. Ducat, among others, and the Council acted on the advice, but somewhat reluctantly; the old firemen were 'good fellows,' some of them were rich and influential, and their organization died hard."

The great need of the fire insurance agents, as well as the interest of the people, was "uniformity of rates, definite classification, and a settled order of surveys." Through Mr. Ducat's presevering efforts effective progress was made towards scientific methods, though much opposition was met with among those who preferred the go-as-you-please plan of conducting business. He determined

to enlist the aid of the insurance companies whose main offices were in the East, and accordingly he went thither alone and laid the entire case before them. His visit resulted in a complete triumph, and the officers of all the principal companies of New York, Massachusetts and Connecticut, held a meeting and adopted resolutions approving of "the action of their respective agents in Chicago in forming an association for sustaining the rate of premium on fire risks in that city, and [we] feel great pleasure in acknowledging the wisdom and discretion exhibited in the classification of risks, and the various additional changes enumerated in the Chicago tariff." They also included in their resolutions the following: "That we regard the existing union of all insurance agents in Chicago, and all the companies represented by them in the association for sustaining uniform rates, as a subject of congratulation; and we gladly recognize the able agency of Mr. Ducat, the secretary of the board, in procuring this desirable result."

DUCAT'S MILITARY SERVICES

During the war Mr. Ducat served his country first as a company officer, and, rising through all the ranks, he became Inspector-General of the army of the Cumberland on the staff of General Thomas. He left the service early in the year 1864 on account of his health, after distinguished services on many fields. General Garfield said of him, "I never knew a man who hated humbug, red tape and circumlocution as much as Ducat did. He made short cuts to whatever was to be done, or whatever he had to do, he was direct and forcible, restless under long instructions, discussions and iterations. . . . He never disobeyed an order, but supported his superiors to his fullest ability, even when his judgment did not approve. He was in himself a model example of thorough discipline."

When at length General Ducat became sufficiently restored to health he received proposals from a number of the greatest insurance companies, looking to secure his influence and services at Chicago and adjoining sections in the West. In 1866, he became the general agent in Chicago of the Home Insurance Company of New York. The business of that company was highly successful and Ducat attained great prosperity. "He was by all that were acquainted with the facts of underwriting regarded as a most judicious and safe agent, and equally a safe and true friend of the holders of policies."

INSURANCE IN THE LATE SIXTIES

"The year 1866," says the author of Ducat's Memoir, "was a prosperous one for insurance companies, and especially was it so in relation to their transactions in Chicago. The population of the city had increased to two hundred thousand and was rapidly growing; the money value of individual buildings was constantly and vastly increasing; and so, not only the number of policies written, but the amounts they represented, were doubled twice over those of any former year. Agents from all quarters began suddenly to pour into the city. The sharpness of the competition between companies was now felt as never before. Again, therefore, there was danger that the rules and regulations established by the Board of Underwriters, and approved by the most prominent eastern companies, would be in many instances disregarded, and that the board itself might be broken up."

Throughout the war period and for some years afterwards only the influence of the stronger companies was effective in preventing a collapse of the rates established by the Board of Underwriters. Still there was cutting by the weaker companies, and the appearance of many "wild cats" had a most demoralizing effect. It was difficult to maintain the desired uniformity, and at times the situation seemed hopeless. Fortunately better counsels prevailed and the rebellious ones gradually relented and joined in the efforts of the board, working together at length "in a community of interest, for mutual protection under a fixed tariff of rates and rules, of sound and healthy practice of underwriting."

THE FIRE INSURANCE PATROL

The Board of Underwriters, upon the suggestion of General Ducat, organized a Fire Patrol modeled after something of the kind in New York City. The Patrol made its first appearance on the streets a week before the great fire occurred. On the Saturday before the fire its new and brilliantly painted wagons arrived, "and the carefully selected horses were harnessed to them, all the men turned out in clean uniform suits and hats of glaze, and with considerable pride and pomp showed themselves to the public." But the efficiency of the Fire Patrol, designed primarily to save the contents of burning buildings from damage by water, had little opportunity to prove itself under the circumstances. The Patrol was intended to work with the Fire Department which on that awful occasion was itself crippled and nearly destroyed.

The Fire Insurance Patrol "was exclusively the affair of the insurance companies; they jointly purchased equipment; they proposed alone to pay the cost of maintaining the Patrol. They appointed—at General Ducat's request—Benjamin B. Bullwinkle to be the head of the Patrol. A home for the carts and stabling for the horses and bunks for the men, these had all been provided in a convenient quarter. But unfortunately it was in a quarter that was early reached by the conflagration which began the next day, and the Patrol and its belongings were consumed in it. Some of the companies that had contributed to organize and support it were rendered insolvent, and for a short time its reorganization was delayed; but the original friends, who had once given it body and life, were equal to the task of reviving and perpetuating it.

"For two or three years the task was hard, but by 1875 the organization was secure, and measures were taken to render it perfect. A committee of the Board of Underwriters was appointed to prepare rules and regulations for the government of the Fire Patrol. General Ducat was at the head of the committee, consisting of himself, General Charles W. Drew and Thomas Buckley, and the rules and regulations were largely of his devising. They had a military cast, and were promulgated in true military fashion. The fire Patrol thus organized, equipped and started on its career of unsurpassed usefulness, was a great achievement; and while the credit of its creation and promotion has to be divided among several, it is only bare justice to say that General Ducat is entitled to a large share of it. He lived to see the Patrol brought to a stage of development which even he, possibly, never at the beginning dreamed of. . . . It has grown to be an organization commanding from convenient points the entire city, and though the cost of its main-

tenance is upwards of $75,000 annually [in 1897], its saving to the insurance companies in salvages is often, at a single fire, as much or more than that large sum."

Captain Bullwinkle proved to be the genius who gave practical effect to the wise designs of the promoters. He was "the embodiment of force and enthusiasm. He put his whole soul into the work; he made record time and set the pace for the rapid handling of fire apparatus. Under his skilful management the Patrol was placed on a basis of splendid efficiency which it has more than maintained," says a recent writer, "to this day under its present superintendent [Edward T. Shepperd]. Its history for forty years has been a continuous record of excellent service and fine achievement, its members never faltering in performing their duty even at the sacrifice of their lives."

The present equipment of the Fire Insurance Patrol, as appears in the historical sketch of the Chicago Board of Underwriters, written by R. N. Trimingham, its secretary, in 1911, is as follows: Eight companies with a total of one hundred and seven men, fourteen horses, six motors, ten wagons, and one chemical engine.

The Chicago Board of Underwriters during its half century of existence has changed its name on three different occasions, though without essentially changing its character and purposes. In 1885, the name was changed to "The Chicago Fire Underwriters' Association," which took over the records of the former body, and continued its functions in the regulation of rates. This continued until 1894 when the Chicago Fire Underwriters' Association became a thing of the past, "after a most useful career of almost nine years, in which it did much for the elevation of fire underwriting." At that time the name of the "Chicago Underwriters' Association" was adopted. In 1906, the Board resumed its original name and is now known as the Chicago Board of Underwriters.

A TRAGIC BALLOON ASCENSION

A tragic and thrilling event occurred in July, 1875, in connection with a balloon ascension. Barnum's circus, advertised as the "Great Roman Hippodrome," its "grand pavilion occupying all the vacant ground on the lake front," was present in the city at that time. Among the attractions were three balloon ascensions which were to take place on three days in succession, the starting place to be at Dearborn Park, the present site of the Chicago Public Library. Professor W. H. Donaldson, a well known aeronaut of the day, who had one hundred and thirty-six ascensions to his credit, was to make the ascensions in the "largest balloon ever seen in the West." The professor was to be accompanied on these ascensions by "several members of the Chicago press."

The balloon, which bore the name of "P. T. Barnum," made its start under favorable conditions on the afternoon of Wednesday, the 14th, the aeronaut being accompanied by a "quartette of confiding newspaper representatives," in the presence of an immense throng of spectators. The balloon floated over the city for a time and presently took an eastward course directly over the lake. Fortunately, however, another current of air brought the great balloon back towards the land and it made a safe landing in the rear of the Exposition building.

THURSDAY'S ASCENSION

When the time arrived for the next day's flight it was found that the great balloon had lost some of its buoyancy owing to its having stood filled for two days, and but one passenger could be taken on the proposed trip. The crowd in attendance was even greater than that of the previous day. "Such a thievish, rowdy, reckless crowd," said the *Tribune* reporter, in the account published, "belongs only to a metropolis. New York and Philadelphia alone could otherwise turn out such snarling and disagreeable proletariats." The car or basket suspended beneath the giant balloon was littered with sand bags, and a mass of cordage hung overhead. Into the basket climbed two newspaper men at first, one of whom was Newton S. Grimwood, of the Chicago *Evening Journal,* and the other James Maitland of the *Post and Mail.* It became apparent however that the balloon did not have sufficient buoyancy to support two passengers and it was decided that Maitland should get out. This it is said in some of the accounts was in consequence of drawing lots to decide who would be the passenger.

At all events Grimwood remained as the sole passenger, and, with Donaldson as the pilot, the two men began the journey from which they never returned. From a great height Grimwood could be seen standing upright and waving his hat to the people below. In a very short time the balloon passed out of sight in the direction of Lake Michigan over which hung clouds threatening a storm. The wind was already quite strong blowing towards the northeast, and it continued to increase until later in the evening it blew a hurricane, lasting throughout the night. The captain of a small schooner, coming into port late in the evening, reported that at seven o'clock, when off Gross Point, some twelve miles north of Chicago, and while some thirty miles from the shore, he had seen the balloon dropping its car once in a while into the lake. The captain headed his schooner in its direction, but before he could overtake it the balloon, which was bounding along at a rapid rate on the water, suddenly shot upward, having apparently lost one of its occupants, and disappeared in the gloom of the night and storm.

The *Tribune* of the 17th (Saturday) describes the storm of the previous Thursday night as "one of the most sudden and furious gusts that ever occurred at this season of the year." It was at the close of a hot July day, the wind reached such a velocity that everything light and movable was swept before it, and the tents of the hippodrome on the lake front were saved only by taking away their supports and anchoring the canvas to the ground. In this dreadful storm the ill-fated aeronauts were driven to their doom.

THE SEARCH FOR THE LOST BALLOONISTS

By the following Monday, no certain tidings having reached the city, there were announced several rewards for the finding of the aeronauts, one by the manager of Barnum's Hippodrome of five hundred dollars, one by the *Evening Journal* of one hundred dollars, and another by Samuel A. King, a well known aeronaut. But no definite news arrived from the missing aeronauts, although inquiries were sent to every port and town on the east shore of the lake. Many reports were received from passengers on vessels arriving, but none of them resulted in any definite intelligence. Many theories were advanced, some of them to the effect

that the men were probably lost in the woods of Michigan or in Canada. One man wrote to the paper that perhaps they were marooned on some island in Lake Michigan, though there are no islands in the lake anywhere within two hundred miles of the course they could have taken.

The *Journal* sent a member of its staff to various points along the east shore of the lake hoping to find either the wreckage of the lost balloon or the bodies of its occupants, or both; and to investigate the numerous rumors that had been received. An industrious and painstaking investigation was made, but all efforts were unsuccessful and at length they were abandoned as hopeless.

Grimwood was a young man but twenty-two years of age at the time he embarked on his venturesome voyage in the ill-fated balloon. He had only recently become a reporter for the Chicago *Evening Journal,* having come from Joliet but a short time before where he had been engaged in newspaper work. His parents lived at Bristol Station in Kendall County which had been his boyhood home. He was spoken of as a young man of great promise, and his untimely end was deeply mourned by all who knew him, and, indeed, the public shared to a remarkable degree in the grief felt by his relatives and friends.

So deep an impression was made on the public mind by the sad fate of young Grimwood that at a matinee performance given at the Adelphi theatre a tableau was prepared of the "Lost Balloon," which became the leading feature.

A MEETING OF PRESS MEMBERS

A meeting of members of the Chicago press was called for the purpose of passing suitable resolutions in memory of young Grimwood, and was held at the office of the *Journal* on the 20th of August. In the *Tribune's* report of the meeting in the next day's issue we find that Elias Colbert of the *Tribune* was chairman, and W. K. Sullivan secretary. Others present at the meeting were Guy Magee of the *Inter-Ocean,* C. A. Snowden of the *Times,* Andrew Shuman of the *Journal,* John F. Finerty of the *Tribune,* and James Maitland of the *Post and Mail,* the man who at the last moment left the balloon before its ascension. Appropriate resolutions were passed and several persons made addresses. Mr. Shuman spoke highly of the young reporter who had lost his life in so tragic a manner. He said he was among those who had seen Grimwood depart with Donaldson, and could never forget the impressiveness of the scene. "The youth, after the balloon was cut loose," he said, "took a slow, lingering look around, as if conscious that he was taking a last farewell of life and all that was dear to him. Even those who had not known young Grimwood personally could not help feeling touched by the lonely and dreadful circumstances surrounding his fate."

GRIMWOOD'S BODY FOUND

At the time of the meeting of the press representatives spoken of above there had been no certain intelligence received of the fate of the aeronauts, as we have seen. But a few days later word was received that a body had been discovered lying on the beach near Whitehall, Michigan, and that there was no doubt it was that of young Grimwood. Again a member of the *Journal* staff, this time Mr. E. E. Wood, was dispatched to the scene to gather all the facts.

In the issue of the Chicago *Weekly Journal* of August 25th, the files of which are preserved in the Newberry Library, are given the results of Mr. Wood's investigations. Wood's dispatches gave the details of the finding of the body identified as that of Grimwood. The discovery was made by a mail carrier passing along the lake shore, and when the body was found a life preserver was fastened about the waist which was broken and was seen to have no sustaining power. In the pockets were found letters and cards bearing the unfortunate man's name, sheets of paper upon which he had commenced to write the account of his trip, and a watch which had stopped at twenty minutes after eleven o'clock. This gave the *Journal* occasion to say, "For the first time in almost five weeks of harrowing anxiety an affirmative answer can be returned to the question repeated so many times every day, 'Have you heard from the lost balloon?'"

Thus after this lapse of time, during which all had been speculation and theory, not a single fact, other than the report of the schooner's captain who saw the balloon skipping along the surface at seven o'clock in the evening, had been ascertained. People pictured the possibility of Donaldson and Grimwood still alive and floating about, buoyed up by their life preservers, or wandering in the forests of Michigan or Canada; but gradually the conviction became general that the "man-devouring lake," as Lake Michigan was called in an old Indian legend, had engulfed them and left no sign. Professor King, the aeronaut, had held firmly to the belief that the balloonists were still alive but lost in the wilderness. So had the managers of the Hippodrome. So widespread had become the interest during this period of uncertainty that reports came from many points of balloons seen floating in the air, such reports coming from regions near and remote, even from as far away as Canada. Every speck in the sky was magnified into a balloon. As proof of the utter unreliability of these reports not one of the supposed balloons thus reported ever landed or were afterward heard of. Then came the finding of bottles enclosing messages, also scraps of cloth imagined to be part of the wrecked balloon, but all these evidences lacked credibility, and the mystery had remained as deep as ever until the discovery of poor Grimwood's body.

The body was found, says the report printed in the *Journal*, "on the Michigan shore near Stony Creek, . . . about fifteen miles from Whitehall," at a point almost exactly east of Milwaukee. The finder was a mail carrier by the name of A. Beckwith. The body was divested of the outer clothing and boots, and a life preserver fastened in place. In one of the pockets a small field glass was found, a gold watch, and a small fruit knife having engraved on it the initials, "N. S. G." There were also found some notes he had made while in the balloon. As the words of a man uttered or written in the presence of death possess a strange and melancholy interest these words, though the writer was at the time unconscious of impending doom, seemed like a voice from the grave.

The notes were as follows: "From the earliest days of childhood, I have always had a presentiment that some time sooner or later, I was bound to *rise*. There are some people who make sport of presentiments but, after all, a presentiment is a handy thing to have around. Where would I have been to-day if I hadn't had a presentiment? In accordance with my presentiment, I have risen, as it were, to a 'point of order.' Like a great many politicians, I rise by means of gas. I regret the fact that there are only two of us—Professor Donaldson and

myself—as I would like to belong to the 'upper ten.' Professor Donaldson seems to be a very pleasant gentleman, although a philosopher and an aeronaut. Although it is scarcely an hour since I struggled into eminence, the restraints of my position are already beginning to be irksome to me and wear upon my spirits. I cannot help reflecting that if we fall, we fall like Lucifer, out of the heavens, and that upon our arrival upon earth, or, rather, upon water—for we are over the middle of Lake Michigan—we would be literally dead."

Before starting away on the journey Grimwood had remarked that he intended to write a humorous account of the trip, and this was the manner of its beginning. It is abruptly broken off, interrupted in all probability by the threatening storm and the impending danger.

Mr. Wood had the remains of young Grimwood brought to Chicago where they were taken in charge by his grief stricken father, Mr. William Grimwood, who accompanied them to his home at Bristol Station, Kendall county, Illinois, where they were laid in the village burying ground.

No positive evidence of the fate of Professor Donaldson was ever discovered. A report was received of a body seen floating in the lake, but nothing further was ascertained in regard to it, nor was anything seen of the balloon itself. Diligent search was made along the shore where Grimwood's body had been found but without result.

An item in an issue of the *Journal* some months later makes this sarcastic reference to the tragic event:—"Barnum is going round telling people about 'The World, and How to Live in It.' The way not to live in it is to go up in one of his balloons."

CHAPTER XXXVI

RAILROAD RIOTS OF 1877

HARVEY D. COLVIN ELECTED MAYOR—REFUSES TO YIELD OFFICE TO SUCCESSOR—HOYNE DE FACTO MAYOR—MONROE HEATH ELECTED—HARD TIMES OF THE MIDDLE SEVENTIES—PITTSBURGH STRIKES—CONDITIONS AT CHICAGO—MASS MEETING OF WORKINGMEN—INCENDIARY SPEECHES—STREETS THRONGED BY CROWDS—AUTHORITIES LOSE CONTROL OF SITUATION—MENACING CONDUCT OF MOBS—INADEQUATE POLICE FORCE—VIGOROUS MEASURES RESORTED TO—PROPOSED MEETING ON WEDNESDAY EVENING PREVENTED—BATTLE AT THE ROUND HOUSE—VOLLEYS AND CHARGES—MOBS AT HALSTED STREET VIADUCT—MASS MEETING OF CITIZENS—CONFLICTS CONTINUED AT THE VIADUCT—TURNER HALL ON TWELFTH STREET—MOBS GATHER IN THE STREET—CHARGED BY THE POLICE—REFUGE SOUGHT IN THE HALL—RIOTERS COMPLETELY ROUTED—ARRIVAL OF UNITED STATES TROOPS—STRIKE ENDED AND ORDER RESTORED—WARM PRAISE FOR THE POLICE—COMMERCIAL CLUB OF CHICAGO—LIST OF CHARTER MEMBERS—MERCHANTS CLUB UNITES WITH THE COMMERCIAL CLUB—RECORD OF WORK DONE BY THE CLUB—OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES' POEM ON CHICAGO.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN 1875 AND 1876

HARVEY D. COLVIN was elected mayor of the city on November 4th, 1873, and in the usual course his term would have expired in November, 1875. But the question of the reorganization of the city under the general incorporation act of the State having been submitted to the people at an election held April 23rd, 1875, and carried affirmatively, operated to keep the mayor in office until the third Tuesday in April of the following year, the date fixed by the new charter for holding the municipal elections.

When the time came for the elections to be held in the spring of 1876, the Council passed an order for the election of city officials to be held, but omitted to mention in the list the office of mayor. Colvin set up the claim that as there was no vote for mayor provided for he was entitled to hold the office until the next date for a city election, that is until the spring of 1877.

The people became much excited over this proposed act of usurpation, and at a mass meeting convened at the Exposition building, attended by some twenty-five thousand citizens, it was resolved that a mayor should be elected, and Hon. Thomas Hoyne was named as the candidate. On election day Hoyne, being the only candidate, received 33,064 votes, with only 819 scattering votes opposed. Excepting for the mayoralty, there were two complete tickets in the field, of which one was

the Colvin or Democratic ticket, while the other was the Municipal Reform or Opposition ticket. The latter ticket won.

In passing upon the election returns the Council refused to recognize the vote for mayor. But on the following 8th of May the newly elected aldermen took their seats, and the opposition being now in the majority, the vote for mayor was canvassed and Hoyne was declared elected. One of the most exciting and hazardous periods in the history of the city government now ensued. Mr. Hoyne waited on the "hold over mayor" at the old City Hall, known as "The Rookery," and demanded that he surrender the office of mayor. This Mr. Colvin declined to do. The mayor's office was guarded by police and a serious conflict between the rival bodies of supporters seemed imminent. On the 18th of May Mr. Hoyne assumed the chair as presiding officer of the Council. He was recognized by all the departments except those of the Police and Comptroller. The dispute of authority was finally referred to the courts where the case was decided in favor of Colvin. A short time later the Council issued a call for a special election for July 12th. At this election Monroe Heath received a large majority of the votes cast and he entered upon the duties of his office without further opposition.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF MONROE HEATH

Monroe Heath was mayor of the city from July 12th, 1876, to the spring of 1879. Heath was a man of the rough and ready type often found among the western pioneers, a man distinguished by a certain simplicity and directness that won him a high measure of confidence among his fellow townsmen, which he gained especially while filling the office of alderman from the Twelfth ward for several years. Although possessed of slight educational equipment himself Heath recognized the value of trained and able men among his associates in the administration, though generally independent in his judgment. His aim was to maintain the financial credit of the city through a stormy period, and though lacking in initiative he was a force for a conservative policy when determined and systematic retrenchment was found necessary.

One keen observer said of him, "he gets through by main strength and awkwardness," and while it was no doubt true that a brilliant man in his position might have accomplished more than he did, his steady resistance to what he considered unreasonable popular demands was of more value than a so-called "forward policy" could have been under the circumstances. In the extreme test to which he was exposed during the railroad riots which occurred while he was mayor, he was subjected to much criticism for his failure to act promptly in suppressing lawlessness and disorder. But though slow to realize the danger he took vigorous measures when once aroused, appealed to the governor of the state for troops, and called on the citizens to form themselves into armed organizations to assist the authorities.

At the end of his term of service Mayor Heath retired to private life with the esteem and favorable regard of the great body of his fellow citizens. Mr. Heath died at Asheville, North Carolina, October 21st, 1894, at the age of sixty-seven years.

The causes of the riots above referred to and an account of the accompanying incidents will be given in the following paragraphs:

THE RAILROAD RIOTS OF 1877

The two or three years following the panic of 1873 were marked by much privation and suffering among the classes which depend upon employment in manufacturing and other industries to provide for their living necessities. The winter of 1873-4 was "one of the hardest in the history of Chicago," says John J. Flinn in his "History of the Chicago Police." The streets were constantly thronged with idlers and persons not able to procure employment. "But the hard times had not yet seriously affected the morals of the people," and it was not until after two or three years of pinching poverty among the classes referred to that the strain reached the breaking point, and disorders and outrages occurred with great and alarming frequency.

Where employment was to be had wages were low, and in the case of the railroads generally the former wages of employes were reduced. This produced much discontent and strikes began to take place at some of the great railroad centers. "Early in the month of July, 1877," says Flinn, "telegrams were printed in the Chicago papers announcing that small bodies of employes, here and there, along the line of the Baltimore & Railroad, were quitting work. These dispatches were quite brief, and simply announced that there were differences between the men and the company as to the question of wages, and for the most part were hidden away under single headlines, at the bottom of inside columns." We must remember that Flinn was himself a newspaper man, and his point of view is that of an editor on one of the great dailies. "There was something, however," he continues, "about these telegrams which struck the telegraph editors of the different papers as being peculiar, to say the least. From a three or four line announcement at the start, they gained in length daily, until at the end of a week twenty lines were consumed. . . .

"The burden of these dispatches was that the employes of the company were discontented with their lot, that many were throwing up their jobs, and that the trouble was inclined to spread rather than to subside as the days passed. But little attention was paid to the news here. If it was read at all, it was looked upon simply as a trivial matter, unworthy of more consideration than is usually given to the vast number of unimportant telegrams which are printed daily in the newspapers. But the 'B. & O. trouble,' as it came to be called, would persist in parading itself before the public. The three line telegram expanded into a twenty-five line dispatch, grew until it occupied a quarter of a column, and then until it attained the dignity of a displayed head.

"More than that, it was accompanied now by telegrams from different points in the Baltimore & Ohio system. Then came the more startling information that the 'B. & O. trouble' had spread to the Pennsylvania and other lines, and now the public began to take a livelier interest in the situation. Almost as quick as a flash this news was followed by the information, on July 10th, that a gigantic railroad strike, involving the employes of all the great trans-continental and tributary companies, was on, and that serious riots had occurred already at many points in Pennsylvania and West Virginia.

"Two days later information of a still more alarming nature came over the wires. There was a general uprising of the working classes in the Keystone state. The next day, Sunday morning, the people of Chicago were horrified by the news that Pittsburgh was in the hands of a mob; that the property of the railroad companies

was in flames; that blood had been spilled freely on the streets; that a reign of terror prevailed in all the large cities of Pennsylvania, West Virginia and Ohio, and that the spirit of riot, like some spectral courier of a dreadful epidemic, was advancing westwardly, and conquering as it came.

"That Sunday morning, noon and night, will always be remembered by the people who then resided in Chicago, as the most remarkable, perhaps, in the history of the city. The morning papers had presented the news from Pittsburg up to five o'clock a. m., when rioting was still in progress at that point. By eight o'clock the streets presented a week-day appearance; by nine they were crowded; by noon they were thronged, and with one accord the people flocked toward the newspaper offices where bulletins began to make their appearance."

UNFAVORABLE CONDITIONS AT CHICAGO

When Superintendent Hickey of the Chicago Police force made his report at the end of the year 1876 he said among other things that "the number of men who have no home in the city, and who have been provided with lodgings in our station houses during the last year, is 7,467. Some of them are vagrants who travel from place to place, not caring to have a home, and preferring to beg or steal rather than work. There are also among them many who would gladly make an honest living, but are out of employment by reason of the general depression in business which now affects all sections of the country." During the previous three years a number of strikes had occurred at Chicago, but they had proved failures and in most instances the men had returned to work at less than they were getting when they struck. "There were ten pair of hands ready and willing to take the place of every single pair that quit work."

Flinn considers that the political situation as it then existed contributed greatly to the general feeling of discontent. "The unsettled state of affairs," he says, "caused by he Hayes-Tilden dispute, only served to make matters worse. People had looked forward to the election of 1876 with a great deal of hope, expecting that it would prove to be the turning point from depression to prosperity. But they were disappointed. Discontent was general among the wage earning classes. Socialism had been planted here, and it grew luxuriantly in the soil so well prepared for it. There were socialistic societies by the hundred, which held regular meetings throughout the city, and great mass meetings occasionally on Market street, the Haymarket or the lake shore. The grievances of the wage-workers were palpable and great. Things could not very well look more hopeless for them. The demagogue was in his glory and he demanded war upon capital, vengeance upon the 'privileged classes.' A great labor demonstration had paraded the streets; thousands of poorly-clad, hungry looking men were in line."

When the news from Pittsburgh arrived in this city people instinctively felt that it would be our turn next, and they were not disappointed in their expectations. All day during that memorable Sunday the papers were receiving the most alarming dispatches, and in the afternoon extras were issued hourly. Papers sold by the hundreds of thousands, the down-town streets were jammed with excited people. Numerous meetings were held that night by the discontented classes, at which resolutions of sympathy for the Eastern strikers were passed; and next

OLD WEST MARKET HALL

On the site of the present Haymarket Square

A VIEW OF HAYMARKET SQUARE

morning it was announced that a monster mass meeting of wage workers would be held on Market street, between Madison and Washington streets.

LAW-ABIDING CITIZENS AROUSED

The alarm felt by law-abiding citizens took various forms, some favoring drastic measures by calling on the governor for troops, others wanting United States regulars brought here. Volunteer deputations were going here and there interviewing the superitendent of the police force, the mayor, the sheriff, but getting very little satisfaction anywhere. In fact there was no plan of action adopted, no one in authority who seemed to rise to the emergency. One sensible suggestion was made that the proposed mass meeting on Market street should be prevented from gathering as its purpose was plainly inimical to the public peace. This the Mayor was reluctant to do as he felt that the people had a right to assemble, and he did not feel assured that the promoters of the meeting intended to make trouble. He was soon undeceived however.

In Flinn's account it is related that the mass meeting took place on Monday evening as planned by the malcontents, that it was a monster affair, the participants filling every inch of space between the tunnel and the south side of Madison street. "Cars were unable to pass on the latter thoroughfare during the three hours that were consumed by the speakers. The communist leaders were there early and stayed late. Upon the different stands, or rather wagons, used by the speakers, and scattered through the vast assemblage, were missionaries of the communist societies propagating doctrines of riot, incendiarism, revolution. Some of them who took part in that meeting had reason at a later date to regret their utterances that night; others had reason to feel ashamed of them. The wildest harangues of the communist leaders were cheered to the echo; their most treasonable sentiments applauded; their most incendiary demands received with manifest approbation.

"The crowd was ready for anything. Just as occurred nine years later, near the Haymarket, the sneers, the ridicule, the contemptuous remarks of the speakers were turned in great part toward the 'cowardly police.' Would the police, the well fed, idling, lazy police, dare interfere with the rights of honest workingmen? No! Would they dare attempt to prevent such gatherings as this? No! If they did attempt to interfere with men who were exercising the right of free speech, what then? They would be swept away like chaff before the wind."

THE AUTHORITIES LOSE CONTROL OF THE SITUATION

But the speech making did not altogether consist of these inflammatory appeals. There were moderate counsels offered by some of the speakers but they were not heeded. A few of the speakers, it was said, "had attempted to quiet the mob by using moderate language and advising peaceable proceedings and lawful conduct, but they were hissed and howled down." Owing to the attitude taken by the mayor it became necessary "for the administration and the Superintendent of Police to attach as little importance as possible to the meeting," and so Superintendent Hickey reported that "a mass meeting of workingmen was held on Monday evening on the corner of Market and Madison streets, and about five thou-

sand persons were present. The meeting was addressed by several speakers who rather counseled prudence and moderation than violence, and although some speeches were made by noted communists, and a few at times became somewhat boisterous, the meeting adjourned in a quiet and orderly manner, about ten p. m., the crowds dispersing off the streets, and all went peaceably to their homes."

Never were well meaning officers of government more thoroughly mistaken in the temper of the malcontents now ready to precipitate action against all authority. "Early on Tuesday morning the trouble began. The old automatic telegraph instruments were kept busy at headquarters recording the movements of a dozen different mobs that were marching in as many different quarters of the city and gaining in volume as they moved. These mobs were marching from place to place, compelling workingmen in every branch of trade to quit work and help to swell their numbers. There was no resisting the demands of the rioters, and the most peaceably inclined and contented of mechanics and laborers were forced to drop their tools, don their coats and join the rabble brigades. . . . Chicago was apparently as completely in the hands of the revolutionary element as Paris ever had been."

The scene of the trouble was on the West Side. The mob was small at the beginning but rapidly increased in numbers as it fell into a loose and disorderly line of march along South Canal street, recruited by the workmen from the factories and freight houses which it passed. The employers, in many instances, learning of the advancing mob, dismissed their men, closed up their places, and retired from the scene.

It now became sufficiently apparent that vigorous measures should be taken by the authorities, but still there was hesitation. "When orders were sent to Captain Seavey at the Union street station to intercept the mob on Canal street, and compel its members to disperse, the mayor stipulated that none of the rioters should be injured, if it could possibly be avoided. Lieutenants Blettner and Simmons, with twenty-five men each were detailed to meet and handle the mob, and if they and the men under them had had their way about it, the riot would have been stifled then and there, but they were under orders to be kind to lawless ruffians, and no discretionary power whatever was left in their hands.

"No further proof of the ease with which the riot could have been 'squelched,' if taken in time and handled with vigor, is necessary than the fact that the mob, upon the mere appearance of this little detachment of police scattered in all directions. A few arrests were made; not even a club was used; the police did not seem to be in earnest; the mob felt, even though scattered, that if they had taken a determined stand the police would not have molested them. This first move on the part of the police filled the rioters with encouragement rather than alarm."

Warnings to gun dealers and pawnbrokers were sent out by the superintendent of police, to the effect that all revolvers or other firearms should be removed from their windows to a safe place where they could not be taken from them, and "let them so remain until such time as all danger is past." In the afternoon the mobs again began forming, and their numbers were seen to be greatly increased. The strikes became general throughout the city, and the strikers joined the mobs, and as is usual in such cases the most dangerous characters led the crowds. "Hnndreds

of those who shouted for higher wages and better treatment were vagabonds who had not done an honest day's work for years; hundreds were confirmed criminals, hundreds were professional thieves."

The police force consisted at that time of about five hundred officers and men, but not more than half of that number were available for active duty in dealing with mobs. It was simply out of the question that such an insignificant force could successfully cope with numerous mobs at widely scattered points of the city. It was before patrol wagons had come into use and officers rode in street cars or walked long distances to the scenes of trouble. The men suffered greatly from fatigue and from the excessive heat of the season, so that their efficiency was greatly reduced after several days of such strenuous service. The opportunity for suppressing the troubles had been lost when the mass meeting where incendiary speeches had been uttered was permitted to be held, and a temporizing policy with the mobs put in practice. Nevertheless, the authorities prevented a meeting being held on Tuesday night at the same place as that of the Monday night meeting, and a crowd which had assembled in response to a call were dispersed without bloodshed.

THE AUTHORITIES ADOPT VIGOROUS MEASURES

The disorder and lawlessness now threatening at so many places at last forced the mayor to adopt vigorous measures. He called upon the law-abiding citizens of every part of the city "to form themselves into armed organizations for the preservation of the peace and protection of life and property; he appealed to the governor, and the first and second regiments were called out. All other military organizations were asked to come forward and assist the municipal authorities, and all responded; over three hundred special policemen were sworn in, armed and assigned to regular patrol duty in place of the regulars who were now on active duty far from their beats; arms and ammunition were contributed by citizens in immense quantities, and stored at the City Hall. Deputy Superintendent Dixon took command of the forces on the outside. Lieutenant Frederick Ebersold was made quartermaster, military regulations and discipline were introduced; the street cars, teaming companies, wholesale houses, and private individuals gave the use of their horses to the city, and cavalry companies were organized—the whole town was aroused, either for defensive or offensive purposes, and Chicago presented the appearance of a city in a state of siege." It was estimated that on Wednesday there were not less than twenty thousand men under arms. General Joseph T. Torrence, commanding the military operations, established his headquarters at the City Hall.

"On Wednesday morning the rioters were more aggressive than ever before. They committed several dastardly assaults upon workingmen who declined to join their ranks; they destroyed a vast amount of property in outlying manufactories; they attempted to set fire to one or two planing mills; they succeeded in burning down one building; they flourished revolvers, shotguns and rifles; they expressed their determination to take possession of the city and wipe out all authority."

The rioters paid little attention to the special police who in such large num-

bers had been sworn in for duty. In the report of the police superintendent, he said: "Special policemen are comparatively worthless for quelling disturbances or dispersing crowds, for however good their intentions or efforts, the truth is that twenty policemen in uniform are better and more effective for the purpose than fifty specials in plain dress. This was clearly proven when a mob had congregated on the North Side. Most of the regular force at that time being on duty elsewhere, a squad of twenty specials were sent to disperse the crowd, but the rioters defiantly turned upon them and they were forced to retire to the station. Lieutenant Hathaway, in command of fifteen men from the regular force, dispersed them without serious trouble, although the crowd and the excitement had greatly increased in the meantime."

PROPOSED MEETING ON WEDNESDAY EVENING PREVENTED

Handbills had been distributed for a meeting on Wednesday evening at Market street, and preparations were made on a large scale, it being determined by the strikers that resistance should this time be offered in view of the fact that blank cartridges only were fired by the police on the previous night. "Precautions were taken this time to prevent the assembling of the crowd. A force of one hundred and fifty men was assembled at headquarters, and Lieutenant Gerbing with fifty men was ordered to proceed to the place of the proposed meeting and prevent the gathering of a crowd. This was about eight o'clock in the evening, and already about two thousand persons were assembled, stands for the speakers had been erected and the square was illuminated with calcium lights. Lieutenant Gerbing's company formed as on the previous night and drove the mob before it; . . . the stands were torn down and thrown into the river, and the streets were again cleared completely. Market street was now occupied by Lieutenants Hood, Blettner, Baus and Gerbing, who commanded a force of about two hundred men. It was expected that the West and North Side contingents of rioters would soon be along to participate in the meeting. This expectation was partly fulfilled, but before the West Side mob could cross over the Randolph street bridge they were confronted by a line of police drawn up at Market and Randolph streets, attacked and driven back." Continuing this relation in the words of the police superintendent's report, it is said that "A desperate hand to hand fight occurred here, the police hammering the rioters mercilessly with their clubs, and the rioters throwing stones and pieces of coal which they got from a yard close by. It may to some appear strange why the police had not fired indiscriminately into them by this time, but when it is remembered that right in front of the mob and close to the drums and banners, which were in advance of them, there was a crowd probably of one hundred and fifty small boys and children, and that a volley fired into them at that time would unavoidably have killed innocent children and not the rioters, I think it will be conceded that the police acted with prudence and excellent judgment in the emergency. . . . Lieutenant Gerbing finally ordered his command to shoot over their heads. A volley was instantly fired in the direction of the mob, and although not with fatal results, it had a good effect, for they at once disbanded and were forced in opposite directions, some being driven across the bridge and others toward the lake."

THE BATTLE AT THE ROUND HOUSE

During this eventful Wednesday a mob of some four hundred or more men had gathered at the round house of the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy railroad on West Sixteenth street, and were proceeding to smash windows and wreck the rolling stock of the company. "Several cars and locomotives were ditched," says Flinn in his narrative of these events, "and the rioters it seems, had planned to set fire to the building and destroy its contents. Captain Seavey was notified at once, and ordered Lieutenant Callahan with a squad of policemen to the scene. The men were crowded into omnibuses and driven rapidly toward the round house. Arriving there the mob opened fire on the 'buses, using revolvers and stones, and the driver was thrown off his seat, breaking his arm in the fall. . . . As the policemen left the omnibuses they were met with a perfect shower of bullets and a hailstorm of stones." The mob quickly swelled until it numbered some three thousand rioters.

Callahan drew his men up in line, and waited a short time for reinforcements, as his force was not sufficient to cope with such a multitude of belligerents. Sergeant Ryan with twenty men had been patrolling the district near the round house, and, hearing of Callahan's situation, hastened to his assistance. Stones and bullets began to fly and Callahan ordered an attack. The united forces of policemen behaved like veterans and went into action with eagerness. "A volley from their ranks which laid a number of the rioters low, was followed by a charge, the officers keeping up a pretty steady fire. The mob responded with their revolvers, missiles and yells, holding their ground pugnaciously." Callahan's command, however, pressed forward steadily firing as they advanced. Several of his men had fallen but this only served to stimulate the fighting spirit of the others. With wild shouts the policemen charged furiously upon the rioters, using their revolvers and clubs so effectively that the mob broke and ran, the great majority of them towards Halsted street viaduct.

The fight lasted about half an hour, and Callahan, finding that his men were out of ammunition and that many of them were quite seriously injured, returned with them to the station. None of the injuries to the police proved fatal. Seven of the rioters were killed, and about twenty-five were seriously wounded.

THE MOBS AT HALSTED STREET VIADUCT

The unruly multitudes of disorderly men now began to assemble near Halsted street viaduct in great force. A force of two hundred policemen had been dispatched to the spot with instructions to use vigorous measures. Street cars were stopped by the rioters, thrown from the track and broken to pieces. A dealer in firearms was pillaged of his stock, the street lamps were extinguished (for it was then quite dark), and stores robbed of their contents. The police arrived about this time and the mob was quickly scattered. Halsted street was cleared in both directions by repeated charges of the police. The police remained on guard during the remainder of the night and prevented any further disturbances.

In addition to the casualties at the round house a large number of persons were severely, some fatally, injured during the various conflicts at Halsted street.

MASS MEETING OF CITIZENS

On the afternoon of Thursday the 26th, a mass meeting of citizens was held in the Moody and Sankey tabernacle, which had been erected on the site of the old gas works at the corner of Monroe and Market streets. The attendance at the meeting was very large, it was presided over by Hon. Charles B. Farwell and addressed by Rev. Robert Collyer and others. The speech of Hon. Carter H. Harrison, then a member of Congress, was to the effect that the manufacturers who had closed their shops in alarm should immediately resume business. He said that when men were idle they were more likely to make trouble. "Today," he said, "there is the remarkable phenomenon exhibited of a city of 500,000 men, women and children—a city composed of industrious workingmen—controlled by a mob of two or three hundred idlers and ragamuffins. It is not the laboring men who are making the strike; a few laboring men commenced it, but it is the idlers, thieves and ruffians who are carrying it on." Dr. Collyer said that he had lived in Chicago twenty years and this he considered the most serious crisis in city affairs that he had ever known. "What our friend has just said," he continued, "is true, we are cowed by an insignificant mob." Ex-Mayor Boone, who had suppressed the so-called "lager beer" riots in 1856, was present at the meeting, and being called upon said that if the police were armed they could dispose of the rioters within twenty-four hours.

In his second proclamation the mayor had requested "five thousand good and experienced citizens composed as largely as possible of ex-soldiers, to report at headquarters, to do such general duties as may be assigned them." The meeting then adopted the following resolution: "Resolved, That this meeting is in full sympathy with the proclamation of the mayor, calling for five thousand men, and that we will at once report at police headquarters for duty."

EVENTS OF THURSDAY

Thursday morning a large body of rioters assembled in the lumber district, and Captain Seavey with a force of seventy-five men was sent to deal with the disturbers. A determined resistance was offered to the advance of the police, stones were hurled and numerous shots fired. The police now fired upon the crowd and the firing was continuous for some time, until it was found necessary to retire to the station for a fresh supply of ammunition. This gave the crowds an opportunity to recover their ground and their numbers greatly increased. Having been reinforced by a newly arrived body of men the police once more pluckily resumed the attack. They moved in a solid column, taking the entire width of the street, swept everything before them, and in a short time had cleared the field.

Halsted street viaduct, however, continued to be the center of interest throughout the day, as it spanned the tracks of the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy railroad, the Chicago & Alton railway and other lines, and the hundreds of cars and locomotives were in plain view from that elevation. The police were needed in so many places at the same time that no sooner had the crowds been driven from this spot than it immediately began to be occupied again with rioters. From this point a general survey of the tracks could be taken, and every attempt made by the companies to move their cars was frustrated by the strikers, while the mob

on the viaduct cheered these disorderly proceedings. Passenger trains were stoned while passing under the structure and many persons were injured.

There were skirmishes, running fights, charges, retreats, and engagements without number throughout the day, and the policemen were almost exhausted. A little more of the incessant labor which had been imposed upon them, and they would have been compelled to abandon the fight to the military. Luckily, however, this was not necessary, and although the militia were ready for any emergency, none arose that day or afterward.

While the trouble was in progress at the viaduct, a meeting of communist sympathizers was held in Turner Hall on West Twelfth street. A mob soon gathered in the vicinity creating much disturbance and alarm in that neighborhood. The hall was filled and speakers were endeavoring to arouse the mob to the fighting pitch. About ten o'clock in the forenoon a detachment of police, numbering some twenty-five men, marched across Twelfth street bridge on their way to the scene of the trouble. As they neared the crowd the howling and hooting were renewed and the mob, gathering into a dense body in front of the hall, opened on the squad a shower of stones and other missles. The police withstood the attack for a few minutes, but soon a charge was ordered and many of the rioters were severely hurt by the clubs of the policemen.

At this time a score of police arrived in wagons and immediately came to the assistance of the fighting squad, and taking the crowd of rioters in the rear quickly forced their way through until the latter took refuge within the hall. The mob inside the hall now began to discharge pistols and to throw pieces of furniture through the windows, badly injuring two of the special police. The united forces of the police now entered the hall and caused a most exciting stampede. The hall and street were cleared and for the remainder of the day the mobs caused no further trouble at that place.

ARRIVAL OF UNITED STATES TROOPS

During the afternoon of Thursday two companies of United States troops, belonging to the twenty-second Regiment of Infantry, arrived at Chicago from the West. General Sheridan had ordered these troops here without waiting for any special request with the idea that they might be of service to the city authorities in case of an emergency. The troops came directly from the plains where they had been engaged in Indian campaigns, and their journey had been hastened in view of the state of affairs in this city. They were in "fighting trim," fully supplied with ammunition, and would have been ready to go on duty at once had it been required of them.

Their arrival was a complete surprise to the people and a great relief in the midst of their anxiety. As they formed on Canal street and took up their line of march towards Madison street they were watched and cheered by thousands, though among the crowds of spectators there were many malcontents who beheld the troops with sullen looks. The march of the soldiers was continued over Madison street bridge and towards the lake front, their destination being the Armory building. While passing through the streets on the South Side they were warmly welcomed by the citizens. The presence of these troops in the city, and the

arrival of four additional companies the next day, served to reassure the friends of law and order, though the soldiers were not called upon to act at any time during their stay. The mobs were controlled and eventually subdued solely by the police force of Chicago.

By Thursday night the mobs throughout the city were thoroughly cowed and made no further attempts to hold meetings or gather in disorderly crowds. There were some three hundred arrests on the charge of rioting. The stations were overflowing with prisoners, while the hospitals were filled with wounded men. The strike and rioting were over, and on the following day the city had resumed its normal quiet.

The number killed in the various riots was estimated to be upwards of thirty, though it was difficult, as usual in uprisings of this kind, to ascertain the exact number. "That many died of their injuries is certain," says Flinn in his account of the riots. "The number injured, more or less seriously, was about two hundred. The police escaped remarkably well, considering the close quarters in which they were frequently placed."

THE END OF THE RIOTS

The end of the strike marked the dawn of better times. "The great railroad strike was really the turning point from bad to good times. Business began to improve and a period of prosperity set in. The business men of Chicago saw for the first time the danger which threatened them from great uprisings of this kind. The regiments were better treated and armories were built. Deputy Superintendent Dixon raised money which was used in supplying every station in the city with muskets. A military spirit pervaded the people, the police was reorganized on a military basis, the superintendent became a colonel, and wore shoulder straps. . . . The shoulder straps were ridiculed, but the result of all this so-called military affectation was soon manifest; the discipline of the force became almost perfect, the men were drilled regularly, they were taught to handle guns, to form hollow squares, to go through the street fight maneuvers, and to bear themselves like soldiers." But public opinion would not tolerate the idea, the newspapers ridiculed the military pretensions of the police, and finally when "Colonel" Hickey left the office the title was dropped.

The conduct of the police during the period of the strike won for them much praise. In his annual report for 1877, Superintendent Hickey said: "I trust it will be considered pardonable for me also to say a word in behalf of the police for their bravery, endurance, good judgment and strict attention to duty in this emergency. All will bear witness to the fact that not one of them flinched or showed any indication of shirking duty at any time, but fought twenty times their numbers, although almost exhausted from incessant work, and marching from place to place throughout the city for four days and nights, and having little or no rest during that time."

In recognition of the services rendered by the police during the four days' continuance of the strikes and riots the Common Council passed a resolution of thanks to the police for their "valorous conduct" which was well deserved. The cost of the riots to the city, for pay of special police, purchase of arms, etc., was about $20,000.

GUNS AND MUNITIONS OF WAR

An interesting bit of history is referred to in a report of the Citizens' Association for 1909, which is related as follows:

"It is worthy of note that the Association has recently parted with the battery of artillery which it has owned for more than thirty years. This battery, consisting of four twelve-pounder bronze Napoleon guns, was purchased in 1878 for the protection of the city, which had been the scene of serious rioting and disorder a short time before. The battery, with limbers, caissons, field harness and ammunition, was turned over to Mayor Monroe Heath and for the next thirteen years was held by the police department as the property of the Citizens' Association, with the understanding that it was to be returned to the Association on demand of its Executive Committee. In 1901 the battery was transferred to the custody of Battery D, First Light Artillery, I. N. G. Recently that battery was equipped with more modern guns furnished by the Federal government, so that it no longer has occasion to use the old guns. One of these has been presented to the Chicago Historical Society, which will preserve it on account of its having been for a long period one of the defenses of the city; and another has been presented to the Wilmette Park district, which will place it in a park on the lake front at Wilmette. The Association is still the owner of a Gatling gun, purchased at the same time as the battery. The use of this Gatling gun is still desired by Battery D, to which it has been loaned since 1901. The above matter calls to mind the fact that during the first few years of its existence the Citizens' Association raised by public subscribtion and expended for the better equipment of the Chicago regiments of the National Guard more than $100,000."

THE COMMERCIAL CLUB OF CHICAGO

The history of a club with the aims, objects and achievements of the one we are about to describe deserves a place in a work of this character, even though there be omissions of many other well known clubs having social purposes only. There are few clubs in Chicago or any other city which have a more creditable record than the Commercial Club of Chicago.

The first suggestion of this club appears in a visit made by Henry J. Macfarland to friends in Boston in the summer of 1877, where he was entertained by two members of the Commercial Club of that city. Mr. Macfarland was engaged in a manufacturing business at Waupun, Wisconsin, but very appropriately identified himself with Chicago interests and Chicago business men. The outcome of Macfarland's visit was a proposal that the Boston Commercial Club should come to Chicago and be entertained by the business men of this city.

On his return Mr. Macfarland called on Mr. John W. Doane, one of Chicago's leading merchants, and mentioned the proposed visit of the Boston men. Together, they set to work and as the result of their efforts the sum of three thousand dollars was raised here for the purpose of entertaining the visitors. In due time the Boston Commercial Club, in a body, spent several days in this city on which occasion there was a banquet given in its honor at the Chicago Club. The idea of a club to be formed here on lines similar to those of the Boston club

took its start, and thus the Boston Commercial Club was the prototype of that formed afterwards in Chicago.

A brief account of the Boston Commercial Club may be given here. Its beginning dates from 1868, and its incentive was almost the same as in Chicago's case nine years later. "A committee of forty business men had been appointed by the Boston Board of Trade in December, 1867, to provide entertainment of a national convention to be held in Boston February, 1868.

"This committee raised eleven thousand dollars, and did its work so well, and found the association so agreeable, that it continued its meetings monthly under the name of the Commercial Commitee, until the fall, and then transformed itself into the Boston Commercial Club." This club eventually increased its membership to seventy-five, and held dinners monthly throughout the year, omitting the summer months, and have continued them regularly down to the present time.

ORGANIZATION OF THE COMMERCIAL CLUB

A few days after the visit of the Boston Commercial Club to this city, seventeen gentlemen, who favored the formation of a commercial club, met at the rooms of the Chicago Club, and organized under the name proposed by Mr. Doane —the Commercial Club of Chicago. This was on the 27th of December, 1877. The seventeen persons present, together with others not present at that time, form the list of charter members. Their names are as follows: John W. Doane, Levi Z. Leiter, James M. Walker, Albert A. Sprague, Henry J. Macfarland, John M. Durand, William T. Baker, Charles E. Culver, Andrew Brown, John J. Janes, Anson Stager, George C. Clarke, Murry Nelson, Edson Keith, William A. Fuller, John T. McAuley, N. K. Fairbank, Marshall Field, Charles B. Kellogg, Charles M. Henderson, John Crerar, John Marshall Clark, J. Russell Jones, Solomon A. Smith, John B. Drake, Nathan Corwith, James H. Walker and George M. Pullman. Levi Z. Leiter was chosen president; John W. Doane, vice-president; Murry Nelson, treasurer; and George C. Clarke, secretary.

Thirty-three years later Mr. John J. Glessner, in a history of the Commercial Club of Chicago, issued in a privately printed edition for its members, says that of the first sixty members of the club "only four are in full active membership now."

The most important clause in the constitution then adopted was as follows: that the club was formed "for the purpose of advancing by social intercourse and by a friendly interchange of views the prosperity and growth of the city of Chicago."

Originally there were eight meetings a year. The dues assessed were forty dollars a year in 1883, but afterwards increased to sixty dollars. It was no part of the plans of the club to have a club house, or indeed any regular abiding place—simply to hold meetings with accompanying dinners at any suitable place arranged by the committee in charge. "It was to be a club of serious purpose, tolerant of opposing opinions, recognizing its obligation to the community, despising mean and sordid actions as men of high character do. In short, to be a member a man must be animated by the highest code of business and social ethics."

"The club never has had a home," says Glessner, "and its meetings, therefore,

have been movable as to place, and somewhat changeable as to time. The regular meetings, always preceded by dinners, have been held at the Chicago, Literary and Calumet Clubs, at the Grand Pacific, Palmer, Tremont, Sherman, Leland, Richelieu, Metropole, Auditorium and Congress hotels." A rule rigidly enforced has always been that members should be obliged to pay the price of the dinner, whether present or not, but even the payment for the dinner would not condone their absence if a reasonable excuse could not be given. This rule operated to reduce the membership which, however, was soon restored by the admission of new members. In consequence "it became so much the thing to be regular and regardful of one's duties and responsibilities in the club that members have been known—not once, but many times—to leave business engagements in New York or Boston or elsewhere, and come home to Chicago for one day to attend a meeting, and return at once to resume interrupted business."

As the Merchants Club was at a later time united with the Commercial Club of Chicago it is necessary to give some account of it in this place.

THE MERCHANTS CLUB

"A group of men full of the energy and enthusiasm of youth," says Glessner, in his history of the Commercial Club, "thinking there was work for them to do, and believing it were better done by union of effort, organized the Merchants Club in 1896." Its first regular meeting and dinner were held in the following February. The most active men in its formation were Dunlap Smith and Arthur Meeker. There were thirty-two charter members, its total active membership, after 1899, being sixty. Its general plan was quite similar to that of the Commercial Club. John V. Farwell, Jr., was its first president, Dunlap Smith vice-president; Charles R. Corwith, treasurer; and Walter H. Wilson, secretary.

An important provision for "keeping the membership young" was made as follows: "No one who has reached the age of forty-five years shall be eligible to active membership, and any member who has reached the age of fifty years shall thereupon become an honorary member, leaving a vacancy in the active list to be filled." The name of this class of members was soon after changed from "honorary" to "associate."

The Merchants Club at once entered upon a career of prosperity. Its meetings were held regularly and largely attended owing to a regulation similar to that of the Commercial Club, that fines should be required for absences "without acceptable reasons." In consequence of its activities much useful and important work for civic welfare was done. "It established the first Pawners' bank, developed new and improved systems of municipal accounting, and was influential in many other civic matters, both separately and in conjunction with the Commercial Club; it took the initiative in the City Plan problem, and in every way demonstrated its power for good in the community, until finally its activities were merged in the Commercial Club's under the latter's name, February, 1907." When the Merchants Club was united with the Commercial the active membership limit was fixed at ninety.

MEMBERSHIP REQUIREMENTS AND SCOPE OF ACTIVITIES

The Commercial Club has always exercised the greatest care in admitting individuals to its membership. "No man," says Glessner, "who has sought election for himself, by lobbying or otherwise, has succeeded in getting the unanimous recommendation of the Executive Committee necessary to present his name to the Commercial Club for its ballots; and so carefully has the work of the committee been done, that no man who has had that recommendation has failed of election."

There were two hundred and seventy regular meetings held by the Commercial and Merchants Clubs during the period from their formation to May, 1909. The subjects discussed at these meetings have covered a wide range of topics. More than fifty meetings have been devoted to the consideration of municipal affairs, at least a dozen upon taxation, and as many more about the City Plan. Other subjects engaging the attention of the club have been education, elections, national questions, foreign relations, and especially about the World's Fair during the period of its inception and continuance. "The speaking never has been confined to club members. On the contrary, the club has been glad to offer a forum for the expression of the views of statesmen and soldiers, professional men and men of affairs generally."

Mention of the meetings and subjects considered gives but a partial idea of the effective work done by the Commercial and Merchants Clubs. "Of the two hundred and seventy regular meetings, it is within bounds to say that each one has helped to forward some good end, and many of them have been the initial and moving causes of important achievements. It would be invidious and almost impossible to estimate the relative value of these meetings, or say which were the most important, bearing in mind that in any great permanent work the prime necessity is for forming public opinion before there can be any accomplishment."

THE RECORD OF ACHIEVEMENTS

Some idea of the numerous public questions that have been the subjects of consideration by the Commercial Club are given in Glessner's summary of the club's work. "Perhaps the meetings from which the club's influence was most directly and speedily felt," he says, "were those that resulted in the founding of the Chicago Manual Training School; in presenting to the United States Government the site for Fort Sheridan, and to the State the site for the Second Regiment Armory; in the prosecution and punishment of certain county and municipal officials; in the original efforts for legislation for the Drainage Canal; in its early advocacy and support of the World's Columbian Exposition; in raising endowment funds for the Illinois Manual Training School at Glenwood, and the St. Charles School for Boys; in presenting to the United States Government a site for the Naval Training School at Lake Bluff; in establishing a street cleaning bureau for the city; in presenting to the city a site for public playgrounds at Chicago avenue and Lincoln street; in establishing the First State Pawners' Society; in the inquiry into the city's accounting methods that resulted in new and improved systems; and, most recent of all, in its earnest efforts to amend the general school law to

MUNICIPAL COURT AND ILLINOIS ATHLETIC CLUB BUILDINGS

provide improvements in the system of public education; and in the inception and development of the Chicago Plan.

"These and other philanthropic and public-spirited works of these two clubs (The Commercial and Merchants), now merged into one, have involved the collection and disbursement of more than a million of dollars, and have been potent in many reforms and improvements."

OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES' POEM

"The property of the club consists chiefly of memories and aspirations." Such things as the club has bought have been given away "freely and joyously for the good they might do." But there is one memento of which the club retains the ownership—the poem of Oliver Wendell Holmes, given to President Doane for the club by the poet himself. The original manuscript of this poem, appropriately framed in pieces of the historic elm blown down in Boston Common, has been placed in the custody of the Chicago Historical Society.

The poem, dated June 14, 1879, is as follows:

DR. HOLMES' GREETING; BOSTON, JUNE 14, 1879

Chicago sounds rough to the maker of verse;
One comfort you have—Cincinnati sounds worse;
If we only were licensed to say Chica*go!*
But Worcester and Webster won't let us, you know.
No matter,—we songsters must sing as we can;
We can make some nice couplets with Lake Michigan,
And what more resembles a nightingale's voice
Than the oily trisyllable, sweet Illinois?

Your waters are fresh, while our harbor is salt,
But we know you can't help it, it isn't your fault;
Our city is old, and your city is new,
But the railroad men tell us we're greener than you.
You have seen our gilt dome, and no doubt you've been told
That the orbs of the universe round it are rolled,
But I'll own it to you—and I ought to know best—
That this isn't quite true of all stars of the West.

You will go to Mount Auburn—we'll show you the track—
And can stay there—unless you prefer to come back—
And Bunker's tall shaft you can climb, if you will,
But you'll puff like a paragraph praising a pill.
You must see—but you *have* seen—our old Faneuil Hall—
Our churches, our school rooms, our sample rooms—all—
And perhaps, though the idiots must have their jokes,
You have found our good people much like other folks.

There are cities by rivers, by lakes and by seas,
Each as full of itself as a cheesemite of cheese;
And a city will brag as a rooster will crow—
Don't your cockerels at home—just a little, you know?
But we'll crow for you now; here's a health to the boys,
Men, maidens and matrons of fair Illinois!
And the rainbow of friendship that arches its span
From the green of the sea to the Blue Michigan!

CHAPTER XXXVII

THE NORTH SHORE

ABORIGINAL HISTORY OF THE NORTH SHORE—VISIT OF THE FIRST WHITE MEN—MISSION OF THE GUARDIAN ANGEL—ANTOINE OUILMETTE—VILLAGE OF WILMETTE—PIONEERS OF EVANSTON—COURSE OF IMMIGRATION—STEPHEN J. SCOTT—GROSS POINT—A STRANGE STORY—EDWARD H. MULFORD—ARRIVAL OF ARUNAH HILL—PIONEER SCENES—ADVENTURES OF SETTLERS—SOCIETY ACTIVITIES—TAVERNS OF THE NORTH SHORE—OLD NAMES OF TOWNS—PERILS OF THE LAKE—CALIFORNIA GOLD EXCITEMENT—LARGE PARTY LEAVES EVANSTON—JOURNEY ACROSS THE PLAINS—EXPERIENCES IN CALIFORNIA—LOOKING FORWARD TO RAILROADS.

ABORIGINAL HISTORY OF THE NORTH SHORE

THE history of the region, now known in general terms as the North Shore, properly begins with that of the aborigines who occupied the country in the remote period before the occupation of the whites. Mr. Frank R. Grover has made an exhaustive study of the subject, and in 1901 read a paper before the Evanston Historical Society with the title of "Our Indian Predecessors—The First Evanstonians." Some paragraphs from this paper are quoted below. "Every political division of this country, from state to hamlet," he says, "has a mine of untold facts, which must ever remain undisclosed. Still, the diligent and the curious can, with all due regard to the limitations to truth put upon the honest historian, gather old facts that will in the aggregate be of interest as local history; and with that end in view I wish to tell you what I have been able to learn of our Indian predecessors—the first Evanstonians."

"All the Indians," he continues, "who have held and occupied this part of Illinois as their homes, as far back as history tells us or that can be ascertained during the past four hundred years, were of the Algonquin family; and while scattering bands of the Sacs and Foxes, Miamis, Ottawas, and other Algonquin tribes, and also the Kickapoos and Winnebagoes have at times roamed over, and perhaps for very brief periods in roving bands occupied, the lands lying along the western shores of Lake Michigan in this locality, the Indian ownership, as indicated by extended occupancy, was confined almost, if not entirely, to the tribes of the Illinois and the Pottawatomies."

"It must be borne in mind that Chicago was as important a point to the Indian as it has since been to the white man, partly on account of the portage leading to the Desplaines river; and, as the lake was the great water highway, so also was its western shore an important highway for these Indian tribes when they traveled by land."

FIRST VISIT OF WHITE MEN

The first white men to see this region of country, of whom we have any record, were those in the party of Joliet and Marquette. That party passed by these shores on their northward journey in September, 1673. It will be remembered that Joliet and Marquette had a few weeks before discovered the Upper Mississippi, which they had reached by way of the Wisconsin rivers, and were now making their way back to their starting point at Green Bay through the Illinois, Desplaines and Chicago rivers, and thus into Lake Michigan.

The following year Marquette returned to the Illinois country in fulfillment of a promise he had made to the Illinois Indians that he would visit them again. Marquette was accompanied on this journey by two Frenchmen, a band of Pottawattomies and another band of Illinois, ten canoes in all. This imposing flotilla reached the Chicago River on the 4th of December, 1674. Of special interest to us in this connection, however, is the entry made in Marquette's journal of the day previous, which is as follows: "December 3d, After saying holy mass, we embarked and were compelled to make for a point, so that we could land, on account of floating masses of ice."

Mr. Grover, in his address above referred to, identified the "Point" mentioned in the journal with Gross Point, the present situation of the lighthouse. The journal says that the party reached the "river of the Portage," that is, the Chicago River, on the 4th, and, the distance being about thirteen miles, this stage of the journey would naturally be made in the course of the next day. A glance at a map, showing the shore line of this portion of the coast, will satisfy any one that Marquette was, without doubt, the first white man to set foot on the site of Evanston.

MISSION OF THE GUARDIAN ANGEL

In the year 1696, Father Pierre Francois Pinet, a Jesuit missionary priest, established the "Mission of the Guardian Angel" at a point on the western shore of Lake Michigan, which Mr. Grover has proved to have been located on an inland lake on the site of the swampy tract now known as the "Skokie," some two miles west of the present village of Wilmette. This lake has disappeared in the intervening lapse of years. In St. Cosme's account, given by Shea in his work "Early Mississippi Voyages," this intrepid traveler and missionary says that he and his party, having followed the western shore of Lake Michigan from Green Bay to a point still five leagues distant from the Chicago River, to which they were bound, could proceed no farther. It was late in October, and the weather having become stormy the party disembarked at about the same point, apparently, that Marquette had done many years before. This voyage of St. Cosme's was made two years after the establishment of Father Pinet's mission in 1696.

"We had considerable difficulty in getting ashore," writes St. Cosme, "and saving our canoes. We had to throw everything into the water. This is a thing which you must take good care of along the lakes, and especially on Lake Michigan, the shores of which are very flat,—to land soon when the water swells from the lake, for the breakers get so large in a short time that the canoes are in risk of going to pieces and losing all on board; several travelers have already been wrecked there. We went by land . . . to the house of the Reverend

Jesuit Fathers, our people staying with the baggage. We found there Rev. Father Pinet and Rev. Father Buinateau. . . . I cannot explain to you, Monseigneur, [this account is contained in a letter to the Bishop of Quebec] with what cordiality and marks of esteem these reverend Jesuit Fathers received and caressed us during the time that we had the consolation of staying with them.

"Their house is built on the banks of a small lake, having the lake on one side and a fine large prairie on the other. The Indian village is of over one hundred and fifty cabins, and one league on the river there is another village almost as large. They are both of the Miamis. Father Pinet makes it his ordinary residence except in winter, when the Indians all go hunting. . . . We saw no Indians there, they had already started for their hunt."

The "Mission of the Guardian Angel" is thus determined to have been located on the "Skokie," somewhat north and west of the present city limits of Evanston, within a few hundred yards of the Catholic church of the present village of Gross Point. It is on a spot as nearly as may be determined by these evidences that Mr. Grover has proposed that a tablet shall be erected, to commemorate the historical interest of the locality. The Mission of the Guardian Angel was abandoned a year or two after St. Cosme's visit owing to the opposition of the Canadian authorities. No trace of the mission is in existence at the present day.

ANTOINE OUILMETTE

"The primeval beauty of that ancient forest that stood on the western shore of Lake Michigan immediately north of Chicago, and covering the ground that now constitutes the northern portion of the city of Evanston and the village of Wilmette, has passed away. Many of its towering elms and great oaks that have stood for centuries of time remain to indicate in some measure what was the real beauty of that forest in the days when this Illinois country was unknown to white men."

Thus writes Mr. Frank R. Grover, to whom we are indebted for the material gathered by him in the course of his researches on the subject with which we are here concerned. "The Ouilmette Reservation and its former occupants and owners," says Grover, "have been the subject of much solicitude and investigation, not entirely for historical purposes, but more especially that the white man might know that he had a good white man's title to the Indian's land."

"The Reservation takes its name from its original owner, Archange Ouilmette, wife of Antoine Ouilmette, described in the original Treaty and Patent from the United States, as a Pottawattomie woman. The name given the village—Wilmette—originates from Antoine himself and from the phonetic spelling of the French name 'Ouilmette,' and is said upon good authority to have been first suggested as the name of the village by Judge Henry W. Blodgett, late of Waukegan, who was interested in the very early real estate transactions of the village."

Of Ouilmette, Grover says, "This striking figure in our local history, and in the very early history of Chicago, is sadly neglected in most, if not all, the historical writings. Almost every one in this locality knows that the Village of Wilmette was named after him; many misinformed people speak of Ouilmette as an Indian chief; a few of the writers merely mention his name as one of the early

settlers of Chicago, and that has been the beginning and end of his written history."

Antoine Ouilmette was at one time in the service of the American Fur Company, and afterwards in that of John Kinzie at Chicago, and, at different times, Indian trader, hunter, and farmer. He married the Pottawattomie woman, Archange, about 1797, as it appears, at Gross Point, where he had found a temporary domicile among his Indian friends; although he did not permanently settle there until about the year 1829, as we shall presently see. Ouilmette had a family of eight children. The treaty of Prairie du Chien, dated July 29, 1829, included a grant among its other provisions, "to Archange Ouilmette, a Pottawattomie woman, wife of Antoine Ouilmette, two sections [of land] for herself and her children, on Lake Michigan, south of and adjoining the northern boundary of the cession herein made by the Indians aforesaid to the United States. . . . The tracts of land herein stipulated to be granted shall never be leased or conveyed by the grantees, or their heirs, to any person whatever, without the permission of the President of the United States." Such permission was obtained in later years, and all the lands of the "Reservation" have passed into the hands of other grantees.

The tract known as the "Wilmette Reservation" extended from a point a little south of Kenilworth (using names familiar to us at the present day) to Central street, in the city of Evanston, with the lake as its eastern boundary, and extending westward some distance beyond the Chicago & North-Western railway. Thus some three hundred acres of the Reservation are within the present limits of the city of Evanston, and the remainder within those of Wilmette village.

When Ouilmette came to take up his permanent residence on the Reservation, he built a substantial log cabin "on the high bluffs on the lake shore, opposite, or a little north of Lake avenue, in the present village of Wilmette." The site on which this cabin stood has long since been washed away, owing to the encroachments of the lake along that shore, though the cabin itself had already been torn down and its material scattered. A view of the cabin has been drawn by Mr. Charles P. Westerfield from his recollection of its appearance, and is printed as a frontispiece in Mr. Grover's pamphlet, entitled "Antoine Ouilmette," from which we have so freely quoted.

MR. GROVER'S RESEARCHES

Proper acknowledgment should here be made of Mr. Grover's service to the cause of local history, especially that part of it which has to do with the aboriginal occupation, and down to and inclusive of Ouilmette's appearance upon the scene. Mr. Grover's researches have been thorough, and he has established the history of the region on a firm and lasting foundation. Referring to the visits of Fathers Marquette and St. Cosme, the records had indeed shown the details from the time of the ancient writings in the "Jesuit Relations" and elsewhere, but it remained for Grover to point out, in this day of the growing importance of North Shore history, the special interest which these episodes possessed to the historians of the present day.

THE PIONEER HISTORY OF EVANSTON AND THE NORTH SHORE

When the Black Hawk war closed, in 1832, the region lying north of Chicago was an unbroken forest. For the purposes of the settlers, who soon after began to arrive at Chicago in great numbers, the region which we call the North Shore was not as attractive as the open prairie country to the west and south. It is well to remember that the southern portion of the State of Illinois was settled long before the northern portion was. The accessibility of the southern portion of the state to the river systems of the Ohio and Mississippi rendered it easy for the earlier settlers to come from the East by way of those rivers and take up lands near their banks. Gradually the settlements extended inland, and when Illinois was admitted as a state in 1818, with a population of fifty thousand, there were yet scarcely any settlements in the northern portion, which still remained practically in the same condition as it was known to the explorers.

CONDITIONS AT CHICAGO

A brief review of conditions at Chicago at this time will enable the reader to form a better idea of that portion of its history we are to outline in these paragraphs.

At the time of the Black Hawk war in 1832 the entrance to the Chicago River had become a convenient landing place for vessels on the lakes, though it was as yet an open roadstead. It was not until some years later that the government dredged out the channel so as to permit larger vessels to enter the river. Steamers, however, had begun to ply the lakes at this period, and a few years later, in 1839, a regular line of steamers was established connecting Buffalo and Chicago. The year 1832, in which the Black Hawk war occurred, was an epoch in the history of Chicago and the regions surrounding it because of the great influx of troops and supplies at this point, under the direction of the government, thus establishing a route which was followed by settlers afterwards when seeking entrance to the fertile prairie lands and woodlands of this portion of the state of Illinois, and the territory of Wisconsin to the north. The war itself was little more than a series of skirmishes with the Indians who were finally driven across the Mississippi, and they troubled the country no more. The accounts of the war caused an immense sensation everywhere throughout the country, and after its conclusion very important consequences followed. The attention of the country was called to the advantages in the soil and climate possessed by Illinois. The officers and men of the army, on their return from the campaign throughout the northern portion of Illinois and Wisconsin, brought home with them wonderful accounts of the country, and settlers began to arrive in a constantly increasing stream which soon became a tide.

THE TIDE OF IMMIGRATION

An active movement of settlers began from the eastern states, Ohio, Pennsylvania, New York state and from farther east. Thus there was an entirely different class of settlers arriving in this region from that which had moved into the southern portion of the state, the latter of whom came largely from Kentucky

and Virginia. Chicago began to grow rapidly and to become important as a depot of supplies for the settlers moving out to the country to the west.

While the importance of Chicago as a trading center for the surrounding territory began to be apparent to many far-seeing individuals, other places seemed preferable to most of the arriving settlers as places of residence and permanent settlement. There were places south and west of this point which were thought to have advantages superior to the wretched little settlement on the low flat lands at the mouth of the Chicago River.

However, the course of events during the Black Hawk war had clearly shown the importance of this point as a base of supplies, and likewise its natural advantages as a trading point. During the progress of that war, there was landed at Fort Dearborn the force of United States regulars to the number of one thousand men under General Winfield Scott, which took part in the campaign. After the hostile Indians had been driven out of the state the few frightened settlers who had taken refuge at the fort returned to their holdings. Chicago began to increase in population after this time, and, in 1835, there were some fifteen hundred inhabitants, though the importance of the place was much greater than might be inferred from its small population.

DESTINATIONS OF THE SETTLERS

Few of the new arrivals from the east, however, remained at Chicago. It was "too uninviting," one relates. Its aspect was forbidding, and immigrants moved on to more attractive locations. A postoffice had been established in 1831, and for some time afterward the entire country for fifty miles around became tributary to Chicago for its postal facilities. Thus the prairie lands to the west were rapidly taken up, and it was not until the middle "thirties" that settlers began to turn their attention to the wooded regions lying to the north.

But even in the "twenties" there were occasional instances of occupation of the country towards the north. A mail route between the military posts at Green Bay and Chicago, over which a carrier passed once a month, was in use as early as 1825. About this time a man named John K. Clark, generally known as "Indian Clark," built a cabin some distance up on the North Branch, at Northfield, a few miles west of where Winnetka now stands, and devoted himself to hunting and horse trading. Archibald Clybourn had a farm and slaughtering establishment about four miles up the North Branch, near the spot now known as Clybourn Junction, and furnished vegetables and meat to the military post at Fort Dearborn. Clybourn's farm for a long time was the limit of settlement to the north. "Indian Clark" was a half brother of Archibald Clybourn. He was often seen by the pioneers, going through the woods from one point to another leading a string of ponies, one tied to another's tail, and on their backs would be seen deer and other game which he had secured as he came along. He was a picturesque character and he is often encountered in the early annals of this region. Indeed, there is material enough in the career of "Indian Clark" to fill many a page of romance and story.

EVANSTON'S FIRST SETTLER

On August 26, 1826, Stephen J. Scott and his family arrived in the schooner "Sheldon" off Gross Point, as the locality now known as Evanston was then called. Casting anchor, Mr. Scott went ashore in a small boat to view the place. He had been a seafaring man on the Atlantic coast, but had determined to seek a new home in the western country. At Buffalo on his way westward he had procured the schooner to convey his goods by lake. He had no destination especially in mind, and in passing Gross Point was attracted by the beauty of the place.

Well pleased with the outlook at this point, and deciding to settle here, he brought his goods ashore, and left the schooner in charge of her captain. He built "a rude habitation of posts, poles and blankets," which may be said to have been the first civilized dwelling on the spot we now call Evanston. Mr. Scott's son, Willard Scott, who was eighteen years old at the time of the landing, three years afterward became the first settler of Naperville, having married a young woman whose parents lived in that neighborhood. Some few years later still, in 1838, the elder Scott followed his son to Naperville, and his history henceforth belongs to that of Du Page County.

GROSS POINT

A point of land forming an obtuse angle projects into the lake about thirteen miles north of the mouth of the Chicago River, and here the land rises into bluffs of a moderate height. This was called Gross Point by the early voyageurs, and in common with many other names up and down the lakes also of French origin, the name has remained as a picturesque remnant of the period when all this extensive lake region was a part of the dominion of the French kings. The wooded shores of the lake wore a lovely aspect to the passing voyageur or sailor, and Gross Point especially loomed up as a most attractive spot and became known by the romantic name of "Beauty's Eyebrow." The point, however, was a place to be dreaded in storm and darkness, and there is a long list of wrecks and losses of life associated with its history. In 1874 a tall lighthouse with a revolving light was built by the government and now serves as a landmark and guide to the mariner.

The name of Gross Point, as applied to this portion of the North shore, is in use almost exclusively by lake navigators at the present time. In the early time the name became applied to the entire surrounding region, and it was known legally as the "Gross Point Voting District." In 1846, a postoffice was established here with the name of Gross Point. The general locality also became popularly known as the "Ridge," and when a township came to be formed in 1850, it was called Ridgeville township, and about the same time the name of the postoffice was changed from Gross Point to Ridgeville, the residents at whose instance the change was made, evidently regarding the latter as a more euphonious name.

The name, Gross Point, being of French origin should, if correctly written in French, have a final *e* at the end of both words. There is a Grosse Pointe, thus written, near Detroit, a name having a similar derivation—meaning a high point of land,—in the spelling of which the final *e* is retained in both words. The general usage here is to spell the two words without the final vowel on either.

ABRAHAM HATHAWAY'S ARRIVAL

About 1834, a man named Abraham Hathaway built a cabin within the limits of the present city of Evanston, at the southeast corner of Grove street and Chicago avenue, just inside the small park known as Raymond Park. It was a log house as most of the houses were at that time. Here he kept liquor for sale, and the place soon became the headquarters of counterfeiters and fugitives from justice, and generally speaking, a vile resort. Up to within a few years the spot was marked by a number of old willow trees, since cut away. There is no vestige of the building left now, however. Some of the old pioneers remember Hathaway and his cabin distinctly.

A strange story is told by the old settlers which strongly hints at a tragedy. One evening a peddler with a horse and wagon stopped at Hathaway's. In the morning it was observed that the man had disappeared, but the horse and wagon as well as the peddler's goods still remained at Hathaway's place. In answer to questions Hathaway explained that he had bought the peddler's outfit and the man himself had gone on his way afoot. The next day Hathaway was seen filling up a fine well of water, and when asked why he did it, said that the water was bad and he was going to dig another, which he did accordingly. Sometime in the early "forties" Hathaway left these parts, and the story of the peddler's disappearance and possible murder aroused so much interest, that some of the residents got together and thought they would find out for themselves if there was any truth in the story, then having become widely circulated, of the peddler's being buried in the well. A party armed themselves with picks and shovels and began digging out the well which it was seen had been thoroughly filled and covered. They proceeded with the excavation until they came to a mass of stones, sticks and rough filling material. About this time they began to think they were on the eve of solving a mystery which might involve them all in a lot of legal complications, long journeys to the city and possible detentions as witnesses. So they came to the conclusion that they had better go no farther in the matter, and accordingly the party shouldered their shovels and picks and went to their homes, leaving the mystery as deep as ever.

Mr. B. F. Hill, however, who remembered him well, testifies that Hathaway had neighborly traits and was held in esteem by some of the early settlers. He says that Hathaway kept a stock of pigs, and gave out word among the newly arrived settlers that to each one of those who would come to his cabin on a certain day he would give a young pig as long as his supply lasted. The Hill family were thus enabled to make a start in live stock raising, so important to the welfare of the pioneer farmers. But Hathaway, although under a cloud of suspicion due to his strange and apparently lawless life, returned again in a few years and was a resident of the neighborhood in 1850, at which time he became a member of the party that crossed the plains to California, as we shall see farther on in this history.

THE ARRIVAL OF OTHER SETTLERS

In the year 1835, Major Edward H. Mulford came to Chicago and engaged in the jewelry business with his son James who had preceded him a year. Mul-

ford's jewelry store was one of the first, if not the first, of its kind in Chicago. It is an interesting fact that Major Mulford obtained his title of "Major" by virtue of a commission as paymaster in the New York state militia, signed by Governor De Witt Clinton of New York, and dated 1826. This document is now in the possession of the Evanston Historical Society. Soon after his arrival in Chicago, Major Mulford "took up" one hundred and sixty acres of land within the present limits of the city of Evanston, on the Ridge road opposite Calvary, and upon this tract he erected a rough board cabin. He did not live in this house or cabin until two years later, it being occupied at first by the Hill family, as we shall presently see.

Settlers began to arrive in the following year in rapidly increasing numbers. During the year 1836, came George and Paul Pratt, John and James Carney, James B. Colvin, Henry Clarke and others. Also came that year Arunah Hill and his family, of whom we shall speak more fully. Other settlers joined them in the following years, among whom were Samuel Reed, Sylvester Beckwith, David W. Burroughs, Edward Murphy, Eli Gaffield, Philo Colvin, Oliver Jellison, James Hartray, Otis Munn, George W. Huntoon and others. In 1836, a stage line was opened between Chicago and Milwaukee by way of the present Milwaukee avenue, but it was not until some years later that stages ran through this place over the Green Bay road.

THE ARRIVAL OF ARUNAH HILL

In October, 1836, Arunah Hill and his family, to whom we have already referred, arrived at Chicago in a small schooner called the "Dolphin," in which it had taken them over three weeks to accomplish a voyage from Cleveland, Ohio, the point of their departure. The family consisted of Arunah Hill, his wife and seven children. Hill had been a captain in the army and had served under General Winfield Scott in the War of 1812. Among the children was Benjamin Franklin Hill, then a boy of six years of age. The latter lived in Evanston the greater part of his life and died at Llewellyn Park, just north of the Evanston city limits in October, 1905, in his seventy-sixth year.

After landing his household goods from the schooner, Arunah Hill met Major Mulford in Chicago, who had recently built a cabin on his land about ten miles north of the courthouse, then as now the point from which distances were reckoned, and arranged with him to occupy it. Hill then hired an ox team and wagon and started late in the day, stopping for the night at a place about five miles on the journey, kept by a man named Britton. The next day the journey was resumed and he arrived at the Mulford cabin about noon.

The cabin stood in the woods, scarcely a tree having been felled near it. It was fourteen by sixteen feet in size, and ten feet in height, with boards running up and down and without "battens," with two small windows of one sash in each, and having no chimney. The stove was set up with the pipe thrust through the window, and the rest of the furniture was soon after installed. "Large forest trees stood near the house," relates Mr. Hill in his "Reminiscences," "and as soon as the sun went down the wolves, which were very numerous, would commence to howl. As the darkness deepened the sounds would indicate the nearer

approach of the animals, and often in the midst of the howls of the wolves there would be heard the piercing cries of lynx and wild cats. Owls hooted from the trees and added to the nocturnal chorus which filled the family with fears, until they became accustomed to these voices of the night."

Hill occupied this house for a year and then moved to a tract of land situated near where the present village of Gross Point is located, just west of Wilmette. On this tract Hill built a log house. This kind of a house, the old settlers unite in saying, was far more comfortable than any kind of a frame building, a most effective shelter from cold in winter and heat in summer. The hardships of pioneer life had great compensations in the pleasure of living where nature was so lavish and generous. Wildflowers and wild fruits were abundant, as well as nuts and berries. There was plenty of game, especially deer, which were very often seen. The great difficulty was, however, in securing them, as there were few guns in the possession of the settlers at that time.

REIGNING VICES OF THE TIME

Whiskey drinking was the reigning vice of the time, a stock of liquors being kept for sale in almost every road-side cabin. The cabins of the settlers often displayed signs on which was the word "grocery," and in addition to liquors there was often a small stock of general provisions and supplies. These places were the frequent resort of the idle, especially during the long winter season. The distances between one habitation and another were often considerable, and belated persons were frequently frozen to death in extreme weather, especially if in an intoxicated condition. Indeed there were more deaths from freezing than from any other fatality. Mr. Hill reckoned up some twenty-seven deaths from this cause, mostly among a class of transient dwellers such as discharged soldiers, sailors out of employment for the winter, and farm hands.

ACTIVITIES OF THE SETTLERS

The activities of the times were mostly in the way of clearing up the land and bringing it under cultivation. The rapid growth of Chicago and its proximity gave the settler an excellent market for anything he had to sell. Wood for fuel and logs for sawing were produced in great quaitities. Many engaged in coopering, a form of industry which at one time was very important here. Charcoal burning was also an important industry. Wood and logs were transported to Chicago by lake as well as by road. Logs were made up into rafts in the lake and floated down to the Chicago River. It was on one of these raft voyages that one of the settlers, a man named George Pratt, previously mentioned, lost his life. The raft had reached the entrance to the river, two men navigating it, when the fastenings parted. Pratt was seen to disappear for a moment, but presently he called out "not to mind him." He was never again seen. Many small schooners were engaged in carrying wood from points along the north shore to Chicago. These schooners were called "wood-hookers." Travel upon the roads in an early day was often very difficult, owing to the sandy soil. Such as they were, however, the roads to Chicago were at all times thronged with ox teams hauling loads of wood, and one old resident remembers seeing as many as a hundred

teams thus engaged on the road between this point and Chicago. In the early "fifties," however, the wood had been mostly cut away and Chicago had to go farther north for its wood supply after that. This neighborhood then gradually became a farming country, and supplied the city with vegetables and country produce very much as it does at the present day.

In 1846, as we have already said, a postoffice was established with the name of Gross Point, the people before that time having been obliged to depend upon the Chicago postoffice. A postoffice, however, had previously been established at Dutchman's Point, now Niles, which was largely made use of by the scattered residents of Gross Point. In the records of the Evanston Historical Society there are the names of over three hundred persons who were regular dwellers in this neighborhood in 1854, before the railroad was opened or the Northwestern University had purchased land here. This is mentioned because there seems to be an impression in some quarters that this place was devoid of inhabitants before the University selected the site here for its permanent location.

MARRIAGES AMONG THE SETTLERS

Among the marriages may be mentioned that of Emmeline Huntoon to Alexander McDaniel, of Sarah Burroughs to Charles Crain, and of another Burroughs girl, Lucinda, to Sylvester Beckwith, who was a lake captain, Mary A. Colvin to Nelson Haven, also a lake captain, Ruth Colvin to Joel Stebbins, Ann Marshall to Robert Kyle, another lake captain, Betsy Ann Snyder to George Monteath, and Marietta Jellison to John J. Foster. This list might be indefinitely extended, but the fact that matrimony was so popular among the early residents indicates that the settlers of Gross Point were, generally speaking, prosperous and contented in this far-off outpost of civilization.

TAVERNS ALONG GREEN BAY ROAD

The road north from Chicago, instead of being lined by villages and towns, as at present, was marked by taverns, or "hotels," as they were often rather grandiloquently called in those days, at intervals of a few miles. The first of these, after leaving Chicago, was Britton's, which was situated about where the old Lake View town hall now stands. The next was Baer's tavern at Rosehill; the next, Traders', at Calvary. Others along the Green Bay road (which was the general name for the road north) were Tillman's tavern, Buckeye hotel, Stebbins' tavern, etc. These taverns were later known after the stage coaches began to run as "Seven-mile house," "Ten-mile house," etc., according to their location. The roads followed the low ridges which begin to rise gradually toward the north, and were generally sandy, which is the usual characteristic of the surface on the higher undulations of the land, though in the flat portions between the ridges the soil is dark and fertile.

SITE OF CHICAGO BOTTOM OF SHALLOW BAY

In recent geologic times the waters of Lake Michigan stood some twenty feet higher than at present and poured a flood over the divide into the Desplaines river valley, taking the same course through which the great Drainage Canal was

cut some years since at immense labor and expense. The present site of Chicago was then the bottom of a shallow bay extending westward to the higher lands some twelve or fifteen miles from the present margin of the lake, and northward in long tongues of shallow water between the ridges which formed low promontories. At that time the first land appearing above the surface of the waters was in the neighborhood of Rosehill, and from this point northward the land rose gradually until at Waukegan the bluffs attained a height of fifty or sixty feet above the surface of the lake. These facts account for the sandy ridges, gravelly sub-soil and old beach marks which are characteristic of the region. The glacial action of a more remote period is evident in the occurrence of boulders, some of great size. One may be seen near the railway station at Waukegan, and one on the campus of the Northwestern university at Evanston.

MANY EARLY SETTLERS GERMANS

The settlers of the North Shore region, arriving previous to 1850, came by boat and by overland routes from the east. Many of them were former residents of eastern states, but German immigrants formed a large element. The descendants of these German settlers remain today as market gardeners and flower growers on a large scale, occupying the lands on the beautiful rolling country a few miles back from the lake shore.

Chicago was incorporated as a city in 1837 and had attained a population upwards of 4,000 and was a ready and convenient market for everything the settlers had to sell—wood for fuel and cooperage, farm produce, etc. Thus there was a larger measure of prosperity among the settlers than usual in pioneer communities. They began to surround themselves with a better class of improvements, built frame houses to replace the log cabins of the earlier period, and provided better school facilities for the young.

COMMUNITIES CHANGE NAMES

April 26, 1850, the name of the postoffice was changed from Gross Point to Ridgeville. At this time the places toward the north were as follows:

	Miles from Chicago
Original name, Seven-Mile House; present name, Rosehill	7.8
Original name, Ten-Mile House; present name, Calvary	10.4
Original name, Gross Point, later Ridgeville; present name, Evanston	12.00
Original name, Ouilmette Reservation; present name, Wilmette	14.3
Original name, Port Clinton; present name, Highland Park	23.2
Original name, St. John; present name, Highwood	24.5
Original name, Little Fort; present name, Waukegan	36

The northern limits of Cook county are reached some twenty-one miles north of Chicago, the remainder of the distance along the north shore to the state line lying in Lake county.

THE PEOPLE AND THE LAKE

The life of the people living along the North Shore, as may well be imagined, was in an early day closely interwoven with that of Lake Michigan, with its vicissitudes of storm and calm, its busy commerce and attendant disasters, its navigation and its life afloat. From the shores an illimitable horizon stretched away to the eastward, and fleets of sailing craft flecked the broad bosom of its waters. Like the maritime population of every seacoast in the world, the residents were connected by ties of interest and personal relationship in a large measure with the commerce of the lakes and its personnel. Many families had one or more members engaged in the occupation of sailing the lakes, and among the older inhabitants are captains and sailors who, while now retired, spent years of their lives in lake navigation.

The last twenty years has witnessed a great diminution in the numbers of sailing vessels, their places being supplied by the great steamers which carry in one cargo as much as ten or a dozen schooners formerly did. Tales of maritime adventures could be gathered in volumes from the older inhabitants and their descendants today, and many of the early settlers on this shore were attracted thither by the bosky woodlands and pleasant uplands seen from passing vessels.

WRECK OF SCHOONER WINSLOW

Captain Sylvester Beckwith, in command of the schooner "Winslow," which he had sailed fourteen years, was in 1841 wrecked off the shore where Winnetka is now located, and, with his crew, found shelter at Patterson's tavern, then the principal stopping place at that point for stages and road travel on the Green Bay road. He abandoned life afloat and took up land near old Gross Point and remained there the rest of his life, becoming one of our prominent and substantial citizens. Captain Fred Canfield and Captain Robert Kyle likewise settled here after many years of seafaring life.

Every mile of the shore has its record of wreck and loss of life, and since the life-saving station was established at Evanston in 1877 the saving of some 400 lives during the thirty years of its existence gives some idea of the disasters and loss of life which must have occurred in previous years, when no record was kept. For, while the shores are not rockbound, as on many dangerous coasts, the peril to navigators when forced on a sandy beach, especially when skirted by bluffs approaching close to the margin of the lake, has proved to be a very serious one. It was for this reason that the government has established at short intervals along this shore light houses, fog horns and life-saving stations.

THE CALIFORNIA GOLD EXCITEMENT

In the year 1849 the California gold excitement broke out, and as everywhere else produced a profound impression among the people who resided here at that time. The telegraph having come into use in the years immediately preceding, and Chicago having an enterprising press, the people were kept well informed as to passing events. Ozro Crain, one of the early residents, went to California in 1849, and having seen for himself the wonderful richness of the gold mines, re-

turned later in the year with full and glowing accounts which he related to his neighbors.

The prosperity of the settlers warranted them in undertaking the long journey across the plains fully equipped with the means of transportation. In April of the following year, a party of thirty was made up under the leadership of Ozro Crain, and started on the journey. Every two persons were provided with a light wagon and a horse, and an extra horse was led behind each wagon. Those who could not go freely loaned money to those who could, in cases where the latter were not themselves sufficiently provided. Besides their outfits, each was obliged to be provided with ready money to buy supplies on the way and establish himself after arriving on the ground. The parting of the adventurers from their families and friends is described as an affecting one, keepsakes and locks of hair were left with the dear ones, and many sad farewells were spoken as the party disappeared south along the Ridge Road, bound for the new El Dorado. A large number of "California Widows," as they were called, were left behind to carry on the work of farm and shop during the absence of their husbands and brothers, an absence which it was supposed would very likely extend to a period of at least two years.

Nobly the women fulfilled the trust reposed in them, the affairs of the absent ones being looked after with faithfulness and intelligent care. The conduct of these women affords as fine an example of constancy and devotion as can be found in the annals of romance. Just as the Crusaders of old, rallying from every country in Europe and following the Banner of the Cross to the far distant land of Palestine, found on their return from an absence of years their faithful wives true in their affections and to the trusts confided to them, so our California Argonauts found on their return the warmth of heart-felt affection undiminished, and a welcome to their homes and firesides after their long absence in the "land of gold." And when we consider what those homes were, far on the frontier of civilization, devoid of many of the comforts and conveniences which we deem so necessary in the homes of this day, we can form some idea of the true-hearted faithfulness of the women of pioneer times. It is these women who, in the pioneer life we have attempted to depict, have maintained the honor and purity of those homes of the early times, and to whom are due the best and most enduring elements in the institutions and life we now enjoy, elements which are among our most precious heritages. "True hearts are more than coronets, and simple faith than Norman blood."

THE NAMES OF THOSE IN THE PARTY

So far as we have been able to ascertain, after diligent inquiry among the families and descendants of the pioneer settlers, the names of those who made up the California party were as follows: Ozro Crain, the leader, Charles Crain, Ervin Crain, Leander Crain, brothers of Ozro, Orson Crain, a cousin, Alonzo Burroughs, William Foster and his son John, Oliver Jellison, Alexander McDaniel, Eli Gaffield, Sylvester Beckwith, Andrew Robinson, Benjamin Emerson, James Hartray, Azel Patterson, Joel Stebbins, James Dennis, George Reed, Henry Pratt, Smith Hill, James Bowman, and others whose last names only can be given,—Hazzard,

Fox, Webley, Fluent, Miller, Rice, and Ackley. There were others who also went across the plains to the same destination, but not with the party above mentioned. Some of these were Benjamin F. Hill, Samuel Reed, John O'Leary, and our old friend Abraham Hathaway.

TIDINGS FROM THE ADVENTURERS

We have some interesting records of the journey. Alexander McDaniel methodically kept a diary during the two years of his absence, and when possible wrote long letters to his young wife at home. Letters from Ft. Leavenworth, Ft. Laramie and Salt Lake City were received, and finally, after a journey of some two and one-half months, the party, at least most of them, reached their destination on the western slopes of the Sierras.

Some members of the party did not remain with their associates to the end of the journey, preferring to return from various points on the way. Those who at last reached the gold diggings took up claims and began work in earnest. McDaniel records in his diary the amount of "dust" taken out each day, and the amounts varied from three or four dollars to over thirty dollars as the result of the day's work, and on some exceptional days much larger sums. As fast as he accumulated the precious metal in sufficient quantities to make shipments, it was sent by Wells, Fargo Express (the same company and name we are familiar with today) to his faithful wife at home, who cared for it safely until his return some twenty-one months later, after gaining about three thousand dollars as the result of his trip. The Crains also did well, generally speaking, as did many of the other members of the party. They almost all returned within a couple of years, either across the plains, the way they had gone, or by the Panama route. Benjamin Emerson was robbed of four thousand dollars of his gains while on his way home. Oliver Jellison disappeared and was never more heard of; Joel Stebbins, Mr. Webley and Azel Patterson never returned, their fate unknown to this day.

There are to-day old estates in Evanston which either in their beginnings or through additions are in part made up of the money brought back from the gold mines of California.

THE INTENSE DESIRE FOR RAILROADS

In the early "fifties," the people everywhere were immensely interested in railroad building. Their imaginations were all on fire when considering the future development of the country, and the railroads proposed to be built over the great routes of trade. In the previous decade lines had been opened in various parts of the state, and the pioneer residents of the North Shore were anxiously looking forward to the time when a line would be built from Chicago to the north. Major Mulford used to stand at the door of his house, and looking towards the flats between his house and the opposite ridge would say to his neighbors, "Some day, my friends, you will see the iron horse following its course along this valley." In fact the line was built precisely where he had indicated. Men's minds were keyed up expectantly for the advent of the railroad. Few had seen a railroad in operation, but the people longed passionately for its arrival among them. The enthusiasm with which every project for railroad building was received by the

people is scarcely conceivable in these days when railroads, their managers and their affairs generally are the targets for every man's abuse and criticism. Counties all over the state freely issued bonds in aid of new railroad projects, and the national government granted to the Illinois Central railroad every alternate section of land along its entire line from one end of the state to the other.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

EVANSTON

FOUNDING OF NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY—NAMING OF EVANSTON—SUBURBS OF CHICAGO—FOUR MILE LIMIT—LIQUOR TRAFFIC FORBIDDEN—FINANCIAL BEGINNINGS OF THE UNIVERSITY—EARLY BUILDINGS OF THE UNIVERSITY—FIRST ARRIVALS AFTER LOCATING THE UNIVERSITY—EARLY CHURCHES—GARRETT BIBLICAL INSTITUTE— MRS. GARRETT'S WILL—HECK HALL DEDICATED—OTHER BUILDINGS ADDED—NORTHWESTERN FEMALE COLLEGE—"LADY ELGIN" DISASTER IN 1860—EVANSTON STUDENTS IN WORK OF RESCUE—EDWARD W. SPENCER—THE SCENE ON THE SHORE—THREE HUNDRED LIVES LOST—AWAKENING OF THE WAR SPIRIT—DIFFERENCES OF SENTIMENT AMONG THE COMMUTERS—EVANSTON MILITARY RECORD—DISTINGUISHED UNION LEADERS FROM EVANSTON—NAMES OF MEN ENLISTED FROM EVANSTON—TWO MEN JOIN CONFEDERATE ARMY FROM EVANSTON—THE EIGHTH ILLINOIS CAVALRY.

THE NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

THE organization of the Northwestern University occurred something over two years before its location at Evanston had been fully decided upon. The several steps in the organization of the University and its final location may be briefly described as follows:

On the 31st day of May, 1850, a meeting of a few gentlemen was held in the office of Grant Goodrich in Chicago, the object of which was to take steps towards founding a university "to be under the control and patronage of the Methodist Episcopal Church." Among those present at the meeting were Grant Goodrich, Rev. Zadoc Hall, Rev. Richard Haney, Rev. R. H. Blanchard, Orrington Lunt, Dr. John Evans, J. K. Botsford, Henry W. Clarke, and Andrew J. Brown. The result of the meeting was an application to the state legislature for a charter which was granted in an act passed January 28th, 1851. Pursuant to this act the Northwestern University was formally organized June 14th, 1851.

THE FIRST BOARD OF TRUSTEES OF THE NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

The president of the first Board of Trustees was Dr. John Evans, a prominent citizen of Chicago and devoted to the interests of the Methodist church. Soon after he became president Dr. Evans on behalf of the Board of Trustees arranged for the purchase of the block of ground in Chicago upon which now stands the Grand Pacific Hotel and the Illinois Trust and Savings Bank. The purchase price was eight thousand dollars. The purpose in view in making this purchase was the building of a preparatory school upon the site, but this purpose was after-

wards abandoned. The land, however, was retained and is now a valuable asset of the University. "This was the smartest thing we ever did," said Mr. Orrington Lunt, one of the trustees, many years later. "There was nothing particularly smart in the purchasing, but the smart thing was in the keeping of it, for it is now (1888) worth a million dollars." June 22d, 1853, Clark T. Hinman was elected the first president of the University, though no buildings had been erected as yet and no site even selected. Several locations were under consideration and finally a party, prominent in which was Mr. Lunt, visited the lake shore in the Township of Ridgeville and decided on the site now occupied by the University. A tract of three hundred and eighty acres was purchased from Dr. John H. Foster in August, 1853. A part of the land was laid out for a campus, a building erected, and the University was opened to students November 5th, 1855. A year or more before this time, in October, 1854, Dr. Hinman had died, and no successor was elected until the following year.

THE NAMING OF EVANSTON

During the winter of 1853-4, a plat of a village was made under the superintendence of Rev. Philo Judson, who had been appointed by the Board of Trustees as the business agent of the University. The village thus platted was named Evanston, in honor of Dr. John Evans, the president of the Board of Trustees. This action was taken by the Board on February 3d, 1854. The plat of the village was recorded by the County Recorder on July 27th, of the same year. The name of the postoffice, however, was not changed until August 27th, 1855, when it ceased to be called Ridgeville, and was then and thereafter officially named Evanston by the United States Postoffice Department. The name of the Township of Ridgeville was changed to Evanston on February 17th, 1857, accompanied by a change of boundaries. Lakeview Township, formerly a part of Ridgeville Township, was at the same time created, and has since been included within the city limits of Chicago.

To illustrate the interest that the Chicago people were taking in the new institution a portion of an article is quoted from the *Daily Democratic Press,* in its issue for August 22d, 1854. The article has "Evanston" for its title. "Attracted by the picturesqueness of its scenery," it says, "the purity of the breezes which blow over it from Lake Michigan, its propinquity to the commercial metropolis of the Northwest, the readiness with which access to it may be attained upon the completion of the Chicago and Milwaukee Railroad, and its admirable adaptation in other important respects to the end had in view, the trustees of the Northwestern University effected a favorable negotiation of the proprietorship thereof, and have determined to found there an institution which shall fully meet the wants of the country and the age."

SUBURBS OF CHICAGO

With the increasing population of Chicago and the consequent need of greater suburban growth, the region for many miles north, south and west of the city has gradually become converted from prairie or woodland into residence towns. "Occasionally a suburb grows up at some sightly point on the lake shore, or

Photograph taken by A. W. Watriss

TOWN HALL OF THE FORMER CITY OF LAKE VIEW

Built in 1872 at a cost of seventeen thousand dollars, corner Addison and Halsted streets

gathers about some educational institution; or a group of people engaged in a common enterprise select a picturesque spot on river banks, and there build homes which, by their very relations one to another, indicate neighborliness. In each of these instances a community of feeling pervades the place and finds expression in well shaded streets, broad lawns, and homelike architecture." The words thus quoted are from the "Plan of Chicago," recently published, and well describes in general terms such suburban cities and towns as Evanston, Wheaton and Naperville; and, in the natural features outlined in the quotation, as Oak Park, Maywood, Hinsdale, and many similar towns lying beyond the city's limits.

Evanston, like many other of Chicago's attractive and populous suburbs, well fulfills the conditions required by a stranger seeking a location, as expressed by Ex-President Harrison in an address before a club in Indianapolis, in 1897. Such a stranger, said he, "will want to know about the homes, the schools, the churches, the social and literary clubs, whether it is a place where domestic life is convenient and enjoyable, where the social life is broad and hospitable, where vice is in restraint; where moral and physical sanitation have due provision, where charity is broad and wise—a city to which men grow attached, to which they will come back."

THE NEW PERIOD IN EVANSTON HISTORY

When the Northwestern University decided upon locating its campus and buildings where they are now situated, the community which soon after became known as Evanston entered upon a new era in its history. It became a seat of learning and a center of interest to the large body of Methodists throughout the West, and attracted a class of residents who were connected with the work of the University. The friends and sympathizers with the new institution also came in constantly increasing numbers, so that a tone and atmosphere were created that vitally influenced the later development of the place. The prohibition against the sale of liquors within a limit of four miles from the principal buildings of the University, such a provision having been included in the charter of the institution, guaranteed to the community immunity from the evil influences of the liquor traffic. Previous to this time, in the older pioneer period, liquor selling had been carried on at all the taverns, "groceries," and road houses scattered along the highways; and these places had become resorts for thieves and fugitives from justice, and especially counterfeiters, who flourished greatly in those days, to the great scandal of the quiet and lawabiding settlers of the vicinity. This was now done away with completely, and from the establishment of the University down to the present time the prohibition against liquor selling has lent character and distinction to the place, and this prohibition continues to be one of the most carefully guarded and cherished institutions of the people of Evanston.

FINANCIAL BEGINNINGS OF THE UNIVERSITY

The first subscription made to the Northwestern University was that of Orrington Lunt for five thousand dollars. This was followed by that of Dr. John Evans with a similar amount. One thousand dollar subscriptions were received from each of the following: George F. Foster, Clark T. Hinman, A. S. Sherman, J. K. Botsford, and the law firm of Brown and Hurd. A large number of other sub-

scriptions were received amounting in the total to twenty thousand, six hundred dollars, from generous men in all the pursuits of life, in Chicago and elsewhere, whose names would fill pages of this volume.

Dr. Hinman, after he had been elected president of the new institution, proposed and carried out a plan to sell "perpetual scholarships" in the University for one hundred dollars each. This plan was so successful that sixty-four thousand dollars was added to the possible amount of funds, though in the process of collection there was a considerable shrinkage. These scholarships, however, have proved an embarrassment in the later history of the institution, and they have been retired and canceled when occasion offered.

Dr. Hinman, while still in the full career of his enthusiastic work for the financial welfare of the new institution, broke down in health, and died on the 21st of October, 1854, at the early age of thirty-five. Thus his career as president began and ended before the University had opened its doors for instruction.

EARLY BUILDINGS OF THE UNIVERSITY

The Northwestern University began the erection of its first building at the northwest corner of Hinman avenue and Davis street in the early part of the summer of 1855. This building is still in existence, having been removed to a location near the lake shore on the campus, and is now known as the "Old College." It was a frame structure, and in the years intervening between that time and this it has undergone a change in its appearance by the addition of a third story, though in the process of the change the roof and tower were reconstructed as they formerly were. The building was not ready for occupancy and use until the fall of the same year, the opening day being November 5, 1855.

There were but two members of the faculty present on this occasion, Henry S. Noyes, professor of Mathematics, and William D. Godman, Professor of Greek. The vacancy in the president's office had not been filled since the death of Dr. Hinman. Dr. Randolph S. Foster was elected to this position June 25, 1856, but he did not arrive upon the scene of his duties until the following month, and was then given a leave of absence for a year. The work of the University was carried on by a small and devoted band of professors and trustees. In June, 1856, Daniel Bonbright was elected to the professorship of Latin, a position he has held until this day. Professor Bonbright was a tutor in Yale College before becoming a member of the faculty of Northwestern University. Having spent two years in Germany he entered upon his duties with a thorough mastery of his subject, and he has contributed greatly to the high standing of the institution since his connection with it. "As an instructor," says Professor Arthur H. Wilde, in the "History of the Northwestern University," "the work of Professor Bonbright will be an inspiration to his students to the end of their days," a tribute that his former students will unanimously agree with.

The first man to arrive after the location of the Northwestern University had been decided upon was John A. Pearsons, who came with his family from Vermont, arriving in Evanston on March 13, 1854. Mr. Pearsons built a house, the first one built here after the University was established. He lived here the

remainder of his life, his descendants now living near the spot where the original house stands.

Mr. Harvey B. Hurd came the same year (1854), and erected a house on the site of the one he lived in at the time of his death in 1906. In the same year came Rev. Philo Judson, John L. Beveridge, (afterwards a general in the Civil War and governor of the state), James B. Colvin, Albert Danks, who became landlord of "Dank's Hotel," the original of the present Avenue House, and others.

In 1857 Thomas C. Hoag and his family began their residence in Evanston in the house still standing at the southwest corner of Davis street and Hinman avenue. Mr. Hoag continued to occupy this house until his removal to California in 1894, where he remained until his death in 1906. Mr. Hoag came to Chicago in 1840, and engaged in the grocery business, the firm being Goss & Hoag, well known to old residents of Chicago.

In 1858, the First Baptist church was organized. In 1859 a gravel road was built between the Chicago city limits at Diversey street and Evanston, on the line of North Clark street, by John A. Pearsons and others. This road was maintained by charging a toll for its use by teams. The old toll-gate house nearest Evanston was situated on the northeast corner of North Clark street and Rogers avenue, the latter formerly known as the Indian Boundary line. This name, at once so accurately descriptive and picturesque, was changed some years ago by the Chicago Common Council, to the name it now bears.

THE METHODIST CHURCH

On July 13, 1854, the first quarterly conference of the Methodist Episcopal church was held, and this date may be considered as the beginning of the First Methodist church in Evanston. It was not until September of the following year, however, that a regular pastor was appointed, the first in the long list of those who have held appointments there being Rev. John Sinclair. In the summer of 1856 the first church building was erected on the site now occupied by the Evanston Public Library, at a cost of twenty-eight hundred dollars. This building was a frame structure and is well remembered by the old residents. It continued in use until 1872, when a new and much larger building of brick construction was dedicated, located on the southwest corner of Hinman avenue and Church street. This building was demolished in 1910 and was replaced by a beautiful stone edifice in the following year. The membership of the First Methodist church is much the largest of that of any other church in Evanston.

THE GARRETT BIBLICAL INSTITUTE

The first and greatest benefactor of the Garrett Biblical Institute was Mrs. Eliza Garrett. In 1848, Mrs. Garrett was left a widow through the death of her husband, Augustus Garrett, who was one of Chicago's early residents, and was mayor of the city in 1843. On the death of Mr. Garrett in 1848, a considerable estate came into the possession of the widow, and desiring to bestow it upon some of the institutions of the Methodist church with which she was connected, she made a will in 1853 setting apart the residue of her estate, after

some small reservations, for the founding of the Garrett Biblical Institute. The charter of this institution was dated February 15, 1855. Mrs. Garrett died November 23d of the same year, and the Institute came into possession of the property devised to it. The larger portion of the estate consisted of the ground on which the "Wigwam" was afterwards built, where Abraham Lincoln was nominated in 1860. This property still remains in the possession of the Institute.

Having determined to locate the Institute at Evanston, the trustees of the Northwestern University provided a site for its first building, Dempster Hall, on the campus. "It is not and can never become a part of the Northwestern University," said Dr. Charles J. Little, the president of the Garrett Biblical Institute, "for this is precluded by its charter and by Mrs. Garrett's will; although its buildings are upon a portion of the University campus given for its use in perpetual leasehold; and although the relations of the two institutions have always been intimate and friendly and helpful to each other."[1] In the catalogue of the University for 1910, the statement is made that "the Northwestern University has no theological school under its control, but from the beginning has recognized Garrett Biblical Institute as meeting the needs of a theological department. There is a liberal interchange of work between the College of Liberal Arts and the Institute."

THE FIRST BUILDING OF THE INSTITUTE

Dempster Hall, the first building of the Institute, was completed in January, 1855, and instruction began under Dr. Dempster at once upon its completion, although the institution had not yet become formally organized under the charter afterwards obtained. This calls for some explanation, as it would thus appear that the Institute began its career before the Northwestern University opened its doors for instruction, which was on the 5th of November, 1855, some ten months later. The explanation is as follows:

When Mrs. Garrett made her will, December 2, 1853, and had provided for the establishment of a school for the training of young men for the Methodist ministry, on the plan suggested to her by her advisers, among whom were Grant Goodrich, Rev. John Clark and Dr. John Dempster, it was found necessary to wait two years until the debts of the estate could be settled, and until that time had elapsed Mrs. Garrett could give no aid. Meantime Mrs. Garrett's death occurred on November 23, 1855, before the termination of the period mentioned. Mrs. Garrett had determined upon Evanston as the location for her proposed school, and anticipating that this would be its location, Dr. Dempster had secured enough financial assistance to erect a building (Dempster Hall), and additional funds to provide for necessary expenses until the funds under Mrs. Garrett's will should become available. The building was completed in January, 1855. A charter was obtained soon after, bearing date of February 15, 1855, and the first meeting of the board of Trustees was held on June 22d of the same year, Judge Grant Goodrich being elected president of the Board. It was not, however, until the following year that the trustees took formal possession of the

[1] History of the Northwestern University, Vol. IV, p. 395.

Courtesy of Northwestern University

THIS BUILDING, WHICH STILL STANDS ON THE CAMPUS OF NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY, WAS THE ORIGINAL NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY BUILDING

For many years it was used as a preparatory academy to the university, until the Fisk Hall was built

Courtesy of Northwestern University

VIEW ON CAMPUS OF NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY, EVANSTON

A glimpse of Orrington Lunt Library

school already begun by Dr. Dempster, and the Garrett Biblical Institute was formally opened under the completed organization on September 22, 1856.

THE ADDITION OF HECK HALL TO THE GROUP

The next building to be added to the group of Institute buildings was Heck Hall completed and dedicated July 4, 1867. This was a great occasion in the history of the village, at a time when the manifold excitements of the war period had subsided, and the people entered into a peaceful celebration like this with the heartiest enthusiasm.

A Chicago paper, in its issue the following day, said: "The most interesting and profitable event connected with the celebration, by the people of Chicago and vicinity, of the national holiday, was the dedication, in the suburban village of Evanston, of Heck Hall, a Centenary memorial edifice of the Methodist Episcopal church, erected under the auspices of the American Methodist Ladies' Centenary Association, aided by the Trustees of the Garrett Biblical Institute, for the use of that institution. The noble Methodist denomination has always been among the foremost in active, enthusiastic patriotism. Methodist arms bore thousands of effective muskets into the thick of the war against slavery; Methodist hymns rose from many a martial "camp meeting;" Methodist pupils sent up constant prayers in the midst of national adversity; and Methodist patriots rejoiced as thankfully as any in the land when secession was defeated. It was eminently proper, then, that the anniversary of National Independence should be selected by them for the dedication of a beautiful building for the education of ministers, for Methodist religion and patriots are inseparable.

"The pleasant trip of twelve miles by rail or boat from Chicago to Evanston was made by many hundreds of our best citizens, clergy and laity, members of the Board of Trade, and ladies and gentlemen, young and old, who inclined to spend the Fourth in a beautiful spot, in a pleasant and profitable way. The fine steamers 'Orion' and 'Sea Bird' made frequent trips, always promptly on time, and although crowded with passengers the best of order and good humor prevailed.

"In front of the new edifice about to be dedicated, which stands in a beautiful grove of oaks on the lake shore, about a half mile north of the Evanston pier, a platform had been erected, with comfortable seats in front for the multitudes from whom the thick canopy of leaves screened the rays of the sun while a cool breeze floated from the great lake making the temperature really perfect. Just as the exercises began, a light shower fell for a few minutes caused, according to one of the speakers, by the rustle of angels' wings, and then passed away leaving the air cooled and freshened. Upon the platform were a large number of the denomination clerical, and otherwise, from this and other States.

"The audience was called to order about half past ten o'clock by Hon. Grant Goodrich, the presiding officer of the first part of the day, and the exercises were commenced by the spirited performance of the national anthem,

'Let every heart rejoice and sing,'

by a selected choir, led by Professor T. Martin Towne, of this city, who was

supported by the strains of four large cabinet organs. Prayer was offered by Rev. J. S. Smart of Ypsilanti, Michigan, and an eloquent address was then made by Rev. and General Samuel Fallows, of Milwaukee."

Addresses were also made by Dr. Thomas M. Eddy, General Clinton B. Fisk, General O. L. Mann, Dr. Miner Raymond, Grant Goodrich, John V. Farwell, and others. Chaplain C. C. McCabe sang "A Thousand Years, my Own Columbia," and "The Battle Hymn of the Republic." A dinner was served in the grove to the hungry multitudes by the ladies at a charge of one dollar a person, for the benefit of the cause.

An incident of this notable occasion was the subscription made to the building fund for the construction of Heck Hall, which was still burdened with a debt, by an enthusiastic layman from a town in Illinois, who was present. He first made a subscription of one thousand dollars, and directly afterwards added to it another for five thousand dollars. Near the close of the exercises it was made known that he would add yet another five thousand dollars to his previous subscriptions. The enthusiasm of the meeting ran high as these several announcements were made, and "Mr. Walker of Kankakee" was the most popular man in the assemblage. It was a great disappointment to the friends of the cause when it was learned afterwards that this liberal subscriber had no funds to make good his subscriptions, and he suddenly sank into total oblivion.

A half-page wood engraving of Heck Hall was printed in "Harper's Weekly" in its issue dated July 13, 1867. In the editorial paragraph referring to the event the origin and significance of the building is thus spoken of: "It is named in commemoration of Mrs. Barbara Heck, who, in 1766, aided Philip Embury in the organization of the original and memorable John Street church in the city of New York. At the end of a hundred years her monument is grandly reared in the heart of a continent, to the border of which she came as an humble emigrant."

Another building, "Memorial Hall," was added to the group of Institute buildings, in later years, and quite recently a wing has been added to the latter for the use of the Institute library.

REVIEW OF THE WORK OF THE INSTITUTE

"The history of the school has been associated with the work of many noble men," said the "Northwestern Christian Advocate" in commenting upon the celebration of the semi-centennial of the Institute in 1906. "Best known of all, perhaps, was Bishop Simpson, who in 1859, accepted the presidency of the school. Perhaps the most powerful influence in the early history was that of John Dempster, who, according to President Little, 'has been from the beginning the informing spirit of the school.'

"The memory of other teachers is still fresh and ever dear in this region, for it seems only a little while ago that they were moving among us; Goodfellow, Kidder, Bannister, Hemenway, Raymond, Ridgaway, Bennett, and Ninde. Among the trustees the school must forever be indebted to the wisdom and munificence of the late Grant Goodrich, Orrington Lunt and Dr. Luke Hitchcock; nor should

Mrs. Cornelia Miller be forgotten, whose generous gift of thirty thousand dollars aided the school materially at a very critical period.

"In the fifty years of its history the school has enrolled, in round numbers, about five thousand students, of whom, in round numbers again, about one thousand have completed the course and received the degree or diploma of the Institute. These men have served the church over a vast territory and in a great variety of official relations. . . .

"The whole church is debtor to the school established and maintained at Evanston. Garrett has consistently followed the noblest traditions of sound theological learning. She has been loyal to the cardinal teachings of the religion of Jesus Christ, and she has shown herself to be a source not only of broadening but of spiritual quickening. . . .

"Naturally there have been changes during these years in the curriculum of the school. And all changes have been made in the interest of meeting the demand for a 'present day' ministry."

THE NORTHWESTERN FEMALE COLLEGE

On the first of January, 1856, the Northwestern Female College building was completed and formally dedicated. William P. Jones was the prime mover in the enterprise and the first president of the institution. The building unfortunately was destroyed by fire before the end of the year, but prompt steps were taken to erect a new and larger edifice in its place, which became the pride of the village for many years. It was located on the block bounded by Chicago and Sherman avenues, and Lake street and Greenwood boulevard, facing toward the east. The second building was completed on the first of October, 1856, but during the interval school work was not suspended. Classes were regularly conducted, first in rooms furnished by the Northwestern University, and afterwards in the house on Ridge avenue known as the "Buckeye Hotel," which building is still standing.

President Jones left the College in September, 1862, to accept an appointment by President Lincoln as consul to China, and remained away until 1868. During a part of the time of President Jones' absence the direction of affairs was placed in the charge of Lucius H. Bugbee. After President Jones had resumed his former relations with the College, he associated Mr. A. F. Nightingale with himself in the direction of the school, an arrangement that continued until 1871. In January, 1871, the College was transferred to an organization known as the "Evanston College for Ladies," with Miss Frances E. Willard as president. The Evanston College for Ladies at once entered into negotiations with the trustees of the Northwestern University for a union of the two institutions, but the Chicago fire occurred in that year and the general dislocation of financial affairs greatly embarrassed both institutions, consequently delaying the consummation of such a plan for nearly two years.

A new building was begun in 1871, on the block bounded by University place, Sherman avenue, Clark street, and Orrington avenue. The union with the Northwestern University was at length completed on June 25, 1873, and henceforth the Evanston College for Ladies became known as the "Woman's College of

the Northwestern University." Frances E. Willard was appointed "Dean" and continued in this position until her resignation in 1874. The building which was at first called the Woman's College received later the name of Willard Hall, in honor of the first dean.

THE "LADY ELGIN" DISASTER

In 1860 occurred a most appalling steamer disaster off the shore opposite Highland Park, resulting in the loss of some three hundred lives. The steamer "Lady Elgin," a large side-wheel steamer, and the finest one on the lakes, left Chicago late on the evening of September 7th, with nearly four hundred passengers, most of whom were bound for Milwaukee. While proceeding on her course, about three hours later—that is, about 2 o'clock on the morning of September 8th—the steamer came into collision with the schooner "Augusta," bound for Chicago. Immediately after the collision the captain of the schooner shouted to the people on the steamer, inquiring if they had suffered any damage, or whether help was needed, but receiving an answer that no assistance was needed, the schooner proceeded on her course. On its arrival in Chicago harbor next morning the captain learned from the papers that the steamer had gone down in half an hour after the collision, and a large number of lives were lost.

When the ill-fated steamer sank she was three miles from the shore and a gale was blowing from the northeast. Three boats had been lowered immediately after the collision, manned by sailors provided with mattresses and sailcloth for the purpose of stopping the hole in her side; but the oars were broken in the attempt and the boats drifted away, eventually arriving on the neighboring shore with their occupants in safety.

PERISH WHILE ESCAPING ON RAFT

Large quantities of wreckage were loosened as the steamer went down, and the passengers seized upon any object that would keep them afloat. In the cargo was a drove of cattle and the struggling animals were precipitated into the water among the passengers. Many found a precarious hold on their backs. A large piece of the hurricane deck became detached at the moment when the steamer went down, and on this the heroic Captain Jack Wilson (who himself lost his life) gathered more than fifty people and navigated the improvised raft towards the shore at Winnetka. The raft ran on a sandbar at some distance from the shore and went to pieces, and most of those who had so nearly reached a place of safety were lost in the boiling waves.

The wreckage from the scene of the disaster drifted ashore in great quantities at a point near where the Winnetka water tower now stands, and was scattered along the beach for miles to the south. The bluffs at Winnetka are twenty or thirty feet in height, and below them is a narrow beach, in some places completely submerged by the surf. When in the gray of the morning the survivors neared the shore the residents of the neighborhood came to the edge of the bluffs in great numbers, ready to assist in the work of rescue.

"The unfortunate passengers seemed to come safely to the point where the waves broke on the shore," relates an eyewitness of the scene, "but unless as-

Courtesy of Northwestern University

ORRINGTON LUNT LIBRARY AND GARRETT BIBLICAL INSTITUTE, NORTHWESTERN BUILDING Lower picture

Courtesy of Northwestern University

COLLEGE OF LIBERAL ARTS, NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY Upper picture

sistance was then at hand they were carried back by the undertow. The only persons I saw rescued were saved by someone from the shore running out into the surf with long branches hastily cut from trees near at hand. These branches would be grasped by the ones in distress, and, once over the critical spot, they were safe."

EVANSTON STUDENTS ASSIST IN RESCUE

All that day portions of the wreck, with the unfortunate survivors clinging to them, continued to come into view of the hundreds of spectators who lined the bluffs. Often a survivor was seen holding to some support which was torn from his grasp in the surf, and he would be immediately swept back and drowned. At some places the waves beat directly against the face of the bluffs, and the survivors could be seen helplessly drifting to almost certain death. It was at such points that some of the brave rescuers would let themselves down by ropes held by those above, and when possible seize a person as he came within reach, too often in vain. Many of the students from the Northwestern University and Garrett Biblical Institute at Evanston joined in the work of rescue. One of them, Edward W. Spencer, was successful in saving the lives of seventeen men and women. Others among the students and townspeople performed heroic deeds in this rescue work.

SPENCER WRECKS HEALTH IN SAVING LIVES

For days floating debris and bodies from the wreck continued to be washed up on the beach, and such of the latter as were not claimed by friends were given a decent burial. Out of three hundred and ninety-three passengers who left Chicago the night before only about one-fourth of the whole number were saved. Mr. Spencer, whose daring deeds of rescue attracted the attention of the whole country at the time, is still living in California in broken health, never having recovered from the terrible strain of that day's work. That was before the days when medals for life saving were given by the government, and Mr. Spencer received no other recognition than the applause of his friends and neighbors. But lately a movement has been started by Evanston people having for its object the passage of an act of congress to bestow a medal, even at this late day, on Mr. Spencer for his heroic work.

A BRONZE TABLET IN HONOR OF SPENCER

On the 3d of June, 1908, a bronze memorial tablet, commemorating the heroic work of Edward W. Spencer, was unveiled at the Orrington Lunt Library of the Northwestern University, for his daring deeds of rescue at the time of the "Lady Elgin" disaster. The inscription on the tablet, which was placed in position on the wall of the reading room by the Northwestern "Class of 1898," was as follows:

"TO COMMEMORATE THE HEROIC ENDEAVORS OF
EDWARD W. SPENCER
FIRST NORTHWESTERN STUDENT LIFE SAVER.
THIS TABLET IS ERECTED BY THE CLASS OF 1898
AT THE WRECK OF THE LADY ELGIN, OFF WINNETKA,
SEPTEMBER 8, 1860, SPENCER SWAM THROUGH
THE HEAVY SURF SIXTEEN TIMES,
RESCUING SEVENTEEN PERSONS IN ALL. IN THE
DELIRIUM OF EXHAUSTION WHICH FOLLOWED,
HIS OFT-REPEATED QUESTION WAS,
'DID I DO MY BEST?'"

MR. SPENCER'S ACCOUNT OF THE RESCUE

"The captain, with about fifty persons on a large piece of the wreck," said Mr. Spencer, in a written account prepared by him in recent years, "was buffeted by that awful storm for about eight hours before they reached the breakers, where the raft was knocked to pieces and all were lost but five. Sad, indeed, after hours of such struggle and suffering, when safety seemed assured, to perish right at the shore, where thousands of willing hands were outstretched to help them!

"On the morning of the wreck a number of us students went out to the lake shore for a walk, and were met by Henry Kidder riding down from his place near Gross Point, who told us of the disaster. Supposing the Lady Elgin had been blown ashore and that we might assist in rescuing those aboard, we hurried along and came to the dead body of a woman close in, with no vessel in sight, but plenty of wreckage. This impressed me that the disaster must have occurred far out in the lake. I hurried ahead through an open field on the high bluff.

"Between the field and the lake was a narrow strip of thick brush and timber. Coming to an opening, I saw far out in the breakers what appeared to be a human being. With my coat I waved to the students behind me, jumped down to the bank and made my way out just in time. I grasped the chilled and helpless woman just as the breakers washed her from the wreckage to which she had clung for weary hours. Then the struggle began, the huge breakers forcing us towards the shore, keeping us buried much of time, and the strong undertow tending to carry us back out into the lake.

"It was a struggle indeed, and I was gaining but little when two tall, stout biblical students, to whom I had signaled, came to our relief. With the angry surf pounding us against the shore, we fastened a shawl, thrown down to us, under the woman's arms, and then a rope, and as we let go her feet those on the bank above grasped our hands and lifted her to safety. Going north about half a mile, I saw another person—a man—coming in on the long swelling waves out in the lake, into the merciless breakers. While not an expert swimmer, I was born and reared on the bank of the Mississippi River and had learned to be at home in the water. As I reached this man, far out from the shore, his raft hit my head, severely hurting me, but chilled as he was, and helpless, I succeeded in getting him ashore. Thereafter, for my own safety, I had a rope tied to me with some one on shore to pay it out. Several times during the day I came up

through huge breakers, just missing heavy timbers and wreckage that endangered my life. Of the lighter wreckage I carried bruises for two or three months, and the postmaster at Evanston told me that he saw, at one time, my feet sticking out of the top of a breaker.

"About ten o'clock in the forenoon, while standing on the bank by a fire, covered with blankets, I saw some one coming into the breakers apparently supporting something partly submerged by his side, and it came to us that some one from the wreck was trying to save a companion in distress. This was an inspiration to me. I rushed into the lake to the end of the rope and waited while Dr. Bannister, who held the rope, and who had been standing with me at the fire, tied on another, which enabled me to reach them after a tremendous struggle.

"The high bluff back from the shore was covered with a great multitude, looking on with intense interest. I remember now, after nearly forty-eight years have passed, that when the pilot of the Lady Elgin and his wife were rescued the storm of cheers from the thousands on shore drowned the roar of the storm raging about us."

Herbert Ingram, a member of Parliament, who was at the time traveling in this country, accompanied by his twelve year old son, was a passenger on the "Lady Elgin," and both were lost. Mr. Ingram was the proprietor of the London *Illustrated News,* which he had founded some twenty years before. The body of Mr. Ingram was recovered and sent to England for burial, but that of his son was never found. There is a statue of him in the churchyard of St. Botholph's church in Boston, England.

The Prince of Wales, afterward King Edward VII, was traveling in America at the time, and the same storm which prevailed over a large extent of territory when the "Lady Elgin" was lost, held him and his party storm-bound at Toronto, Canada, for a week. It will be remembered that the Prince visited Chicago in the latter part of the same month in which the disaster occurred.

There were two hundred and ninety-five lives lost in the "Lady Elgin" disaster, a larger number than in that of any other disaster in the history of the Great Lakes.

AWAKENING OF THE WAR SPIRIT

When Fort Sumter was fired on in April, 1861, the people of Evanston, in common with the rest of the country, were greatly stirred by the thrilling news; as it was now seen, after long and fearful anticipations, that the Civil War had actually begun. "The day is fresh in my memory," says Frances Willard, in her book on Evanston, entitled "A Classic Town," "when Julius White, on Sunday morning after church, stood up in his pew near the altar, and made an impassioned speech calling upon all patriots to convene in the church the next night and declare what they were going to do to save the country."

A rousing meeting, one of many such meetings in those times of great popular excitement, was held as announced in the "Meeting House," as the Methodist church was then called, it being the only building of its kind in the village, and the room was filled to overflowing. Dr. John Evans presided, and when a call was made for volunteers many young men, residents of the village and students at the University, came forward and placed their names on the muster roll.

THE WAR SPIRIT AMONG THE COMMUTERS

The Monday following the fall of Fort Sumter the trains on the Chicago & Milwaukee Railroad, as the present Chicago & North-Western Railway was then called, were crowded with people from towns all along the North Shore going to the city, anxious to learn the news from the seat of government. "My train," writes Charles B. George, one of the old-time conductors, "was filled to its utmost capacity with people from all along the line going to Chicago to get the latest news. Nor did they all return that night, but many staid in the city to attend various meetings held to discuss the situation. . . . A grand rally was held at Metropolitan Hall, but this not being large enough to hold the throngs, another hall was opened and a double meeting convened. Speeches were made and resolutions passed amid the wildest enthusiasm, which reached its height when the new song by George F. Root was sung, 'The First Gun is Fired, May God Protect the Right!' "

And yet the sentiment was by no means unanimous in favor of the Union cause. The observing conductor, whose volume of reminiscences we have just quoted from, says that from the time that the slavery agitation grew in force, until the nomination and election of "Honest Old Abe" stirred the people as nothing had done before, his train became the scene of many an angry debate. "Party feeling ran high," he says, "and among my passengers were some of the best men I ever knew, who took opposite views of the presidential candidates. Bitter words were spoken, and men who had been friends and jovial companions for years now looked at one another askance, and groups who had smoked and played cards together on the cars before the nomination were now divided by common consent."

EVANSTON'S MILITARY RECORD

The glorious record made by the men of Evanston who joined the army of the Union is one of the pages of her history in which her citizens take an especial pride. From Evanston went forth Julius White, at first as Colonel of the Thirty-seventh Regiment of Illinois Volunteers; later in the war he reached the rank of Major-General, by brevet; William Gamble, at first as Lieutenant-Colonel of the Eighth Illinois Cavalry, later reaching the rank of Brigadier-General, by brevet; and John L. Beveridge, at first as Captain in the Eighth Illinois Cavalry, later reaching the rank of Brigadier-General, by brevet.

In the rooms of the Evanston Historical Society, appropriately framed, are two original commissions given to Julius White. One of these is a commission as Brigadier-General of Volunteers, dated June 12, 1862, and signed by Abraham Lincoln. The other is a commission as Major-General, by brevet, dated August 28, 1866, signed by Andrew Johnson, which specifies that this rank is to date from March 13, 1865, and is conferred "for gallant and meritorious services during the war."

REGIMENTAL AND LINE OFFICERS

There were a number of those who joined the Union army from Evanston who attained rank as field, staff or company officers, otherwise described as regimental or line officers. Those who attained rank as general officers are men-

tioned above. The names of those who at the close of the war held commissions as regimental or line officers, and the regiments to which they belonged, are as follows:

Henry M. Kidder, Lieutenant-Colonel, 5th U. S. Cavalry (Colored).
Homer A. Plimpton, Lieutenant-Colonel, 39th Ill. Inf.
Elhanon J. Searle, Lieutenant-Colonel, 1st Arkansas Inf.
Edward Russell, Major, 8th Ill. Cav.
James D. Ludlam, Major, 8th Ill. Cav.
William H. H. Adams, Major, Artillery Service.
Charles H. Simpson, Paymaster with the rank of Major.
Joseph Clapp, Captain, 8th Ill. Cav.
William A. Lord, Captain, 14th Ill. Inf.
Charles H. Shepley, Captain, 19th Ill. Inf.
James W. Haney, Captain, 72d Ill. Inf.
Alphonso C. Linn, Captain, 134th Ill. Inf.
Milton C. Springer, Captain, 134th Ill. Inf.
John H. Page, Captain, 3d U. S. Inf.
William A. Spencer, Chaplain, 8th Ill. Cav.
Joseph C. Thomas, Chaplain, 88th Ill. Inf.
Henry A. Pearsons, Lieutenant, 8th Ill. Cav.
Fletcher A. Parker, Lieutenant, Artillery Service.
George E. Strobridge, Lieutenant, 134th Ill. Inf.
F. Vanderpoort, Lieutenant, 134th Ill. Inf.
Henry G. Meacham, Lieutenant, 88th Ill. Inf.
William R. Page, Lieutenant,—th Missouri Inf.
George H. Gamble, Adjutant, 8th Ill. Cav.
Allen W. Gray, Adjutant, 51st Ill. Inf.

ENLISTMENTS FROM EVANSTON

Those who enlisted in the Union army from Evanston, except such as afterwards held commissions whose names are given above, were as follows:

Charles C. Bragdon, George W. Huntoon, James A. Snyder, Charles P. Westerfield, Charles McDaniel, George H. Reed, Orrington C. Foster, Philo P. Judson, William R. Bailey, Alfred R. Bailey, Edwin Bailey, Charles Wigglesworth, Levi A. Sinclair, Walter J. Kennicott, Lyman K. Ayrault, Dwight Bannister, Almus Butterfield, Edward R. Clark, Michael Finity, Thomas Frake, William Gamble (a student of the same name as that of him who became General), Samuel A. Gillam, Frank E. C. Hawks, George C. Kirby, Eli R. Lewis, Eugene A. Lyford, Isaac W. McCaskey, Melvin P. Meigs, James W. Milner, George F. Neally, Eugene F. Oatman, George W. Partlow, James Roseman, Alvah P. Searle, Charles E. Smith, David Sterrett, Thomas R. Strobridge, J. Martin Tracy, Edgar E. Wead, Daniel T. Wilson, Benjamin S. Winder, George Hyde, Albert W. Kelly, Horatio D. Kelly, Samuel Keyser, Charles Pratt, Hiram Pickett, Jeremiah Pickett, William E. Smith, George Ellis, Joseph R. Edsall, Orsemus Coe, William Mickels, Chauncey Parker, Jacob Balls, Edward McSweeney, Edwin Steele and Charles Woods.

Many of the names given above are those of students in the University who were temporarily residing in Evanston at the time of their enlistment.

The officers and enlisted men from Evanston who died in the service were Captain Alphonso C. Linn, Captain Charles H. Shepley, Alfred R. Bailey, who died from wounds, Eugene A. Lyford, killed at the battle of Stone River, Henry G. Meacham, James Roseman, killed in action, William E. Smith, killed in action, Walter J. Kennicott, died from wounds, and Edgar E. Wead.

There were two men from Evanston who entered the service of the Confederacy, for the reason, doubtless, that their homes were in the South. These two men were William H. H. Rawleigh, from Baltimore, Maryland, a graduate of the Northwestern University in the Class of 1860, who became a lieutenant in the Confederate service; and Millinder Duerson, from Enola, Arkansas, a student in the University in 1861.

FAVORITE REGIMENTS WITH EVANSTON RECRUITS

The Eighth Illinois Cavalry was a favorite regiment with the men who joined the army from Evanston, most of whom became members of Company F in that regiment. The regiment saw active service almost continuously from September 18, 1861, the date on which it was mustered in, until July 17, 1865, when it was mustered out, covering almost the entire period of the war. The eighth Illinois Cavalry operated in Virginia and Maryland with the Army of the Potomac throughout the war, taking part in the battles of Gaines' Mills, Malvern Hill, South Mountain, Antietam, Fredericksburg, and Gettysburg, besides numerous other actions, raids and reconnoissances. Its history has been written by Dr. Abner Hard, the Surgeon of the regiment. After the war was ended, two monuments erected on the battlefield of Bull Run were dedicated by General Gamble's brigade, of which the "Eighth" was a part.

The One Hundred and Thirty-fourth Regiment of Illinois Volunteers, in which many of the students enlisted later in the war, was formed in 1864 for a service of one hundred days. It remained in actual service, however, one hundred and forty-eight days before it was mustered out. It was assigned to duty in holding territory from which the Confederates had been driven, thus releasing a large number of veterans for service at the front. Company F of this regiment contained at least eighteen students and one professor in the University, and was locally known as the "University Guards." Two of these, Professor Linn, Captain of Company F, and private Wead, died during the term of their service.

Professor Atwell, in his volume entitled, "Alumni Record of the Northwestern University," says, "Altogether we find a list of seventy-seven graduates and thirty-five non-graduates," who entered the military service either of the Union or the Confederacy, two individuals of the number joining the army of the latter. "That the material going from the University into the army was of the best sort is to be surmised from the relatively large number of men who were promoted, and who proved effective leaders." If to these are added the number of those who enlisted from among the townspeople of the village of Evanston, then with a population of a little more than a thousand souls, it will be seen that the

contribution made by Evanston to the Union army in the Civil War was highly creditable to its patriotism and military spirit.

Much of the information in the foregoing was obtained from Professor Charles B. Atwell's "Alumni Record" on the part taken by the University students in the Civil War. Professor Atwell's record, however, gives the names of those who were connected with the University only, either as students or otherwise. The information regarding the enlistments from among the townspeople, other than from among the students, is mainly derived from the Report of the Adjutant-General of Illinois, a work published by the State in eight volumes, in which is contained the names of all those who served in Illinois regiments during the Civil War.

CHAPTER XXXIX

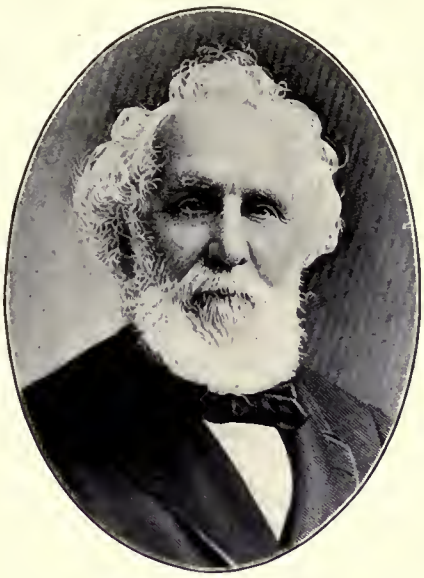
NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY—LIBRARIES, ETC.

DR. HINMAN THE FIRST PRESIDENT OF THE UNIVERSITY—HINMAN'S VALUABLE SERVICES—HIS UNTIMELY DEATH—HENRY S. NOYES—ORRINGTON LUNT FOUNDS LIBRARY—UNIVERSITY HALL COMPLETED IN 1869—PRESIDENCY OF DR. FOWLER—DR. CUMMINGS' SERVICE OF NINE YEARS—FINANCIAL PROSPECTS OF THE UNIVERSITY IMPROVED—DR. HENRY WADE ROGERS THE HEAD FOR TEN YEARS—GREAT ADVANCE IN VALUES OF UNIVERSITY PROPERTY—PURCHASE OF THE TREMONT HOUSE—PRESIDENT EDMUND J. JAMES—DR. A. W. HARRIS ELECTED IN 1906—FINANCIAL ASPECTS OF THE INSTITUTION—LIBRARIES OF EVANSTON—ORRINGTON LUNT LIBRARY—THE EVANSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY—MUSIC DEPARTMENT OF THE PUBLIC LIBRARY—INCORPORATION OF EVANSTON IN 1892—THE EVANSTON POSTOFFICE—LITERARY LIFE—SOCIAL LIFE—FRANCES WILLARD—HER LIFE WORK—REMARKABLE SUCCESS OF THE TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT—MISS WILLARD'S STATUE IN WASHINGTON—HER ORATORICAL TRIUMPHS—HER LITERARY WORK—HER HOME IN EVANSTON—HER DEATH IN 1898—WORLD WIDE TRIBUTES OF AFFECTION—HER TOMB AT ROSEHILL—THE BURNING OF THE "SEA BIRD."

THE UNIVERSITY AND ITS PRESIDENTS

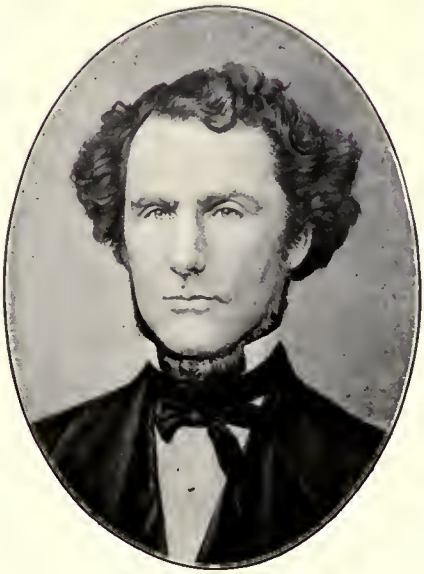
THE first president of the Northwestern University was Dr. Clark T. Hinman, who, as we have seen, was elected by the Board of Trustees on June 22, 1853. Thus Dr. Hinman's incumbency began before the University had yet decided upon its location, a decision which was made in the following August by the purchase of land in the present city of Evanston. Dr. Hinman died October 21, 1854, more than a year before the University had begun the work of instruction, and only a year and four months after he had become president.

The most pressing need of the hour after Dr. Hinman was elected was the raising of funds, and to this duty he applied himself with extraordinary energy and zeal. He was astonishingly successful in his canvass for funds. He secured an average of one thousand dollars a day for every day that he could devote to the work. Most of the subscriptions were obtained in Chicago, where there was at all times an active and wide-awake public spirit, ready to aid any enterprise or institution whose success would contribute to the public welfare. Outside of the city Dr. Hinman had great success also. He made tours throughout the state and the Middle West. "Perceiving the magnitude of the enterprise committed to him," says Professor Wilde, in the "History of the Northwestern University," "he gave himself too liberally to the task. The physical energy that



ORRINGTON LUNT

Early resident of Chicago and Evanston, and liberal benefactor of Northwestern University



CLARK T. HINMAN

First president of Northwestern University

JOSEPH CUMMINGS

President of Northwestern University from 1881 until his death in 1890

ought to have carried him to twice his years was consumed with such prodigality, than in less than a year and a half from his election he had paid the debt of nature." The name of Hinman is perpetuated in Evanston in the name of one of its principal avenues.

THE PRESIDENCY OF DR. FOSTER

The vacancy in the president's office caused by the death of Dr. Hinman was filled by the election of Dr. Randolph S. Foster, on the 5th of June, 1856. Dr. Foster was given a leave of absence for a year at the same time, and donated his salary for that year to the incipient library of the institution. Dr. Foster began active work in the University in June, 1857, when he was formally installed in his office. "President Foster applied himself with complete devotion to his duties," says Professor Wilde, "and the response of students and townspeople to his efforts was so generous that his term of office in Evanton was said by him in later years to have been the happiest years of his life." The hard times of 1857 caused serious embarrassment to the finances of the institution owing to the inability of its patrons to make needed contributions. Ways and means were found, however, to continue the work, and new plans were entered upon with enthusiasm. Renewed efforts were made to attract students though without sacrificing the rigid requirements for entrance which had been insisted upon from the first. But while Dr. Foster performed all the duties of his office with conscientious faithfulness, he had little taste for its details, and eventually he took the opportunity to return to the pulpit which he had left for the presidency. He resigned in 1859 and went back to New York where he had formerly preached, and afterwards became the president of Drew Theological Seminary, and, in 1872, was elected a bishop of the Methodist church. Foster street in Evanston was so named in honor of Randolph S. Foster, second president of Northwestern University.

PROFESSOR NOYES AS ACTING PRESIDENT

For nine years after the resignation of Dr. Foster, Professor Henry S. Noyes, while nominally vice-president, performed the duties of president, and proved himself a wise and efficient administrator and educator. During this period Professor Noyes fulfilled the duties of business agent to the University, besides attending to the ceaseless hospitalities and social functions required by his position, and maintaining necessary discipline. His health gave way at length under the strain, and he sought change and rest in a long absence. He resigned in 1867, and wandered far in the search for health, visiting many eastern points and Europe. He returned to Evanston and resumed the work he loved so well, but he was again compelled to surrender it. He died May 24, 1872.

To many it has seemed unjust that Professor Noyes should not have been accorded the full honors of the presidential office, but he believed himself that his relations to the institution would be more useful and satisfactory in the position he already occupied as acting president and business agent; and, again, there was a feeling then prevalent that it was necessary for a clergyman to hold the position of president. His memory is honored in the name of the chair of mathematics, and a street in Evanston also bears his name.

In the year 1865 Orrington Lunt gave the University a large tract of land as a permanent endowment to the library of the University. The building since erected for its use is appropriately named the "Orrington Lunt Library."

DR. WHEELER AS ACTING PRESIDENT

In 1866 David Hilton Wheeler came to the University as professor of English Literature. He was a man gifted with unusual literary talents. He had been the European correspondent of the New York *Tribune,* and for a time was United States consul at Genoa, Italy. He relinquished a career that required his absence in a foreign country. He "wanted his boys to be Americans," he wrote, and soon after accepted a place on the faculty of the University.

In 1868 Dr. Wheeler was chosen Chairman of the Faculty, and so became virtually acting president. During his connection with the University it gained in breadth and marked a distinct advance in scholarship. The most signal event in the history of the institution, in the single year of Dr. Wheeler's administration, was the completion of University Hall, which was opened September 8, 1869, "an enduring monument," says Wilde, "of the faith and financial skill of Professor Noyes," his distinguished predecessor.

The election of a president in 1869 gave Dr. Wheeler release from the administrative functions of the University, but he continued as a member of the faculty until 1875, when he resigned. He afterwards became president of Allegheny College at Meadville, Pennsylvania.

THE PRESIDENCY OF DR. HAVEN

Since the resignation of Dr. Foster, the University had been without a president. "Professors Noyes and Wheeler had served efficiently as executive officers, but the demand became more and more insistent for the appointment of a head with full title and prerogative," says Mr. Horace M. Derby, in the "History of the Northwestern University." The Board of Trustees, at length, on the 23d of June, 1869, elected as president Dr. Erastus O. Haven, formerly president of the University of Michigan. Dr. Haven's organizing power was immediately felt, and soon after his inauguration the Chicago Medical College was united with the University, and a department of Civil Engineering was organized, with Professor Julius F. Kellogg in charge. A large addition was made to the library of some ten thousand volumes purchased and presented by Mr. Luther L. Greenleaf.

Under the administration of Dr. Haven the affairs of the University were "hopeful and pleasant," and though the Chicago Fire of 1871 occurred during his connection, there was little or no interruption of the work of the institution. In the first year of his administration, a young woman was for the first time admitted to the classes of the University, and it was during his term that the Evanston College for Ladies joined its courses of instruction with those of the University.

In the summer of 1871, the old college building was removed from its original location on Davis street to the College campus.

Dr. Haven was appointed Secretary of the Board of Education of the Methodist Church in 1872, and, on September 12th of that year, he resigned from the

presidency, and the University was once more without an official head. In accepting his resignation the Trustees said "that the administration of Dr. Haven has been marked by wise prudence and an enlightened progress." In 1880, he was elected a bishop of the Methodist Church. He died in the following year.

DR. FOWLER AS PRESIDENT

On the 23d of October, 1872, Dr. Charles H. Fowler was elected president of the University. Dr. Fowler had held important appointments in the Rock River Conference as minister of some of the leading churches of Chicago. He was a man of remarkable intellectual powers, and it was more on account of these and of his rhetorical abilities, than because of his scholarship or experience in educational administration, that he was chosen to lead the institution which was now rapidly advancing to the position of a university of the first class. Dr. Fowler believed in advertising the University, and, in 1873, a catalogue, greatly increased in size from that of former years, was issued, and while he was president "there was always activity." Dr. Herbert F. Fisk was appointed principal of the Preparatory department, now known as the Academy, and this department became one of the best schools of its kind in the West. Dr. Fowler also was largely instrumental in establishing the system of "accredited schools," whose students could be admitted to the undergraduate courses. In 1873, the Union College of Law of Chicago became a department of the University, and likewise the Evanston College for Ladies under the name of the "Woman's College." There was a large increase in the attendance of students, but the expenses far outran the income, and the trustees were obliged to exercise severe economy for some years after. In May, 1876, President Fowler resigned and soon after became editor of the "New York Christian Advocate." He afterwards was elected bishop of the Methodist Church, thus being the third president of Northwestern to be honored with that office.

DR. MARCY AS ACTING PRESIDENT

Professor Oliver Marcy became a member of the faculty in 1862, as professor of Natural History, a department in which he attained considerable eminence. Already holding the position of vice-president, he thus automatically became acting president after the resignation of Dr. Fowler. He will be remembered more distinctly and more generally as an instructor than as an administrator. He inspired his students with enthusiasm for their work, and is remembered with great affection by all who knew him. "An acting president holds by the very title of his office a tentative position. He is only serving, presumably, until some one else can be secured." Some of the best and most useful services for the Northwestern University, however, have been performed by acting presidents. Dr. Marcy kept the financial welfare of the institution clearly in view while attending to its scholarly requirements. In his reports he often pleaded with the trustees "for better apparatus, for enlarged appropriations, and for a more secure endowment for professorships, but always with due regard for their wisdom, and the unimpaired preservation of the property holdings of the University." He was a man of great modesty, but it has been truthfully said that "in largeness and strength of mind Dr. Marcy was the equal of any man who ever occupied the chair of president."

When at length a president was elected, Dr. Marcy resumed the duties of his professorship. He had served as acting president from 1876 to 1881.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF DR. CUMMINGS

Before Dr. Joseph Cummings was chosen as president on June 21, 1881, the University had passed through five years of severe financial retrenchment and painful anxieties. "During the larger part of the previous administration," says Professor H. F. Fisk, "the resources of the University had been threatened with confiscation by the State, and taxation charges had accumulated to the amount of over forty thousand dollars. In the courts of Illinois successive decisions had been rendered against the University, but on April 7, 1879, the Supreme Court of the United States declared the provision in the University charter enacted by the Legislature of Illinois, February 14th, 1855, to be a valid contract. This amendment exempted perpetually from taxation 'for any and all purposes all property belonging to the University of whatever kind or description.'"

The financial aspect of the affairs of the University began greatly to improve about this period, and the new administration of Dr. Cummings was marked as a "transition from a period of solicitude to one of confidence." Several advances in expenditure were made possible by the new conditions of prosperity, salaries were increased, and new professorships provided. Science Hall was built at a cost of forty-five thousand dollars, through the liberality of Mr. Daniel B. Fayerweather, and Dearborn Observatory through that of Mr. James B. Hobbs.

Dr. Cummings was a large man physically, tall and broad shouldered, and was called, like another great man of the time, "the Grand Old Man." Dr. Fisk says of him, "Dr. Cummings was a great man, and he greatly fulfilled the functions of every office he assumed." He seemed indeed to inspire a kind of hero worship among those around him, and it thus becomes difficult to get an estimate of his administration, as every one who has written upon the subject seems completely preoccupied and spellbound by his attractive and impressive personality.

Dr. Cummings died on May 7, 1890, at the age of seventy-three years. He was held in high esteem by every one who knew him in the community, and, as we have seen, was venerated to an extraordinary degree by his students and associates. The temporary management of the institution passed into the hands of Professor Marcy, who once more after nine years, was placed at the head of affairs. He remained in charge until the following February.

PRESIDENT ROGERS

From 1890 to 1900 was one of the most important decades in the history of the University. It was a period of transition and change, and the full measure of President Rogers' service will be better appreciated with the lapse of time. "The far-seeing policy of the Board of Trustees had naturally been a conservative one;" writes Professor William A. Locy, in the "History of the Northwestern University," "the property of the University had been increased and all her financial affairs had been managed with a wise discretion. The time had arrived for a new step, and a man of exceptional qualifications was needed for it."

At the time of his election to the presidency of Northwestern University, in

September, 1890, Henry Wade Rogers was the Dean of the law school at the University of Michigan. At the time of his inauguration, he made a good impression, and his address was an able paper on university ideals, in respect to courses of study and the qualifications of professors. "It is to be said," says Professor Locy, "that the standard of his selection of professors, and the expressed requirements as to their activities, did more than any other factor in bringing the University into general recognition." His ideas were generally diffused throughout the atmosphere of the University, and greatly influenced the teaching faculties.

Towards the close of President Roger's administration, in 1900, he called attention in his annual report to the fact that during the ten years under review the property of the University had advanced from about two millions of dollars in value to more than five millions, and that tuition receipts had advanced from $66,977 in 1889, to $171,429 in 1899. During the same period there had been made permanent improvements to the amount of $457,000. The gifts made to the University during the period under consideration aggregated the sum of $659,580.

In June, 1900, President Rogers resigned, having held the office of president for a longer period than any previous incumbent. "The good results of his administration will long be felt," says Professor Locy. "He left the University in good condition for his successor. He carried it through a critical period of reconstruction, and brought it to the threshold of a new advance." Mr. Rogers, soon after his resignation, became a member of the faculty of Yale University, and, in 1903, became Dean of the department of law in that institution.

ACTING PRESIDENT BONBRIGHT

Dr. Daniel Bonbright was placed in charge of the University in July, 1900, soon after the resignation of Dr. Rogers. His long time connection with the faculty, having become a member in 1856, his familiarity with the history and development of the institution, his high character and the maturity of his judgment, combined to give him a high place in the confidence of the trustees. "The two years of his service as acting president," says Professor Wilde, "were a period of energetic and well directed activity. The problems of administration that came to him were attacked with penetration, and solved with rare discretion." Dr. Bonbright gave his particular attention to the Evanston departments of the University. The "professional schools" of the institution, located in Chicago, were effectively administered by their deans in close relation with the business office of the University.

During this period the University purchased the Old Tremont House in Chicago, and after extensive alterations installed the general offices there and provided space for the professional schools. The election of President James, early in 1902, permitted Dr. Bonbright to retire to the more congenial duties of the class room. He now accupies the honored post of Dean Emeritus of the Faculty.

PRESIDENCY OF DR. JAMES

When the Board of Trustees elected Edmund Janes James as president of the University, on January 21, 1902, an old and familiar friend, known by the people of Evanston from the early time, returned to the scenes of his former activities.

Dr. James had been a student in the University in 1873, but had completed his college studies in Germany. From 1877 to 1879 he was principal of the Evanston High School, and later a professor in the University of Pennsylvania. In 1896, he became a member of the faculty of the University of Chicago. "The brilliant achievements of his earlier history," writes Mr. William A. Dyche, in the "History of the Northwestern University," "justified the friends of Northwestern in believing that great results would follow his administration. Each day of his service strengthened their faith."

"President James at once displayed evidence of leadership in his work with the various faculties of the University," says the same writer, "and it soon became clear that he understood the needs of the institution and its possibilities better than many who had been studying them for years. He gained the confidence and loyal support of every faculty; he completed the work which his predecessor, Henry Wade Rogers, began, of making each of the colleges feel that it was a real part of the University; he developed the true University spirit."

A new and in some respects a larger field, however, was opening in the career of this remarkable man. The University of Illinois was at that time without a head, and the Regents of that institution invited him to become its president. He accepted the new post, greatly to the regret of the authorities of Northwestern, and his resignation was written on the 27th of August, 1904. Henceforth his history belongs to that of the State of Illinois.

ACTING PRESIDENT HOLGATE

On the 27th of September, 1904, the Trustees appointed Professor Thomas F. Holgate acting president of the University. Professor Holgate was already a member of the faculty, of which he was the Dean, when he assumed the duties of the position, and, during the period intervening between the resignation of Dr. James and the election of Dr. Harris, he acquitted himself with credit and marked ability. After his term of service was over, the faculty of the University, at one of its meetings, made a record in these words: "They take occasion to give expression to their grateful sense of the devotion and resourceful ability with which the difficult office of Acting President has been administered by their colleague, the Dean of the College of Liberal Arts, Thomas Franklin Holgate, LL.D."

It is easy to understand that such a position, indeed, requires tact and prudence of a kind altogether different from, and in some respects superior to, that of one who exercises the independent functions of a chief.

PRESIDENCY OF DR. HARRIS

The next president of the University was Abram Winegardner Harris, who was elected on February 1st, 1906. Dr. Harris had already served as a college president, and was well equipped for the responsibilities assumed on this occasion. His scholarship and ability had been recognized by various institutions of learning, by whom the degree of LL.D. had been conferred upon him. Dr. Harris is now in the full tide of his activities, and is proving himself one of the ablest of the long line of presidents of the Northwestern University.

ABRAM WINEGARDNER HARRIS

President of Northwestern University from 1906
until the present time

Courtesy of Northwestern University

FISK HALL, THE ACADEMY OF NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

At the right is the United States Life Saving Station

DIFFICULTY IN APPLYING CORRECT TITLES

There is no use in trying to disguise the difficulty experienced by a writer, in applying proper titles in the case of names mentioned in any accounts of an educational institution. Most of the professors and instructors in any first rate institution have received the degree of "Ph. D.," and besides these there are in other departments of the institution "D. D.'s" and "M. D.'s," Doctors of Divinity, and Doctors of Medicine. It is difficult, therefore, to choose between the titles of "Professor" and "Doctor." If the account refers to a period some years in the past perhaps the title of "Doctor," which we should now apply to a member of a faculty, had not yet been conferred and therefore should not be given. As to whether this is so or not the information is difficult to obtain, and scarcely pays for the trouble of a time-consuming investigation merely for the purpose of choosing between the title of "Professor" or "Doctor."

TITLES OF FACULTY MEMBERS

In the numerous scientific groups found in the neighborhood of the German Universities, it is customary among those associated in such groups to omit the use of titles belonging to men in the ordinary course of conversation by reason of their positions on the faculties. Indeed to address each other on such occasions as "Doctor" or "Professor" is distinctly tabooed, and merely the usual "Herr" is employed between man and man.

We observe that in the recent catalogue of the University of Wisconsin the references to the members of the faculty is by the term "Mr.", instead of the heretofore usual title of "Professor," throughout its pages.

FINANCIAL ASPECTS OF THE INSTITUTION

In the report of the Business Manager of the Northwestern University, Mr. William A. Dyche, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1910, is given a brief summary of the beginnings of the institution. "The founders of Northwestern University purchased 379 acres of land in what is now the very heart of Evanston for $25,000, $1,000 in cash, the balance in notes bearing ten per cent interest. Within four years they had sold enough of this land to meet their maturing notes. Since then most of the original and subsequent purchases in Evanston have been sold, but there still remains the Campus, worth $1,000,000, and leased lands to the value of about $800,000, and non-productive lands to the value of $800,000. Other purchases followed in rapid succession, but that of land in Chicago, leased to the Illinois Trust and Savings Bank, is the most noteworthy. It cost $8,000. If free from lease today it would have a value of fully $2,500,000. The founders must have had a vision of the future of Chicago and the North Shore, for though under great pressure to sell all of the real estate of the University and invest the proceeds in educational buildings, they had the courage to hold on to it."

The report further calls attention to the quite wonderful growth of the University, and the increase of its assets to about nine millions of dollars, "though gifts to it have only been one-third of that amount. This is a remarkable showing when we remember that the trustees have for more than half a century con-

ducted an educational institution frequently making large annual deficits in its educational budget."

THE LIBRARIES OF EVANSTON

"Books," as a writer has said, "hold the place of honor in the chattels of civilized society." The intelligence and culture of a community of people everywhere is usually measured by the number of books possessed by its members either individually or in public collections. "In books lies the soul of the whole Past Time," says Carlyle. "All that mankind has done, thought, gained or been, is lying as in a magic preservation in the pages of Books. They are the chosen possession of men." We are proud of our schools and colleges, but we find in our libraries the learning they teach and even more, for here we find the paths that lead men to the farthest confines of the imagination. "If we think of it," quoting Carlyle again, "all that a University, or final highest school can do for us, is still but what the first school began doing,—teach us to read. . . . The true University of these days is a Collection of Books."

The history of the library of the Northwestern University, formerly called the "Orrington Lunt Library," dates from the beginning of the University. The first circular of the University, issued in 1856, mentions an appropriation to be "expended during the current year in books for a library." In 1865, Mr. Orrington Lunt conveyed one hundred and fifty-six acres of land in North Evanston as a gift to the library. A portion of this land was reserved as an endowment, the income from which was to be used for the library. The library was named in his honor, and the value of his gift has greatly increased in the passing years, and is now estimated at considerably over one hundred thousand dollars. Mr. Luther L. Greenleaf, in 1869, purchased a collection of books from the heirs of the Prussian minister of Public Instruction, and presented it to the University for its library. The collection consisted of eleven thousand volumes, about half of which were fine old editions of the Greek and Latin classics, many of them bound in vellum, and the remainder of them works on classical philology. Other gifts followed, and since that time the number of books has steadily increased, until it has now in its possession upwards of seventy-nine thousand volumes and fifty-three thousand pamphlets. In 1894, a building of a noble design was erected, and this building is still in use, though already reaching the limits of its capacity.

The library of the Garrett Biblical Institute is distinct from that of the Northwestern University, and is housed in a wing of fireproof construction attached to the Memorial Building. The general character of this collection of books is of course theological.

THE EVANSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY

The history of the Evanston Public Library begins with the establishment of the Evanston Library Association in 1870. The initial gift to the Association was made by Mr. L. L. Greenleaf, always a liberal giver to any good cause needing assistance, in the form of a sum of money for the purchase of books. In the course of its first year the Association had accumulated about one thousand volumes. It was supported by an annual fee of five dollars from those who drew books for home reading. Mr. Greenleaf was the president of the Association during

the term of its existence. The Association was organized as an incorporated body under the state law on February 23, 1871.

In the fall of 1872, a committee was appointed to ascertain what measures were necessary to be taken to bring about the transfer of the library to the town. An act was passed by the State Legislature in March, 1872, authorizing "cities, incorporated towns and townships to establish and maintain free public libraries," and permitting a tax to be levied for their support. Through the efforts of the committee the proposal for a free public library in Evanston was submitted to a vote of the people, and in April, 1873, the citizens, without dissent, voted for a two-mill tax to be levied for the support of a library. A board of directors was elected, and the Evanston Library Association transferred all its books and other property to the new Evanston Free Public Library.

The first quarters of the library were on the second floor of 615 Davis Street. In 1889, the library was removed to 1576 Sherman Avenue, and on the completion of the new City Hall in 1893, the library took possession of a large space on the second floor of that building. Here it remained for fourteen years; on January 1, 1908, it was removed finally to its new home, the building constructed for its use at the corner of Church street and Orrington avenue. On June 28, 1906, the name of the institution was changed from the Evanston Free Public Library to the Evanston Public Library.

The presidents of the Board of Directors from the beginning of its existence as a public library, together with their terms of service, are as follows:

John H. Kedzie, from 1873 to 1877.
Lewis H. Boutell, from 1877 to 1882.
Nelson C. Gridley, from 1882 to 1895.
John W. Thompson, from 1895 to 1906.
J. Seymour Currey, from 1906 to 1908.
Richard C. Lake, from 1908 to the present time.

The new building of the Evanston Public Library was completed in the fall of 1907, and, with the land upon which it stands, cost about $175,000. The City of Evanston provided the greater part of this amount. About $70,000 was contributed by many generous citizens. The building has a frontage of one hundred and twelve feet with a depth of ninety feet, and stands upon a lot two hundred by two hundred and ten feet in extent. It is an entirely fire proof building, and the book stacks are constructed to hold over one hundred thousand volumes.

The report of 1910 shows that there are now forty-six thousand volume belonging to the library, while the number of books borrowed for home use was upwards of one hundred and seven thousand. The library staff is composed of the librarian and ten assistants. The income for the year ending June 30th, 1910, was $11,677, not including the income from endowment funds.

It is the special distinction of this library that it possesses a collection of music including musical scores in great numbers and variety, and pianola rolls for use with a pianola. Not only is this collection very large and complete, but a room has been assigned for its special accommodation, in which is a piano with a pianola attachment, and where at certain hours visitors can play the music, either from the pianola rolls or from the sheets. The rolls and sheet music may be borrowed

for home use by library patrons in the same manner that books are taken from the library. This department of the library was made possible through the generosity of Professor George Allen Coe, who as a memorial to his wife, an ardent musician, provided the necessary funds for the purchase of this collection, together with the piano player and an adequate equipment of cabinets, cases and other facilities. In addition Professor Coe placed five thousand dollars in the hands of the Board of Directors for an endowment fund for its maintenance.

EVANSTON INCORPORATED AS A CITY

Evanston has been under a city form of government since March 29th, 1892, at which time the question of the adoption of city organization was submitted to a vote of the people, and carried by a vote of 784 to 26. The population of Evanston at that time was considerably less than twenty thousand, though it was quite the fashion to claim that it was largely in excess of that figure. The city was divided into seven wards, represented by two aldermen from each ward. This division has continued up to the present time.

The mayors of Evanston have been as follows:

Oscar H. Mann, from 1892 to 1895.
William A. Dyche, from 1895 to 1899.
Thomas Bates, from 1899 to 1901.
James A. Patten, from 1901 to 1903.
John T. Barker, from 1903 to 1907.
Joseph E. Paden, from 1907 to the present time.

POSTMASTERS AT EVANSTON

During the period previous to the adoption of the name of Evanston the postmasters were as follows: From December 28, 1846, when the name of Gross Point was in use as the designation of the postoffice, George M. Huntoon was the postmaster. He was succeeded on June 28, 1849, by David Warner Burroughs. On April 26, 1850, the name of the postoffice was changed to Ridgeville; and on May 2, 1854, James B. Colvin was appointed postmaster. On July 14th, 1855, Jacob W. Ludlam became postmaster.

On August 27, 1855, the name of the postoffice was again changed, this time to Evanston, which has since remained as its designation. The first postmaster after the adoption of that name was James B. Colvin, who had formerly served in the same office when the name was Ridgeville. The list of postmasters, since the postoffice has been known as Evanston, can be arranged in tabular form, as follows:—

Names	Dates of Appointment
James B. Colvin	August 27, 1855
Fayette M. Weller	January 24, 1857
Webster S. Steele	March 25, 1861
Edwin A. Clifford	April 29, 1865
Orlando H. Merwin	March 16th, 1877
John A. Childs	January 6, 1885

HINMAN AVENUE NORTH FROM CLARK STREET

LOOKING NORTH ON JUDSON AVENUE NEAR THE LAKE

PARK VIEW

SHERIDAN ROAD NORTH FROM EMERSON STREET

GREENWOOD INN

Names	Dates of Appointment
George W. Hess	October 18, 1886
John A. Childs	September 16, 1889
David P. O'Leary	February 1, 1894
Charles Raymond	November 30, 1896
John A. Childs	May 10, 1897

The postoffice, since it was established in 1846, has been located in various places. While the town was called Gross Point it was located at first at the house of Edward H. Mulford, on Ridge avenue, near where St. Francis' Hospital is now situated. When Burroughs became postmaster it was removed to the so-called "Buckeye Hotel," still standing on its original site at No. 2241 Ridge avenue. When Colvin was postmaster the first time, the name then being Ridgeville, the postoffice was removed to Colvin's store on Davis street, where the State Bank now stands. When Weller became postmaster, the name then being Evanston, the postoffice was removed farther east on Davis street; and when Steele held the office it was removed farther west again on the same street. When Clifford was postmaster it was removed to the store of his father, Leander J. Clifford, on Chicago avenue, near Davis street, and in 1874 it was removed to No. 617 Davis street, where it remained many years. About 1889 it was removed to No. 810 Davis street, where it remained until September 28, 1906, when it was finally removed to the handsome building erected by the government for its use, on the southwest corner of Church street and Sherman avenue.

LITERARY LIFE OF EVANSTON

In a history of Evanston, published in 1906, there was given a list of authors who were then, or at some previous time had been, residents of Evanston, to the number of about one hundred men and women, together with a list of works written by them including over two hundred and sixty volumes. The literary life of Evanston began with the establishment of the Northwestern University in 1855. Naturally the location of an institution of learning attracted a large number of dwellers here who were in sympathy with the University and its work, or who were connected with it as professors, instructors or students. This created an atmosphere that was favorable to the growth of every form of literary activity, and the book publishers, as well as those of journals and periodicals, soon became familiar with the names of Evanston people as authors and contributors. Various weekly and monthly publications have been established here and have enjoyed prosperous careers.

It was in Evanston that Edward Eggleston lived when he began to write his remarkable series of books, beginning as a writer of fiction and afterwards becoming a historian of national reputation. It was here that Frances Willard began her literary work, and, possessing a wonderful diversity of talents, she attracted the attention of the world to her work in the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. There were other residents who were writers of wide reputation before coming here, who continued their literary work in this favorable environment. Many societies of a literary character have enjoyed successful careers, and their records are a valuable possession of the community.

The first account of the literary history of Evanston is embodied in Frances Willard's book, entitled "A Classic Town," published in 1891, in which she says: "The amount of scholarly ink which has been put to paper by Evanston pens will compare favorably with that of any other community of its size and age in the world. . . . The literary atmosphere is the highest charm of Evanston. Literary people, be they great or small, hover by instinct around a center of books and thought and character."

Macaulay said that "one shelf full of European books was worth more than the whole native literature of India." The works of Evanston authors may be regarded as the equivalent of a "shelf full" and perhaps even more, and it is a satisfaction to find this weighty characterization of Macaulay's thus fairly applied to the productions of the residents of one community among all the numerous centers of intelligence to be found in our country.

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON EVANSTON SOCIETY

A gentleman who has long been familiar with Evanston society made the following observations which may be regarded as pertinent even if partial. We quote a portion of his remarks.

"Evanston may not be won by blandishments. Recognition in a social way is not to be found by means of position, wealth or even literary accomplishment. There is no royal road to the favor of Evanston people. They are reserved, self contained,—even indifferent. One might think it caprice, whim, anything you like.

"There is no explaining it, it cannot be explained or described, but, we may generalize. The ways of Evanston society are past all finding out, and we have to classify it,—put it in a class with other composites of its kind if mayhap you can find them. It is not like anything one has ever read in novels of English society life. You can get little of it even in the 'House of Mirth,' though you may think you recognize a similarity now and then.

"Evanston has enemies. It also has critics. But Evanston laughs with the critics and takes no notice of its enemies. The critics have plenty to criticize and Evanston knows it and will show not the least vindictiveness on that score. It even loves its critics and accepts them provided they have shown penetration and shrewdness in their observations. But its enemies! When you find them you don't wonder that Evanston despises them. You will even say, 'I love her for the enemies she has made.'"

Now let us look back fifty years and see the beginning of Evanston society and one may perhaps account for the tendencies one observes today. After the pioneer period, Evanston became a "seat of learning," and the new arrivals were in large part connected with the newly established university. They represented a degree of cultivation absolutely new in the West, and although Methodist in their tastes and sympathies these new comers combined with their religious sympathies a high order of good breeding and literary culture. Those familiar with Frances Willard's book, "A Classic Town," can form a correct impression of the state of Evanston society so late as the '80s; and, while much changed since, the influence of those who came with the university is today the backbone of the character of the Evanston community. In the last twenty-five or thirty years a newer

element has modified the old standards of Puritanic austerity, broadened the scope of social intercourse, and extended a fuller recognition to the artistic aspects of life. One may say that today no people anywhere gathered in a community has reached a higher level of literary culture, artistic appreciation, and general sympathy with all good and noble works of human endeavor. Conversely no people are so hard to approach by unworthy and self-seeking schemers, or are so little impressed with the mere glitter of pretentious wealth. The richest man finds no acceptance if he has nothing beside his wealth to recommend him; while on the other hand the man who has an idea, or an achievement to his credit, however humble, if united with good breeding, may take a place in the "seats of the mighty."

Evanston is not a "city set upon a hill," though in the enthusiastic language of those who note its influence it is often so designated. Evanston is rather a city embowered in foliage, literally and metaphorically. It seeks no notoriety, it asks nobody's approval, it answers no questions.

FRANCES WILLARD

It is safe to say that no name among the residents of Evanston looms larger on the pages of the country's history than that of Frances Elizabeth Willard. A statue of this distinguished woman was placed in Statuary Hall, in the capitol at Washington, in February, 1905, having been presented to the National Government by the State of Illinois. The gift was accepted by a Senate resolution with "the thanks of Congress," and referring to her as "one of the most eminent women of the United States." The statue now stands in the "Valhalla of the Republic," a deserved monument to the "Uncrowned Queen."

Frances Willard came of a distinguished ancestry. Major Simon Willard arrived on the "wild New England shore" in 1634, and was one of the founders of Concord, Massachusetts. Her father, Josiah Flint Willard, of the seventh generation from the one above named, became a resident of Churchville, New York, where Frances was born September 28, 1839. From there the family moved to the west settling on a farm near Janesville, Wisconsin, in 1846, and in 1858 the family took up their residence in Evanston. Frances graduated from the Northwestern Female Seminary in the year following her arrival in Evanston. After some years spent in teaching, she was chosen president in 1871, of the "Evanston College for Ladies," the later name of the institution from which she had graduated. This name again was changed to that of the "Woman's College," in 1873, and affiliated with the Northwestern University, Frances becoming the Dean. She resigned, however, in 1874, and, "abandoning a brilliant educational career," she entered upon the work that was to absorb her powers and energies for the remainder of her life.

In 1874, Miss Willard was elected president of the Illinois Woman's Christian Temperance Union, and gave her whole time to the work. In 1883, she projected the World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union, of which she later became president. "Under her leadership the temperance Crusade," said Senator Cullom in the course of his address on the occasion of the reception and acceptance by Congress of the statue of Miss Willard, "spread as if by magic throughout the United States. Not content with what she had accomplished here at home, on several oc-

casions she visited England and assisted the temperance movement, where she addressed immense audiences in different parts of the country."

On the occasion above referred to an interesting form of the temperance agitation was described. "The most striking and unique incident of her work was the celebrated Polyglot Petition for Home Protection presented 'to the governments of the world.' It was signed throughout the civilized world, and in fifty different languages. The signatures mounted upon canvas, four columns abreast, made more than a mile of canvas and nearly five miles of solid signatures, 771,200 in all. It was represented by societies and associations by over 7,500,000 persons. It was ten years in circulation. In an eloquent and impressive speech, Miss Willard presented it to President Cleveland, February 19, 1895. The English branch was headed by Lady Henry Somerset, the magnificent English woman who is leading in temperance reform in England. On the American petition, like Abou Ben Adhem, and for the same reason, Neal Dow's name 'led all the rest.'"

The late Senator Dolliver added his tribute on the above occasion. "It was my fortune to hear her more than once," said he, "advocating before the people her favorite reforms. She was one of the most persuasive orators who ever spoke our tongue, and her influence, apart from the singular beauty of her character, rested upon that fine art of reaching the hearts and consciences of men which gave her a right to the leadership which she exercised for so many years. I remember once hearing her speak, when General Harrison was a candidate for the Presidency, in Bangor, Maine. I was on the stump for the Republican candidate and shared in a full measure the impatience of my own party with those who, under their sense of duty, were engaged in turning our voters aside in an effort to build up an organization of their own, pledged to the prohibition of the liquor traffic in America.

"I remember that I was especially irritated because the party which Miss Willard represented was not willing to let us alone in Maine. Notwithstanding all my prejudices, I invited a friend, a hardened politician, then famous in public life, to go with me to hear Miss Willard speak. He reluctantly consented upon condition that we should take a back seat and go out when he indicated that he had had enough. For more than two hours this gifted woman, with marvelous command of language, with a delicate sense of fitness and simplicity of words, with a perfect understanding of the secret places of the human heart, moved that great multitude with a skill that belongs to genius alone, and to genius only when it is touched with live coals from the altar. And when it was all over we agreed together that in all our lives we had never witnessed a display so marvelous of intellectual and spiritual power."

That Frances Willard possessed eloquence to a remarkable degree many competent judges have testified. "Her greatest oratorical triumphs," says Hillis, "were in villages and cities, where some hall not holding more than a thousand people was crowded with appreciative listeners. At such times she stood forth one of the most gifted speakers of this generation, achieving efforts that were truly amazing. What ease and grace of bearing! What gentleness and strength! What pathos and sympathy! How exquisitely modulated her words! If her speech did not flow as a gulf stream; if it did not beat like an ocean upon a continent, she sent her sentences forth, an arrowy flight, and each tipped with divine fire." But she was not alone an orator; she was an organizer as well. She often said that "alone

FRANCES E. WILLARD

REST COTTAGE, EVANSTON

W. C. T. U. Headquarters, former home of Miss Willard

we can do little, separated we are the units of weakness, but aggregated we become batteries of power. Agitate, educate, organize,—these are the deathless watchwords of success." Whittier, in his tribute, recognized this trait in her character. One of the verses of the poem written after her death was as follows:

"She knew the power of banded ill,
But felt that love was stronger still,
And organized for doing good,
The world's united womanhood."

Miss Willard was the author of a little work entitled, "Nineteen Beautiful Years," written when she was twenty-four years of age. It was the simple story of her sister Mary's life, who passed away at the age of nineteen years. This little volume was published by Harper & Brothers in 1863, and has passed through many editions. In 1891, Miss Willard wrote a book entitled "A Classic Town," with the sub-title, "The Story of Evanston." In the preface she modestly refers to the work in the following terms: "The only satisfaction that I have in contemplating this desultory piece of work is that, as a loyal Evanstonian, and pioneer pilgrim to this human oasis, I have helped to preserve some dates, facts and personalities, for the use of that staid and dignified individual who will in due season materialize, i. e., 'The Future Historian.' "

She was also the author of a volume entitled, "Glimpses of Fifty Years," filled with the accounts of her multudinous activities, and of those of others associated with her in the causes she had so deeply at heart. Another volume which she assisted to prepare, in collaboration with Mrs. Minerva Brace Norton, is entitled "A Great Mother," being sketches of her mother, a woman of exalted character.

There have been a number of volumes written about Frances Willard, and, including the various contributions to the press issues of every description, the literature pertaining to the activities of her life has been voluminous. Her home in Evanston is known as "Rest Cottage," where she spent many years of her life, though in the interest of her work she traveled extensively.

Frances Willard died in New York city February 18th, 1898, and her remains were brought West and buried in the family lot at Rosehill. At her funeral, and at the numerous memorial assemblages held in her honor, there was a remarkable outpouring of tributes, and among those in poetical form some stanzas from a poem by Charles William Pearson may be quoted:

"Oft have we seen her on her throne of power,
While eager multitudes enchanted hung,
Oblivious of the swiftly passing hour,
Chained by the Orphean magic of her tongue.

"The aged bent beneath the weight of years,
The young in all their beauty, all their pride,
The rich and poor, in common, shed their tears,
For she, a sister to mankind, had died."

THE BURNING OF THE "SEA BIRD"

On the morning of the 9th of April, 1868, the steamer "Sea Bird," while on her way from Two Rivers, Wisconsin, to Chicago, and while opposite Lake Forest, Illinois, caught fire and was totally consumed. There were seventy persons on board at the time, and of these but three escaped. The "Sea Bird" was a side-wheel steamer of about five hundred tons burthen, and was making the first trip of the season on her regular route along the west shore of the lake.

"How the fire originated," says Andreas, "was never known, but it was supposed to have been through the carlessness of one of the porters, who was observed by one of the survivors to throw a scuttle of coal and ashes overboard, and a very short time afterward the fire broke out in the aft part of the vessel, near the place where the porter had stood. It was a little before seven o'clock in the morning when the fire was discovered, as the passengers were rising from breakfast.

"The steamer was immediately headed for shore, but the wind was blowing heavily from the northeast, and drove the flames forward, soon stopping the machinery. Rapidly the fire drove the passengers toward the bow, and then over into the lake. No boats seem to have been lowered nor any effort made by the officers to save life. If there were life-preservers on board, and there presumably were, none was used. Panic seems to have seized officers, crew and passengers alike. Before noon the vessel was burned to the water edge. The survivors were A. C. Chamberlain, Mr. Hennebury, of Sheboygan, Wisconsin, and James H. Leonard, of Manitowoc."

In recalling lake disasters many old residents confuse the particulars of the "Lady Elgin" disaster with those of the "Sea Bird." We have related the details of the former in another place in this history. The "Lady Elgin" was lost in September, 1860, and nearly three hundred persons were drowned. Its loss was occasioned by a collision with a lumber schooner on a stormy night, the steamer sinking within half an hour after the accident. The "Lady Elgin" was a much larger steamer than the "Sea Bird." The two events were separated by an interval of nearly eight years.

CHAPTER XL

SOCIALISM AND ANARCHISM IN CHICAGO

THE UTOPIAN BACKGROUND—MARXIAN SOCIALISM—FIGHTING FOR LINCOLN—THE INDUSTRIAL RENAISSANCE—THE CHICAGO "SECTION"—THE PANIC OF '73—ALFRED R. PARSONS—THE SOCIALIST PROBLEM—SOCIALISM, ANARCHISM AND VIOLENCE—PROPAGANDA IN CHICAGO—THE STRIKE OF '77—THE STRIKE IN CHICAGO—"STOP WORK"—PARSONS AND THE POLICE—THE STRIKE AND SOCIALISM—THE STOLEN ELECTION—THE SOCIALIST DECLINE—THE SOCIALIST DECLINE IN CHICAGO—THE TENDENCY TOWARDS ANARCHISM—JOHANN MOST—ANARCHISM IN AMERICA—ANARCHIST NEWSPAPERS—LETTER TO TRAMPS—THE ANARCHISTS OF CHICAGO—RELATION BETWEEN ANARCHIST AND SOCIALIST MOVEMENTS—THE EIGHT-HOUR MOVEMENT—POLICE BRUTALITY—THE FIRST OF MAY—THE HAYMARKET RIOT—EVENTS PRECEDING THE TRIAL—POPULAR FEELING REGARDING THE ANARCHISTS—THE TRIAL OF THE ACCUSED ANARCHISTS—RESULT OF THE TRIAL—ANARCHISTS PARDONED BY GOVERNOR ALTGELD.

THE UTOPIAN BACKGROUND

THE first newspaper in Chicago was started in the year 1833. A casual examination of the files of this newspaper, the Chicago *Democrat,* does not indicate that the inhabitants of the little town were much interested in sociological matters; but a more devoted search might bring to light a reference or two to "Socialism," about 1835, when the term became current. Seeing the word, a few readers of the *Democrat* would connect the term with its inventor, Robert Owen,—the philanthropic English manufacturer who came to this country to work out practically the solution of the social problem over which he had brooded at his model cotton mill at New Lanark, Scotland. More readers, perhaps, would remember the establishment of his little communistic colony, the first of its kind in the world, at New Harmony, Indiana, in the year 1825, while Chicago was still a trading post.

[1] The writer of this chapter is Mr. Floyd Dell, literary editor of the Chicago Evening Post. The manuscript is accompanied by the following preliminary note:—"This chapter represents an attempt to place the Haymarket riot in its proper perspective, that is to say, in its actual relation to the whole working-class political movement in America. The organized labor movement, as being too large and complex a subject to be dealt with in such a sketch, has been only incidentally treated. But it is the author's wish that this account should assist other students in sometime writing a complete study of the whole subject.

"The materials here drawn upon have been the Chicago newspapers, the 'Autobiography' of Albert R. Parsons, George A. Schilling's brief 'History of the Labor Movement in Chicago,' the reports of the trial of the Haymarket anarchists, Governor Altgeld's 'Reasons for Pardoning,' Hillquit's 'History of Socialism in the United States,' various magazine articles, and other contemporary sources. Dates and facts regarding Chicago have been verified with especial care."

This colony, so happily founded, with its factories, farms, vineyards and orchards, with some of the most eminent of American scientists and educators among its members, this bountiful example destined to spread, so its maker declared, "from Community to Community, from State to State, from continent to continent, finally overshadowing the whole earth, shedding light, fragrance and abundance, intelligence and happiness upon the sons of men"—this they had seen flicker unsteadily for two years and then go out. They had seen fail about the same time at Yellow Springs, Ohio, another experiment of the same nature which had opened in a fine burst of altruistic enthusiasm with preachers putting their hands to the plough and fine ladies working in the sculleries. Still another, which had the special object of educating negro slaves to social and economic equality with the whites, had speedily collapsed at Nashoba, Tennessee. Others in Indiana, Pennsylvania, and New York were hardly heard of.

But the Utopian movement was not done with. In the forties it commenced again, to continue almost until the Civil War,—to continue, in fact, until there was a different kind of Socialism to be heard of, and one that would take hold of some elements of Chicago's population as these idealistic schemes had never done. This second impulse came as a result of the teachings of Fourier in France. Communism captured the public ear anew, and there were enlisted in its behalf many capable Americans. These included Albert Brisbane, Horace Greeley, Parke Godwin, George A. Ripley, Charles A. Dana, John S. Dwight, William Henry Channing, Theodore Parker, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, James Russell Lowell, Margaret Fuller and Henry James. Communistic settlements were started in nine states. Chicago had hardly been incorporated as a town when the Fourierist agitation began. In the year that Chicago built its first public school, 1844, a Fourierist phalanx, one of two in Illinois, was established in Bureau county; it commenced its short and uninspired existence at the same time that Brook Farm, over in the East, was concluding its pyrotechnic career. The Icarian movement of the French revolutionist, Etienne Cabet, being confined to his own nationality, received less general attention. But in 1849, the discouraged Icarians moved from Texas to the deserted Mormon colony at Nauvoo, which had been, with the 15,000 inhabitants it possessed in 1845, the most flourishing town in the state.

MARXIAN SOCIALISM

But before the year 1856, when the Nauvoo community split in two and moved away, Chicago had heard of the new kind of Socialism. Curiously enough, while these communistic experiments had borne the name of Socialism, the doctrine of the political organization of the working class for the overthrow of capitalism was first called Communism. (The usual term, Socialism, is used here as more convenient.)

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels had in 1848 formulated the principles of modern Socialism in the Communist Manifesto. That intellectual detonation, if not heard round the world, re-echoed truly enough in the minds of the thousands of German exiles and emigrants everywhere. Chicago was outside the district, comprising Pennsylvania, Ohio, New York and Maryland, in which German immigrants in this country mainly settled. But Chicago's great development, following the completion, in 1848, of the Illinois and Michigan canal and of the first

railroad into the city, brought German workingmen here in increasing numbers. With one of them came the first copy of the Communist Manifesto to be read in Chicago. We may figure a much-thumbed pamphlet, passed from one workingman to another in the shop, eagerly read in the noon hour and discussed gravely over their beer at home: we may figure one workingman after another coming with a strange thrill upon the message which today nearly every person in Chicago has heard—words with a daring challenge in them, and a more daring promise: "The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to gain. Workingmen of all countries, unite!"

There was at first no socialist organization. At the convention in Philadelphia, in 1850, of the Allgemeiner Arbeiterbund, a radical labor league organized by the socialist Wilhelm Weitling, Chicago was not among the ten cities represented. But the Turners, who were in their early days radical in their political views, had a Social Democratic Turnverein in Chicago as early as 1857. The Turner organization formed a natural solution for the crystallization of Socialistist views, and a field for Socialist propaganda.

FIGHTING FOR LINCOLN

Such growth, however, as Socialist ideas made before the Civil War, in Chicago as throughout the nation, was easily uprooted by the war spirit. The Turners, everywhere among the first to respond to President Lincoln's call for troops, included among their membership the Socialists and their natural converts and sympathizers. "It is estimated," says Professor Richard T. Ely, "that from forty to fifty per cent of all Turners capable of bearing arms took part in the war." In Chicago the Turner companies were immediately organized, and the streets of the factory districts were startled with the sound of drilling by night. One of the companies, the Turner Union Cadets, left for the front among the soldiers who responded to Governor Yates' first call; another became Company G of the 82d Illinois Infantry. The 24th Illinois Infantry was composed exclusively, and the 82d almost exclusively, of Chicago Germans, among whom were to be found practically all the radicals and Socialists. The sentiment which animated them is shown by one incident. When the 24th, the "Hecker Jaeger regiment," lay at Camp Robert Blum, in Cottage Grove avenue, it was presented with a stand of colors. The colonel, who was the German revolutionist Frederick Hecker—whose statue stands in Cincinnati and in St. Louis—replied, saying to his men:

"Soldiers! Comrades! It is now twelve years ago that I stood opposed in strife to the despotisms of Europe and took up arms against them in behalf of freedom and independence. I now take up a solemn oath here to defend the same. . . . My hair is grey, the last hours of my life are not far off, but the arms I have taken up for my dear adopted country shall only be laid down with life."

It was the feeling of these exiled revolutionists that their cause and the cause of Abraham Lincoln were the same. In the third year of the war, the General Council of the International Workingmen's Association, in congratulating President Lincoln on his re-election, said: "From the commencement of the titanic American strife, the workingmen of Europe felt instinctively that the star-spangled banner carried the destiny of their class." This feeling could not but draw the American Socialists into the great conflict. Joseph Weydemeyer, a friend of Marx and

Engels, who had lived in Chicago since 1856; August Willich, Robert Rosa, Fritz Jacobi, Dr. Beust, Alois Tillbach—these were among the Socialist leaders who served with distinction in the Civil War: Jacobi was among those who died on the field.

THE INDUSTRIAL RENAISSANCE

There had arisen during the Civil War giant industries of every kind—among them the Chicago packing house industry—and with the declaration of peace began the great expansion period of American capitalism. Before the war there had been no labor organization of power or importance. But now, meeting the grand youth of capitalism with an adolescent strength of its own, a strong trade union movement grew up. Trade unions were started everywhere, and by the aid of one of the great early organizers of the labor movement, William H. Sylvis, there was created the National Labor-Union.

But the Socialists, with their ranks thinned by the war, were slowly taking up their work. A Chicago Socialist, Edward Schlegel, representing the German Workingmen's Association of Chicago, pleaded at the first convention of the National Labor-Union, in Baltimore in 1866, for the formation of an independent labor party. And Sylvis, whose cloak was burned full of holes by drops of molten iron that splashed on him in foundry after foundry as he went through the country, spreading the gospel of unionism,—Sylvis, at the Chicago convention in 1867, repeated the plea, but in vain.

Already, in 1864, there had been organized in London the prototype of the modern international Socialist party, the International Workingmen's Association. Its very name was suggestive to the innocent American citizen of one hardly knows what dark machinations of the social underworld. The first section of the International in America was formed in San Francisco in 1868. In the same year the Social Labor Party of New York, with a platform compromising between the radical principles of the International and the meliorative ones of the National Labor-Union was formed. The Social Labor Party dissolved after a disillusioning election, but the most active members immediately organized the Allgemeiner Deutscher Arbeiterverein,—"the first strictly Marxian organization of strength and influence on American soil," says the historian of American Socialism, Morris Hillquit. It joined the National Labor-Union in 1869, but soon withdrew, and in the same year became a section of the International.

THE CHICAGO "SECTION"

It was in 1869 that the Socialists of Chicago organized their first "section." We may figure them gathering in the little upstairs room of a Turner hall for their first meeting. A description by F. A. Sorge of their comrades in New York may be taken to indicate their spirit, if not their actual accomplishment: "The members, almost exclusively wage-workers of every possible trade, vied with each other in the study of the most difficult economic and political problems. Among the hundreds of members who belonged to the society from 1869 to 1874, there was hardly one who had not read his Marx ('Capital'), and more than a dozen of them had mastered the most involved passages and definitions, and were armed against any attacks of the capitalist, middle-class, radical or reform schools."

The movement grew for a time with some rapidity—a hothouse growth for the

most part, which is thus described by Hillquit: "The warm reception accorded by the International to the Fenian leader, O'Donovan Rossa, upon his arrival in New York in 1871, won for the organization the sympathies of many Irishmen; the fall of the Paris Commune in the same year drove numerous radical Frenchmen to this country, where they were cordially welcomed by the International; and finally, the organization succeeded in reaching the ranks of American labor by active support in the strikes of that year." There were 22 sections and about 5,000 members in the country by 1872; and in that year they held their first national convention in New York, and adopted the name of North American Federation of the International Workingmen's Association. The seat of the General Council of the International was in the same year changed from London to New York: this action was a deliberate suspension of the actual existence of the organization, on account of internal struggles with the Anarchists; but it gave to the American movement a certain impetus. Then, for about a year, the artificial stimulus having ceased, and the movement having not yet made any real impression on the American working class, there was stagnation.

THE PANIC OF '73

But in 1873 the era of business expansion that followed the Civil War culminated in a great financial and industrial panic. For the first time in American history the "army of the unemployed" appeared. The destitution in the cities, as winter wore on, became appalling.

Chicago was just recovering from the great fire of 1871, and its condition was desperately aggravated by the panic. There were between ten and fifteen thousand men in the city without work. Little public notice, however, was taken of the unemployed until, four days before Christmas, a mass meeting was called by the International and a few labor organizations at Vorwaerts Turner hall on West Twelfth and Union streets. It was attended by several thousand workingmen. Addresses were made in English, German, Norwegian, French and Polish. The substance of these speeches was that the city should be asked to render aid. Resolutions were adopted which demanded: "1. Work for all who have no work and are able to work, with sufficient wages. 2. Aid in money or provisions for the suffering people, out of the treasury. 3. All disbursements to be made by a committee appointed by workingmen, for the purpose of fair dispensation. 4. In case of insufficient cash in the treasury, the credit of the city shall be resorted to."

A committee was appointed to go to the city hall the following evening and present these demands. The committee consisted of the speakers, A. L. Hernautz, C. Kraus, Henry Stahl, A. Arnold, John McAuliffe, Mr. Michowlinsky and Francis A. Hoffman, Jr., a young politician who attached himself to the cause and was made, apparently for the reason that he was a lawyer, the spokesman. A great procession of the unemployed, it was decided, should accompany the delegation.

The next evening, December 22, at 7:30 o'clock, there assembled at Union and Washington streets from fifteen to twenty thousand workingmen—Germans, Scandinavians, and an intermixture of other nationalities. The whole working class population seemed magically to have been drawn together. There appeared to be no leaders, but the men fell into orderly lines; and they marched—sometimes hand in hand—quietly as a funeral procession to the city hall.

While the delegation was being received by Mayor Colvin and the city council, the workingmen waited outside to hear the fate of their petition. Petty politicians who climbed on boxes and attempted to harangue them were ignored. At last the spokesman of the delegation came out. The council, he reported, had promised to do whatever lay in its power to redress their grievances; and a conference would be held the next day to discuss ways and means. Then the crowds melted away and left, as silently as they had come.

The equivocal promises of the council bore no fruit. The city, it was said, had no money. The delegation asked that the city recover from the Relief and Aid Society some funds amounting to several million dollars, which had been contributed by the world to relieve the distress caused by the great fire of '71; and the movement so strikingly inaugurated thereupon degenerated into a profitless quarrel over the possession of these funds. The management of the Relief and Aid Society had been bitterly criticised by the workingmen. It was asserted "that the money was being used for purposes foreign to the intention of its donors; that rings of speculators were corruptly using the money, while the distressed and impoverished people were denied its use." It would seem that organized charity in Chicago was at that stage in which its officials believed their whole duty to consist in guarding the money in their charge from possible impostors. The absence of any real feeling of social responsibility is sufficiently shown by the fact that when the superintendent, C. G. Trusdell, was interviewed by a reporter the day after the mass meeting, he confessed that he didn't know anything about it. He did not read the papers, he said; he was too busy. But he did not believe that conditions were unusually bad. . . .

About this time similar demonstrations were being made in Boston, Philadelphia, Newark, Cincinnati, Louisville, St. Louis, Indianapolis and other cities. In New York, where there were 180,000 unemployed, there was a parade on January 13, 1874, which was attacked by the police at Tompkins square, hundreds of workingmen being seriously injured.

A NEW START

One effect of these attempts to bring Socialist ideas to bear on actual working class needs was to create among active Socialists a dissatisfaction with the methods of the International, which were asserted not to be in conformity with American labor conditions. In particular, the insurgents wanted the liberty of co-operating with certain radical elements in the labor movement. There was accordingly organized in New York, in 1874, the Social Democratic Workingmen's Party. And in Chicago in the same year the Labor Party of Illinois was created, and the city's first Socialist paper, the *Vorbote,* was established.

But the Labor Party of Illinois had not yet exploited all its opportunities when the Social Democratic Party—which was growing strong as the International grew weak—invaded its territory. In 1876, two Social Democratic organizers, P. J. McGuire and —— Loebkert, made a propaganda trip through the west. They came to Chicago one Saturday in March. A mass meeting was arranged for them that evening in Vorwaerts Turner hall, and McGuire spoke. He announced his intention of organizing an English-speaking section of Socialists, and asked for volunteer members. Among those who joined the party and helped to organize

this section were George A. Schilling, John Schwerdtfeger, O. A. Bishop, T. J. Morgan, Adolph Glecker and Albert R. Parsons.

ALBERT R. PARSONS

Parsons was a young typesetter who worked at the Chicago *Times*. He was about 29 years old, of slender physique, intelligent face, attractive personality, and having natural gifts as a speaker. An American of good family, he had led an active and rather romantic life. He was born in Montgomery, Ala., June 20, 1848, and reared on a Texas farm. When he was only 13 years old, the Civil War broke out, and he joined successively a Confederate volunteer infantry company, an artillery regiment and a cavalry brigade, serving throughout the war. Returning home, he studied for six months at Waco University. Before the war he had been a printer's devil and paper carrier, and now he took up the trade of type-setting. In 1868 he founded and edited at Waco a weekly newspaper named the *Spectator*. In this he advocated, consistently with General Longstreet, the acceptance in good faith of the terms of surrender, and supported the new constitutional amendments securing the political rights of negroes. He became a Republican, and went into politics, taking the stump on behalf of his convictions. Though he incurred the hate of many of his neighbors, he was idolized by the negroes. His paper did not survive the strain, and he became traveling correspondent of another newspaper. On one of his horseback rides through northwestern Texas he met a Spanish-Indian girl, whom he married a few years later. At the age of 21 he was appointed assistant assessor of the internal revenue, under President Grant, and soon after was appointed chief deputy collector of internal revenue at Austin, from which position he resigned in 1873. In that year he came east on an editorial excursion, and decided to settle in Chicago. He was joined by his wife and they came to this city, where he became a member of Typographical Union No. 16. After "subbing" for a while on the *Inter-Ocean* he went to work "under permit" on the *Times*, where he was now working at the case.

The young printer had become interested in the labor question in 1873, when the working people had attacked the methods of the Relief and Aid Society. Looking into the matter he became convinced that the charges were true. The abuse heaped by the newspapers upon the dissatisfied workingmen as "Communists, robbers, loafers," aroused his sense of justice; he had noted the attitude of the former slave-holders toward the enfranchised negroes, whom they accused of wanting to "divide up;" and here he saw the same kind of misrepresentation. "I became," he said, "satisfied that there was a great wrong at work in society and in existing social and industrial arrangements." His desire to know more about the subject brought him in contact with the few Socialists in the city, and he read what Socialist literature he could get; and when the first English-speaking Socialist section was organized in Chicago, he was ready to join the movement.

THE SOCIALIST PROBLEM

Parsons found himself, early in the year 1876, belonging to a Socialist party of about 1,500 members, one of half-a-dozen such in the country having an aggregate membership of a little over 3,000. Of these, not more than 10 per cent were native-born, and many, perhaps most, of the others did not even speak the

English language. The English-speaking Socialists not only suffered from the prejudice of the public in general and of their fellows in the English-speaking trade unions, but they were regarded with some suspicion by their German comrades, who believed that "the damned Yankees needed watching." No literature as yet existed in the English language dealing with socio-economic subjects. There was one weekly paper in English, the *Socialist* of New York, which printed some able articles by Victor Drury—afterwards republished in pamphlet form as "The Polity of the Labor Movement." The question of tactics, or how effectively to reach the American working class with Socialist ideas, was one over which bitter disputes were to occur, and which was to occupy some twenty years in settling. As a first step, consolidation of the various Socialist parties was deemed obviously desirable.

The Social Democratic party had already, at its second convention at Philadelphia in 1875, initiated the movement for unity. In the fall of that year several unity conferences were held in New York. The last convention of the moribund National Labor-Union, held in Philadelphia in April, 1876, was captured by the Socialists, who improved the occasion by calling a unity convention, to meet at New York in July, 1876. At this convention the thing was accomplished: the remnants of the International, the Social Democratic Party, the Labor Party of Illinois, and the Socio-Political Labor-Union of Cincinnati fused into a single organization, with the name of Workingmen's Party of the United States. At the next convention, held in Newark, N. J., in December, 1877, the name was changed to Socialist Labor Party of North America.

SOCIALISM, ANARCHISM AND VIOLENCE

At the time that Socialist unity was achieved, one factor which was bound to complicate the problem of a working class party had hardly revealed itself in America. That was Anarchism, the doctrine of Proudhon, which, as propagated by Michael Bakunin in the International in Europe, had spread until it had a preponderating influence in the international convention, and had brought about the disruption of the organization. Anarchism in the form to which it was shaped by Johann Most was later to disturb the American movement, and in Chicago almost wholly to supplant Socialist propaganda for a time.

At this point, in order to indicate the understanding of Socialism and Anarchism in this book, a brief description of these theories is necessary. Socialism may be described as, essentially, a movement of the working class aiming to supplant the capitalist system of production by a system of collectively owned and democratically managed industry—whether highly organized, as in Bellamy's "Looking Backward," or loosely and naturally cohering, as in Morris' "News from Nowhere." The means by which this change, which may be sudden and violent or slow and gradual, is to be brought about, is political action, supplemented perhaps by such economic pressure as may be exercised in the general strike. Briefly, it is the doctrine of the transformation of an economic system by the political force of the working class.

Anarchism is less easily described. An Anarchist, Voltarine de Cleyre, has said: "Anarchism is, in truth, a sort of Protestantism, whose adherents are a unit in the great essential belief that all forms of external authority must disap-

pear, to be replaced by self-control only, but variously divided in our conceptions of the form of future society." In this sense of the term, Anarchism is more a spirit than a doctrine, and includes among its adherents a whole range of idealists, from Shelley to Tolstoi, from Emerson to Oscar Wilde: for such idealists have in common a supreme confidence in the goodness of human nature, and the self-sufficiency of the individual; and, no less, a hostility to all forms of external authority. But this spirit is found quite generally among Socialists, and has perhaps its noblest expression in "The Soul of Man Under Socialism." It is perhaps best to call this Individualism, and turn to something in Anarchism more doctrinal and distinctive. That is to be discovered in their practical working out of this hostility to authority. While even those Socialists who expect future abolition of the state as a political institution, are willing to make use of it as a means to hasten and control the change from one economic system to another, the Anarchists refuse to have anything to do with government or politics. So that while the ideal of a future society may be almost identical with Socialists and Anarchists, they differ practically on the question of political action.

This practical difference springs, of course, from a fundamental difference in the Socialist and Anarchist philosophies. The Socialist philosophy is a materialistic one, starting with a consideration of economic conditions and seeking to discover the law of economic change. The Anarchist philosophy is idealistic, starting from an abstract principle and seeking simply to outline a perfect social organization. It follows that the Socialist tactic is the capture of political power, as a means to effect the transformation of capitalism into collectivism. The whole Anarchist strategy, on the contrary, leaving politics aside as something unnecessarily slow or actually harmful, consists in convincing masses of men of the desirability of an immediate revolution.

It is an interesting paradox that Anarchist idealism—the disbelief in the use of force—should be capable of directly producing its antithesis—the belief in the use of dynamite. The Anarchist, having denied himself the ordinary political means of protesting against injustice, when he does turn by a natural reaction to force, turns to its crudest and, he thinks, most effective form. This curious and sinister reaction in the Anarchist faith was systematized in the '80's by Johann Most, and it spread rapidly all over the world. It is from what may be called Mostism that the conventional conceptions of Anarchism and Anarchists have been derived. The terrorist tactics of Most have since that time, partly as a result of government persecution, been almost if not quite universally dropped by Anarchists.

But among Anarchists not of the Most school there existed and still exists a certain tolerance toward this phase of the movement. That tolerance sometimes takes the form of a disapproval, formal or sincere, of terrorist methods, along with a frank admiration for the individuals who carry them out. Thus Elisee Reclus, scientist and Anarchist, once wrote: "The idea of Anarchism is beautiful, is great, but these miscreants sully our teaching: he who calls himself an Anarchist should be one of a good and gentle sort. It is a mistake to believe that the Anarchist idea can be promoted by acts of barbarity." Yet he wrote of Ravachol in these terms: "I admire his courage, his goodness of heart, his greatness of soul, the generosity with which he pardons his enemies, or rather his betrayers. I hardly know of any men who have surpassed him in nobleness of conduct. I

reserve the question as to how far it is always desirable to push to extremities one's own right, and whether other considerations moved by a spirit of solidarity ought not to prevail. Still I am none the less one of those who recognize in Ravachol a hero of magnitude but little common."

In America there had been almost since the beginning of the century an obscure school of Anarchists of the Individualist type, which included Josiah Warren, Stephen Pearl Andrews and Lysander Spooner; and their ideas were later developed and propagated by Benjamin Tucker in his journal *Liberty*. The Anarchism of Proudhon was agitated in a paper called *La Libertaire*, published in New York from 1858 to 1861 by Joseph Dejacque, a 'Forty-eighter, who later joined the Communist Anarchists. And the secession from the International in 1871-2, headed by Victoria Woodhull and Tennessee Claflin (now Lady Cook), may be recognized as Anarchistic in tendency.

But before Anarchism came to figure in Chicago affairs, Socialism was to attain a considerable growth. Practically the same causes led to its setback and to the spread of Anarchism.

PROPAGANDA IN CHICAGO

The little English-speaking section of the Workingmen's Party in Chicago, relates George A. Schilling, "held meetings every Monday evening to map out a program for public agitation, and to discuss . . . economic subjects and party methods among themselves." The Philadelphia unity convention at which the party was created had passed resolutions earnestly requesting workingmen generally to abstain for the time being from all political movements "and to turn their backs on the ballot-box." They would thereby, it was declared, "spare themselves many disappointments, and they can devote their time and energies with more profit to the organizations of the workingmen, which are frequently injured and destroyed by premature action. Let us bide our time! It will come!" Accordingly the Socialists of Chicago called public meetings in all parts of the city, with addresses in German and English. The speeches in English were usually delivered by Albert R. Parsons. He and McAuliffe, says Schilling, were the only ones "capable of expounding in public the principles of the party in the English language; but McAuliffe was an extremist, unwilling to advocate ameliorative measures. The Section 'shelved' him, except on great special occasions, and A. R. Parsons for a long time was practically the only public English speaker we had."

To these meetings the newspapers paid scarcely any attention. The public paid little attention, either. One imagines those meetings—some little hall, rented from a "lodge" or union; the scant audience of twenty or thirty scattered about among the chairs, or huddled up (at the speaker's urgent request) in the front rows; the rapt speaker, pouring out statisties, economic theory, indignation, satire, with a rude eloquence; and the committee on arrangements, intent upon the question of the hall rent, hurriedly passing the hat at the end of the speech, before the audience can get away. "Ofttimes," says Schilling, "after posting the bills and paying for advertising, we were also compelled to contribute our last nickel for hall rent, and walk home instead of ride."

It was in the spring of 1877 that the party in Chicago resolved to make the venture into politics. Albert R. Parsons was put forward as a candidate at

the aldermanic elections, and his ward, the 15th, was made the scene of intense Socialist activity. "On this point," says Schilling, "we concentrated the party strength, brought volunteer ticket peddlers from all parts of the city, and worked like beavers. For this we were called carpet-baggers and imported foreigners, because some of us interfered in the politics of a ward in which we did not live. We polled over 400 votes"—"a moral victory."

THE STRIKE OF '77

But within three months Parsons had audiences of thousands. The cause was the great railroad strike of 1877, which paralyzed the transportation system of the east, quickly grew into a kind of general strike throughout the country, and broke in several cities in a storm of bloodshed and destruction.

The crisis had been in preparation ever since the panic of 1873. Sweeping away many of the smaller industrial units, the panic made room for the corporation, which then began to appear in other fields of industry besides those of transportation and banking. The corporation saved labor and intensified the process of production. On the other hand, the depression in wages continued. The trades unions had been practically destroyed, and the army of the unemployed, estimated at about 3,000,000, was effectual in preventing any wage increase.

The railway employes, being those upon whom the conditions bore perhaps most severely, were the first to attempt desperate remedies. "The construction of railroads," says Hillquit, "had become a favorite form of investment and financial speculation immediately after the Civil War. Between 1867 and 1877 about 25,000 miles of new railway tracks were laid, and in the latter year the railways of the country were capitalized for about $50,000,000. Roads were frequently built on mere expectation of future development of the country, and without reference to the actual requirements of the traffic. When the panic of 1873 set in, the railroads, therefore, were more affected by it than any other industry, and the men to suffer were the employes. Between 1873 and 1877 the wages of railroad workers were reduced in the average by about 25 per cent, and in June, 1877, the principal lines announced another reduction of 10 per cent." There was a widespread demand for a strike, but no organization able to call one. The threatened cut was made, without any resistance being offered, and in some cases still another cut followed on July first.

Then, initiated July 16 by a single Baltimore & Ohio train crew at Martinsburg, West Virginia, a spontaneous strike began which spread within three days over the whole system, and extended within two weeks over the railroads of seventeen states. "Then for the first time," says A. M. Simons, "in the streets of American cities was heard the crack of the militia rifle in civil war between capital and labor." In Baltimore the militia fired on a hostile crowd, killing ten and wounding many; a riot followed, in which the militia were routed, after which rails were torn up and cars burned. In Philadelphia the militia were defeated and driven from the city; then the railway company's property was attacked and destroyed, 1,600 cars and 120 locomotives being wrecked and burned in a single day. In Reading the militia, composed generally of workingmen, fraternized with the strikers and distributed their arms among them; but when the soldiers of one company fired on the crowd, killing 13 and wound-

ing 22, they were driven from the city by the infuriated mob, which proceeded to derail freight trains, burn bridges, and wreck cars. In other cities there were disorders of a less serious nature.

With these exciting events the Chicago newspapers were filled, and everyone waited with more or less of fear for the day when the strike, sweeping over the Alleghanies, should reach Chicago. The Socialists, here as in other cities, were seeking to use the situation for propaganda purposes. They called meetings, says Schilling, "for the purpose of presenting to an astonished populace the cause and remedy of this general upheaval." One such meeting was held Sunday afternoon, July 21, at Sach's hall, 20th and Brown streets. Schilling and Parsons spoke; the latter told his audience of workingmen, as reported in the newspapers the next day, that "they should form their unions, cement their party, go in on a protective and benevolent basis, with right and justice. If they did not do this, the first they knew they would find themselves with a sword in one hand and a torch in the other. He implored them in God's name not to allow themselves to come to this desperate pass."

Monday was a day of waiting and preparation, of rumors and excitement. The Workingmen's Party announced a mass meeting to be held that evening at "Market square," on Market street near Madison. The handbills "caused a sensation" at the police headquarters, and a force was detailed to preserve order at the meeting. It was reported that the strike would begin that night. At a conference of military and civil officials it was decided to order under arms all the military in the city, but not to bring it into use until it had been shown that the police were unable to cope with the situation.

There were 250 police on active duty, and this was before the days of patrol wagons. The military forces available consisted of about 2,000 militia and two 4-pounder cannon owned by the city. The Illinois National Guard had been created in 1876 by an act of the state legislature. There were three brigades, of which Brigadier-General Joseph T. Torrence commanded the First, with headquarters in Chicago. General A. C. Ducat, division commander, was also in the city. There were two infantry regiments, the 1st and the 2d, of which the former was still in process of organization. To meet the need for a cavalry arm, a number of former cavalrymen, veterans of the Civil War, were called together and placed on duty under the command of Colonel Montgomerie T. Agramonte, ex-officer of the French army, and ex-Lieutenant-Colonel Dominick Welter; the horses were lent by street and teaming companies and wholesale houses. Finally, the two 4-pounders were manned by veteran artillerists and placed in charge of Edgar P. Tobey, who had been second lieutenant of old Battery A during the war. In the event of serious need, the regular army was to an extent available.

Monday evening the mass meeting was held. It attracted several thousand people, and at one time six speakers were addressing different parts of the throng. McAuliffe, Schilling, Lessen, editor of the *Vorbote,* and Parsons were among them. On Parsons' appearance, said a newspaper the next day, "a shout went up from the multitude." Schilling says: "On occasions of great public excitement, Albert R. Parsons was a host as a public speaker. His capacity at times like these to address himself to the feelings of the workers was something marvelous. The *Inter-Ocean* declared that the subsequent mischief during the strike in Chicago was all due to Parsons' speech." Other newspapers reported

the speeches as pacific and the crowd as "extremely orderly." Philip Van Patten, national secretary of the Workingmen's Party, introduced resolutions demanding: the gradual acquisition of railway and telephone lines by the government, the building up of trade unions and the securing of legislation favorable to the workers, and the reduction of the hours of labor.

THE STRIKE IN CHICAGO

The same night the switchmen in the Michigan Central yards quit work—the first move in a strike that was to tie up the industry of Chicago. These switchmen had formerly been paid $65 a month, and their helpers $50. A 5 per cent reduction June 1 had cut them down to $61.75 and $47.50 respectively. A further cut July 1 had brought them to $55 and $42.75. They were demanding an increase to $70 and $53.

Tuesday morning the strike was on in earnest. The switchmen who had struck the night before came back and going through the yards gave the other men the word to quit work. They were headed by a burly railroad man, a discharged employe of the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy, called "Sandy" Hanlon. At his word the men dropped their work, picked up their dinner buckets and for the most part went quietly home. Others joined the crowd that went to the Illinois Central, where the laborers and switchmen immediately quit work. The crowd, which grew larger constantly, went on to the yards of the Baltimore & Ohio, the Lake Shore & Michigan Southern and the other roads. The Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific employes had their old wages restored that afternoon, but joined the strike. The Chicago, Burlington and Quincy yards, the last visited, were reached at 2 o'clock in the afternoon, and then the railway systems centering in Chicago were paralyzed.

"STOP WORK!"

Meanwhile, a similar thing was happening in the other branches of Chicago industry. Early in the morning a crowd collected in the lumber district along the river, in what was then the southwest part of the city, and going to the planing mills "called out" the men at work. Then they poured north along Canal street, stopping before one factory after another and setting up their outcry, half a promise and half a threat—"Come out of that!" "Stop work!" "Everybody must strike today!" Sometimes the men who were called out seemed eager, sometimes reluctant, but they always came—lumber shovers, saw and planing mill men, iron workers, brass finishers, carpenters, brickmakers, furniture workers, stone masons, bricklayers, tailors, shoemakers, painters, glaziers. . . . Before the day was over most of the industry of the whole city was tied up.

Though there was intense excitement, there was, so long as the strikers were not resisted or antagonized, no violence. But with the news that the "Commune" was about to "rise," business was prostrated. Speculation in grain ceased. The banks remanded their valuables to places of safety, stopped advancing on new shipping bills, and refused to make new loans on grain going into store. There was a tumble of 7 to 8 cents in cash wheat. The express companies re-

fused to accept money packages. There was talk of calling a meeting of the clearing house, and temporarily suspending business.

But the strikers were not long to remain unantagonized. Special policemen to the number of several hundred, to be privately paid, were sworn in that morning. The mayor, Monroe Heath, issued a proclamation calling on all good citizens to preserve order. About noon the mayor and the chief of police sent for the man who they believed to be responsible for the strike—A. R. Parsons. Parsons had been discharged from the *Times* for speaking at the mass meeting the night before. He had gone from the *Times* office to the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* office, where he was found and whence he was taken to the city hall. He described in his Autobiography the interview with the chief, and if his account is colored by his romantic temperament it is probably not more romantic than the police chief's account would have been.

PARSONS AND THE POLICE

"Reaching the city hall building," wrote Parsons, "I was ushered into the chief of police's (Hickey) presence in a room filled with police officers. I knew none of them, but I seemed to be known by them all. They scowled at me and conducted me to what they called the mayor's room. Here I waited a short while, when the door opened and about thirty persons, mostly in citizen's dress, came in. The chief of police took a seat opposite to and near me. I was very hoarse from the out-door speaking of the previous night, had caught cold, had had but little sleep or rest, and had been discharged from employment. The chief began to catechise me in a brow-beating, officious and insulting manner. He wanted to know who I was, where born, raised, if married and a family, etc. I quietly answered all his questions. He then lectured me on the great trouble I had brought upon the city of Chicago, and wound up by asking me if I didn't 'know better than to come up here from Texas and incite the working people to insurrection,' etc. I told him that I had done nothing of the sort, or at least that I had not intended to do so; that I was simply a speaker at the meeting; that was all. I told him that the strike arose from causes over which I, as an individual, had no control; that I had merely addressed the mass meeting, advising to not strike, but go to the polls, elect good men to make good laws, and thus bring about good times. Those present in the room were much excited, and when I was through explaining some spoke up and said 'hang him,' 'lynch him,' 'lock him up,' etc.: to my great surprise holding me responsible for the strikes in the city. Others said it would never do to hang or lock me up; that the workingmen were excited and that act might cause them to do violence. It was agreed to let me go. I had been there two hours. The chief of police as I rose to depart took me by the arm, accompanied me to the door, where he stopped. He said: 'Parsons, your life is in danger. I advise you to leave the city at once. Beware. Everything you say or do is made known to me. I have men on your track who shadow you. Do you know you are liable to be assassinated any moment on the street?' I ventured to ask him who by, and what for? He answered: 'Why, those Board of Trade men would as leave hang you to a lamp-post as not.' This surprised me, and I answered, 'If I was alone they might, but not otherwise.' He turned the spring latch, shoved me through the door into the hall, saying in a hoarse tone of voice. 'Take warning,' and slammed the door to.

I was never in the old Rookery before. It was a labyrinth of halls and doors. I saw no one about. All was still. The sudden change from the tumultuous inmates of the room to the dark and silent hall affected me. I didn't know where to go or what to do. I felt alone, absolutely without a friend in the wide world."

Philip Van Patten was also brought into the presence of the police that day, questioned and released. The fact was indeed as he and Parsons stated, that the strike had begun with no leaders and no definite plans. But the Socialists were already attempting to give to the unorganized revolt a definite plan and aim. The Workingmen's party had during the day issued a proclamation asking that the workers "under any circumstances keep quiet until we have given the present crisis a due consideration." At the same time they asked the unions to send delegates to a meeting that night at the Old Aurora Turner hall, 113 Milwaukee avenue. There was a secret session, at which a provisional committee consisting of O. A. Bishop, Philip Van Patten, J. H. White, J. Paulsen and Charles Erickson was appointed to conduct the strike. The meeting recommended that the workingmen throughout the country be called upon to unite in reducing the work day to eight hours and that the men in all branches of trade stand out for an advance of 20 per cent in wages.

In the Grand Pacific hotel the veterans had met to drill. The crowds were collecting in Market square, where another mass meeting had been announced. Down town the streets were nearly deserted. "I strolled," wrote Parsons in his Autobiography, "down Dearborn street to Lake, west on Lake to Fifth avenue. It was a calm, pleasant summer night. Lying stretched upon the curb, and loitering in and about the closed doors of the mammoth buildings on those streets, were armed men. Some held their muskets in hand, but most of them were rested against the buildings. In going by way of an unfrequented street I found that I had got among those whom I sought to evade—they were the 1st regiment, Illinois National Guards. They seemed to be waiting for orders; for had not the newspapers declared that the strikers were becoming violent, and 'the Commune was about to rise,' and that I was their leader! No one spoke to or molested me. I was unknown."

The speeches at "Market square" were never delivered. When between 1,000 and 3,000 people had gathered there, they were charged by 140 police, who dispersed them with a blank volley and their clubs. "Fred Courth, a cigarmaker, was knocked senseless," says Schilling. "We carried him up in the old *Vorbote* office, dressed his wound, which consisted of a deep gash in his head, the marks of which are visible to this day." The speaker's stand was smashed to "kindling wood." Parsons was at this meeting. "I witnessed it," he wrote. "Over 100 policemen charged upon this peaceable mass meeting, firing their pistols and clubbing right and left."

The first violence of the strike was committed about 11 o'clock, when a switch was turned at 16th and Clark streets, and an engine and baggage cars were ditched.

The Labor League, a non-Socialist body, went home about that time, having met and passed resolutions demanding the remonetization of free silver, thus discharging its obligation to the crisis.

Wednesday the bloodshed began. Early in the morning, down in the lumber district along 22d street, and in the manufacturing district along Canal street, great crowds of workingmen, freed from their toil by the spell of the general

strike, began to gather. The street cars were stopped, and a holiday enforced upon everybody. Among the wilder spirits in the lumber district, there was talk of raising a force to raid the McCormick reaper factory, but no move was made in that direction. The squads of police which appeared on the street were hooted and made the targets of an occasional clod or brickbat. Now and then the police made attempts to clear the streets, but succeeded only in rousing the crowds to anger. A squad of police from the Hinman street station, having got into trouble, was rescued by a force from the 12th street station under Lieutenant Callaghan. These were not serious affairs. The middle class residence sections were being patrolled, according to the mayor's suggestion, by citizen guards. The Civil War veterans, who had reported for duty, had been set to guard the north and west side waterworks and some distilleries. In the afternoon, several companies of the 22d U. S. Infantry arrived in the city, coming from the West, where they had been fighting Indians, and were quartered in the Exposition building. Nearly a thousand special police had been added to the regular force. The same afternoon 5,000 anxious business men met in the Moody and Sankey Tabernacle to discuss ways and means for putting down what Mayor Heath called "the ragged commune wretches." It is easy to imagine the tone of that meeting. Trains were being stopped and officers of the law defied, and it was impossible for these business men to take the view that there was no real danger to be feared from these crowds of workingmen who were wandering idly and curiously through the streets. The situation seemed to demand sternly repressive measures. As though in response to their demand, Lieutenant Callaghan and 18 men from the 12th street station made, at dusk, a charge on a noisy crowd of several hundred at 16th and Halsted streets, firing into the crowd and killing two men.

Thursday morning the military were brought into service. One of the city's two cannon was placed at the east end of the 12th street bridge, so as to command the bridge, and the other at the corner of West 12th and Halsted streets. Troops from the 1st and 2d regiments, I. N. G., were posted to support these, and the rest were posted judiciously at points along Twelfth street and along Halsted street. There were conflicts during the day, and serious fights at the Halsted street viaduct and bridge that night. The result of the day's fighting was reported by the newspapers the following day as 18 killed and 32 wounded, all the serious casualties being on the side of the populace. The reason for this was that the weapons of the latter were for the most part limited to stones, sticks, and a cheap and inferior kind of revolver which was dangerous chiefly to its user.

One episode of the day's struggle was not without its consequences. Thirty-five special policemen, on their way back to the station after some trouble at the Halsted street viaduct, about 10:30 o'clock in the morning passed by Vorwaerts Turner hall on West Twelfth street, where there was in session a meeting of the furniture-workers union. It was the police understanding, a reflection in part of the attitude of the busines men and newspapers of the city, that all gatherings of workingmen were criminal in their nature, and were to be dispersed. Among others, a meeting of sailors on Kinzie street had been broken up at the beginning of the strike, and the course of action was well established. The police stopped at the hall long enough to "clean out" the meeting, as the newspapers said the next day. The proprietor, Mr. Wasserman, was at the door, and he tried to explain that the meeting was a peaceful one, but they knocked him down and pushed their way in.

Once inside, they began to club and shoot at those whom they found there. Many were wounded, and Charles Tessman, a young workingman of about 28 years, was shot and killed. A suit was afterward brought against the police by the Harmonia Association of Joiners, and Judge McAllister issued a famous decision which upheld the right of public assemblage. In his decision he stated that these facts had been established by a large number of witnesses and without any opposing evidence. The meeting was held with the object of securing a conference of the journeymen with the proprietors, in regard to their demands for increased wages and shorter hours. There were between two and three hundred journeymen cabinetmakers, proprietors and delegates present. "The attendants," said Judge McAllister in his decision, as reported in the Chicago *Legal News*, "were wholly unarmed and the meeting was perfectly peaceable and orderly, and while the people were sitting quietly with their backs toward the entrance hall, with a few persons on the stage in front of them, and all engaged merely in the business for which they had assembled, a force of from 15 to 20 policemen came suddenly into the hall, having a policeman's club in one hand and a revolver in the other, and making no pause to determine the actual character of the meeting, they immediately shouted: 'Get out of here, you —— —— —— ——,' and began beating the people with their clubs, and some of them actually firing their revolvers. One young man was shot through the head and killed. But to complete the atrocity of the affair on the part of the officers engaged in it, when the people hastened to make their escape from the assembly room, they found policemen stationed on either side of the stairway leading from the hall down to the street, who applied their clubs to them as they passed, seemingly with all the violence practicable under the circumstances." The *Times*, in describing this scene the next day, said: "Sometimes, in the confusion, they would lie, struggling, kicking and cursing, a most unsavory mess, piled five or six deep upon the stairs. Many were hurt in jumping from the windows. A great many were wounded by pistol shots." Judge McAllister's decision continues: "Mr. Jacob Boersdorf, who was a manufacturer of furniture, employing over 200 men, had been invited to the meeting and came, but as he was about to enter the place where it was held, an inoffensive old man, doing nothing unlawful, was stricken down at his feet by a policeman's club. These general facts were established by an overwhelming mass of testimony."

On Friday the strike appeared to be broken. Men were going back to work, and business was being generally resumed. The Board of Trade opened again. On Saturday everything was as it had been before the strike, except that some of the railroad men were still holding out. The record of casualties among the "rioters" was between 20 to 35 killed, and some 200 seriously injured. The hospitals, like the police stations, were filled with workingmen. The police, it was reported, suffered greatly from fatigue. The cost of the affair to the city, for pay of special police, purchase of arms, etc., was about $20,000. The moral of the whole business, as it appeared to the business men of the city, was the need of a Gatling quick-firing gun, which could sweep a street from side to side and mow down a thousand men in a few seconds; and accordingly, in 1878, the Citizen's Association purchased one of these and presented it to the city.

THE STRIKE AND SOCIALISM

The strike of 1877 brought Socialism very prominently before the American people. It provided a medium of protest for those who were disgusted with economic conditions; and it gave people who had never heard of the movement an opportunity to become acquainted with its intentions. The strike itself, though it was currently explained in newspapers and pulpits as the work of unscrupulous agitators, seemed to many an evidence of a morbid state of the industrial system, and they turned to Socialism as a remedy. The whole result was a tremendous growth in the strength of the movement; the sections rapidly increased their membership, and more than twenty newspapers, printed in various languages, appeared in different cities.

The problem of the party, as it must have appeared to its leaders, was to transform the movement from one mainly of protest to one seriously attached to the Socialist program to secure a hold on the convictions as well as the sympathies of the American working class. And this must be done before the returning wave of prosperity should lose the movement those sympathies and its function as a medium of protest.

VICTORIES IN CHICAGO

In Chicago, alone perhaps among American cities, was this in any measure accomplished; two years after the strike, when the Socialist movement elsewhere in the country had suffered a relapse, Chicago was seeing the greatest Socialist triumphs in its history. Then it was interrupted by some purely local obstacles, and almost the whole energy of the movement was diverted into the channel of Anarchism. That at least seems to be the significance of the following events.

In the spring of 1877 the Workingmen's Party in Chicago nominated a full county ticket, and polled 8,000 votes. Following the lead of the Chicago's section and others which were demonstrating the present possibilities of political action, the national convention of 1877 held at Newark, reconstructed the party as a political organization; it was this convention which changed the party's name, as already related, to Socialist Labor Party.

The Socialist Labor Party of Chicago gained its first victory in the spring elections in 1878, when it sent Frank A. Stauber to the city council as alderman from the 14th ward. Parsons was narrowly defeated as the aldermanic candidate from the 15th ward, and it was charged that he was "counted out." Then, in the fall of 1878, the Chicago Socialists elected three state representatives, C. Ehrhardt, Chris Meier and Leo Meilbeck, and one state senator, Sylvester Artley. These legislators succeeded in getting the legislature to establish a bureau of labor statistics; and they made vain efforts to secure the passage of bills providing for the cash payment of wages, the limitation of the hours of labor for women and children, and an employers' liability act—such as was passed in 1910, thirty-two years later.

The party in Chicago was in a state of intense activity. The *Socialist,* a weekly printed in English, was established that same fall, with Frank Hirth and A. R. Parsons as editors. In the spring of 1879 a full city ticket was nominated by the Socialists, headed by Dr. Ernst Schmidt, a popular and influential German physician, a Marxian scholar of note, and a steadfast friend of the working class. Dr. Schmidt polled nearly 12,000 votes out of 58,000, while three additional alder-

men, Altpeter, Lorenz and Meier, were elected, giving the party four representatives in the city council.

Dr. Ernst Schmidt was born in Bavaria in 1830. When he was 18 years old the revolutionary wave of 1848 swept over Germany, and "into this," wrote his friend Schilling recently, "he plunged with all the ardor of his youthful soul. He was the tallest, and yet the youngest member of the provisional parliament that represented the glow and enthusiasm of the democratic spirit of that day . . . As his hair was as red as his politics, he came to be known by the sobriquet 'Der Rothe Schmidt.'

"When the revolution was overthrown those captured were either shot or imprisoned; while those who escaped fled to Switzerland, where they found a hospitable welcome, whence they subsequently drifted to America. Young Schmidt sojourned in Switzerland for awhile; but as Bavaria was the most liberal of the German states toward the revolutionists, he was soon permitted to return home, where he completed his education. In 1857 he came to America, and, in common with such men as Carl Schurz, Karl Heinzen, Louis Prang, Friedrich Hassaurek, Col. Hecker, and many others, joined William Lloyd Garrison and Wendell Phillips in their crusade for the emancipation of the slaves. . . . Of such was Dr. Ernst Schmidt. But, unlike many of his associates, who, after the war was ended, developed into party republican politicians, he cherished his early ideals of social equality and social justice for all mankind during all these years." At the time of the trial of the Haymarket Anarchists, he was chairman of the Defense Committee. In his old age he put his undiminished democratic ardor into a German translation of Edwin Markham's poem, 'The Man with the Hoe.' He died August 26, 1900.

"Our members were everywhere active in trade unions," says Schilling, "and it seemed for awhile as if the . . . final triumph of the Socialistic party was soon to be realized. . . . The community was startled at the boldness of our propositions in demanding collective (Governmental) control of land, means of transportation, communication and production, with the *dash* which characterized our effort in making converts to this scheme of social and industrial emancipation." At the very height of Socialistic power and influence in Chicago, in the spring of 1879, there was a celebration of the ninth anniversary of the Paris Commune; and the old Exposition Building, with its capacity of 40,000, proved inadequate to accommodate the great crowds which came.

THE STOLEN ELECTION

"A few months later," relates Schilling, "we participated—unofficially—in the judicial election which returned Judge McAllister by an overwhelming majority, with Barnum, Tuley and Moran. After this election charges of improper conduct were made against some of our members, creating internal strife, and our party influence began to decline." But there was one occurrence which, it is agreed by observers of the movement here, did "more perhaps than all other things combined" to check the progress of Socialism in Chicago, by impairing the faith of the workingmen in the efficiency of the ballot; this was the theft of an election.

In the spring of 1880 Frank A. Stauber was re-elected to the city council from the 14th ward. He received 1,410 votes, a majority of 31 over 1,379 votes

given to his nearest opponent, J. J. McGrath, the Republican candidate. At the seventh precinct the figures stood: Stauber 109, McGrath 100. They were thus declared in the presence of the judges of election, party challengers and a police officer. Judges Walsh and Gibbs then took the ballot box home and, apparently, on learning that McGrath had been defeated, they altered a number of the ballots and forged the tally sheet so as to give McGrath 150 votes and Stauber only 59. McGrath was actually seated by the council, and was backed up heartily in his resistance to the onslaught of the Socialists. The efforts of Stauber to secure his seat involved expensive litigation lasting nearly a year and innumerable scenes in the council chamber; Stauber, by advice of council, was always present at the meetings, and demanded to have his name called by the clerk in place of McGrath's. On one occasion a riot was almost precipitated, and the Socialists left the chamber in a body. Finally, after Stauber had secured a judgment of ouster in the circuit court, and the appellate court had refused to grant a writ of supersedeas, the council, on the advice of the corporation counsel, reluctantly gave Stauber his seat. As for the two judges of election, they were tried and acquitted. The judge took the ground that while they had violated the law, there was no evidence to show that such had been their intention.

This stolen election, and other events of a similar nature and effect were reviewed in an editorial in the Chicago *Daily News* of September 25, 1886, as follows: ". . . The Socialists . . . found time to form a party which elected Frank Stauber to the city council from the fourteenth ward. Stauber was subsequently reinforced by the election of Altpeter from the sixth ward and another from the fourteenth and Chris Meier in the fifteenth, while the Socialistic Labor candidates for the fifth and seventh wards were only defeated by a small majority. Altpeter and Stauber and his colleagues refused all overtures from the ring which then as now controled these politics. They were proof alike against bribery and intimidation, and the party which they faithfully and honorably represented was becoming troublesome as an opponent to the ring. At the city election following, a flagrant violation of the ballot box was perpetrated by 'Cabbage' Ryan, through which Altpeter was defrauded of a seat and the offender was sheltered from punishment, his case being dismissed without a hearing in some manner. This was followed the next year by the breaking open of the box in the second precinct of the fourteenth ward and the fraud and perjury by which Stauber was kept out of his seat for 23 months, fraud and perjury which were condoned by the courts. It was upon the same day and at the same election that Cullerton succeeded by a suspicious majority of not over 20 votes over a Socialist by the name of Bauman, and the council practically denied the contestant an opportunity to present his rights. One of these frauds was perpetrated in the interest of the Republican party, the other in the interest of the Democratic. The record needs no comment, but it is no small wonder that the party was driven from the field, unable to cope with the rascals of both the other parties."

"From that time," says Schilling, "the advocates of physical force as the only means of industrial emancipation found a wide field of action for the dissemination and acceptance of their ideas." "It was then," relates Albert R. Parsons in his "Autobiography," "[that] I began to realize the hopeless [ness of the] task of political reformation."

THE SOCIALIST DECLINE

In 1880 prosperity returned. The Socialists had had about three years in which to transform the thousands of adherents gained in 1877 into convinced Socialists. In this work of assimilation, they had notably failed. The new "sections" had gradually disbanded, the new papers suspended publication; and many of the older members, even, disheartened by the inability of the organization to cope with the situation, lost interest and dropped out. Other Socialists turned to the growing Anarchist movement as one having more vitality and promise.

"Of the eight English party papers reported as existing at the Newark convention of 1877, not one," says Hillquit, "survived in 1879. A new party organ in the English language, the *National Socialist,* was established in May, 1878, and was with great sacrifices kept alive a little over one year. Of the German papers, the Philadelphia *Tageblatt,* and the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* and *Vorbote* of Chicago, were the only ones to escape the general wreck." On the other hand a paper was established in 1878 which had a great and a beneficent influence, even from the first, on the party's affairs, the New York *Volkszeitung.*

At the second convention of the Socialist Labor party in December, 1879, at Allegheny City, Pa., there were present representatives from only twenty "sections," and the total number of party members at that time has been estimated at 1500.

THE GREENBACK ALLIANCE

Then, in 1880, the party committed a tactical mistake which alienated still further the sympathies of many of its members. This was the entering into the Greenback alliance. The Greenback movement, which had started immediately after the financial crisis of 1873,—the first expression of popular protest against the domination of politics by the influence of the large capitalists—had run its course as a currency reform movement. In 1878 it became the Greenback Labor party, and with the introduction of some of the demands of labor into its platform, it seemed to be rejuvenated. In 1880 the national executive committee of the Socialist party decided to support the Greenback Labor party. A conference was held in Chicago August 8, and the next day 44 Socialist delegates, including Philip Van Patten, Albert R. Parsons, his wife, Mrs. Lucy Parsons, and T. J. Morgan, attended the Greenback Labor convention, and took part in the framing of the platform. The result of their activity was a plank calling for the collective ownership of land, also some Socialist phraseology scattered through the document. Not satisfied with this platform, and with the management of the Greenback party, the Socialists gave the Greenback candidate, General Weaver, a tepid support throughout the campaign, and immediately afterward dissolved the alliance permanently. But it had already lost the Socialist organization the support of many of its active members.

There was a temporary revival of enthusiasm in 1881; two German Socialist deputies, F. W. Fritsche and Louis Viereck, came to this country to collect funds for the approaching elections, Germany being then under Bismarck's anti-Socialist law; and this tour was used by American Socialists for propaganda purposes, large mass-meetings being held in New York, Chicago and other cities. But the effect was of short duration, and in December, 1881, at the third convention of the party in New York, there were only 17 "sections" represented, and the national

secretary stated that the majority of the Socialists in the country were outside the party.

SOCIALIST DECLINE IN CHICAGO

In Chicago, in the spring of 1881, there were two factions of the Socialists, with rival tickets, in the city elections. George Schilling was nominated for mayor by the faction which had supported General Weaver, while Timothy O'Meara was the other candidate. "The campaign was one of hostility to each other rather than to the common enemy," says Schilling, "and was the most unpleasant experience I ever had in the movement. From this time on everything seemed to be in a condition of unrest, uncertainty and inertia. The English section had dwindled down to a corporal's guard; some of its most active members had left it, for one cause or another, until its very existence seemed to be extinct, its leaders having retired from active participation in the movement."

One of these leaders was Albert R. Parsons, who turned his attention from political to industrial agitation. He wrote, in his Autobiography: "In 1880 I withdrew from active participation in the political Labor party, having been convinced that the number of hours per day that the wage workers are compelled to work, together with the low wages they received, amounted to their practical disfranchisement as voters. I saw that long hours and low wages deprived the wage workers, as a class, of the necessary time and means, and left them but little inclination to organize for political action to abolish class legislation. My experience in the Labor party had also taught me that bribery, intimidation, duplicity, corruption, and bulldozing grew out of the condition which made the working people poor and the idlers rich, and that consequently the ballot box could not be made an index to record the popular will until the existing debasing, impoverishing and enslaving industrial conditions were first altered." Parsons thereupon commenced, with a series of propaganda visits to the unions of the different states, the eight-hour agitation, which was to be so disastrously interrupted at its height in 1886. At the same time he entered more and more into the activities of the Anarchist movement.

THE TENDENCY TOWARD ANARCHISM

The change in the revolutionary spirit which is to be described presently in its positive aspect, may be understood in part as a reaction against the almost exclusively political character of early American Socialism. This reaction naturally expressed itself in a violent rejection of all political aims and methods. Thus the Anarchistic phase of the radical movement represented to some extent an effort to come into closer touch with the industrial needs of the American working class. It was, however, subjected to influences that made it exceedingly *doctrinaire*.

The two most important of these influences differed widely in character. One consisted in the writings of Benjamin Tucker, who had begun to publish his journal *Liberty* in Boston in 1881. Tucker advocated, in a curiously rigid form, what is called Individualist Anarchism, the philosophy which emphasizes the self-sufficiency of the individual. George A. Schilling and others, especially among the German-speaking Socialists, were converted from their belief in a more or less formal "state" to the principle of "voluntary association." But there was no point at which Tucker's philosophy directly touched the industrial situation, and it was not destined to be popular in its appeal.

JOHANN MOST

Unlike this was the other great influence, that of Johann Most. The whole Anarchist movement from 1882 to 1884 was the expression of the ideas of this one man. The propaganda of that period was a repetition in speech and print of the ideas and even the words of Johann Most. This extraordinary man was born in Augsberg, Germany, in 1846. In his childhood he suffered a five years' sickness, an operation that left his face permanently marred, and the cruelty of a stepmother. He was apprenticed to a still more cruel employer, and learned the trade of bookbinder. He had little school education, but he read much, and traveled as a young man in Germany, Austria, Italy and Switzerland. He joined the International, and helped Bakunin organize the (Anarchist) International Social Democratic Alliance, which merged with the International in 1869. It was promised that the Alliance would be dissolved, but it was secretly maintained, with the intention of capturing the International. At the Basle congress in 1869 the Alliance had a preponderance of influence. Then began the internal battle which wrecked the International. In 1872, at the Hague congress, Bakunin was excluded from the organization, and the Anarchists, finding themselves unable to carry out their purposes, left the International and formed a new organization

Johann Most had already been expelled from Austria, after being in prison on a charge of high treason. In Germany he was active in agitation, and was elected to the Reichstag. Expelled from Berlin, after having served two terms in prison for making riotous speeches, he went to London. There he definitely departed from Socialist principles, and elaborated his peculiar views in his journal *Freiheit*. For applauding the assassination of Alexander II he was sentenced to 16 months at hard labor. He than came to America.

Most's characteristic ideas consisted in his substitution of acts of violence for all other forms of political activity. He invented the scheme of strongly centralized secret organizations, pledged to the commission of acts of terrorism, which have furnished the general public its idea of Anarchism. It will be noted that his theory of party organization was very authoritarian; and his theories in regard to property were, according to Anarchist standards, rather conservative. He was, by many Anarchists, considered highly un-Anarchistic. Nevertheless, by his advocacy of an immediate and powerful remedy against oppression,—namely, the destruction of oppressors by explosives—he secured for a brief period a great and enthusiastic following.

In 1881 there were Anarchist congresses in London and Paris, and the movement readily spread through Europe. In France and in Hungary there were dynamite outrages and assassinations, which resulted in the crushing out of the movement by the police. In America, Mostism was to run its course harmlessly and die away, and then a bomb, which may or may not have been a belated expression of the movement, was to set in motion a process of judicial and public vengeance of which the labor movement in general and eight innocent men in particular, became the victims.

Most's gospel of force was to find among the Socialists a certain number al ready favorably disposed toward it. About 1878 there had been organized in Chicago certain Socialist military organizations called Lehr und Wehr Verein (educational and defensive societies). The national executive committee of the

party, believing that their custom of carrying the red flag tended to create a false impression of the Socialist movement, had publicly disavowed connection with these organizations, and had requested all party members to withdraw from them. At the Alleghany convention of 1879, the matter was brought up, and after a heated debate a vote of censure on the executive committee was passed by a small majority.

The radical element, whose presence was first sharply revealed on this occasion, was greatly dissatisfied with the party administration, and an open breach occurred in November, 1880, when some of the members of the New York sections left the organization and formed a Revolutionary Club, which was somewhat Anarchistic in tendency. Other clubs were formed in Boston, Philadelphia, Milwaukee and Chicago. Those in Chicago, which were the largest and most important, had as leaders Paul Grottkau, August Spies, and Albert R. Parsons. In October, 1881, a national convention of these clubs was held in Chicago, at which the Revolutionary Socialist Labor party was organized.

Johann Most, who was to stamp this new movement with his own doctrines, came to this country in December, 1882, soon after he had been released from prison in England. He was received with a tremendous ovation at Cooper Union in New York, and made what resembled a triumphal procession through the principal cities of the country.

Most's effectiveness consisted chiefly in his oratorical gift. "He was," says a contemporary Anarchist writer in *Mother Earth,* "an orator of convincing power, his methods direct, his language concise and popular, and he possessed the gift for glowing word-portrayal which had far more effect upon his auditors than long, theoretic argumentation." Emma Goldman, in her book, "Anarchism and Other Essays," describes her early impressions of him as a speaker: "It seemed to me then, and for many years after, that the spoken word, hurled forth among the masses with such wonderful eloquence, such enthusiasm and fire, could not be erased from the human mind and soul. How could any one of all those who flocked to Most's meetings escape his prophetic voice! Surely they had but to hear him to throw off their old beliefs and see the truth and beauty of Anarchism."

ANARCHISM IN AMERICA

The result of Most's tour of agitation was the organization of a large number of propaganda "groups" among German-speaking workingmen. In October, 1883, a joint convention of the Revolutionary Socialists and the Anarchists was held in Pittsburg. Delegates came from twenty-six cities, among them being Most, Spies and Parsons. An organization called the International Working People's Association was created. The groups remained autonomous, the connection with each other being furnished by a general "information bureau," with headquarters in Chicago. A manifesto, since known as the Pittsburg Proclamation, and regarded as the classic exposition of the principles of Communist Anarchism, was adopted. It describes the Anarchist ideal in these words:

"What we would achieve is, therefore, plainly and simply,—

"First, Destruction of the existing class rule, by all means, i. e., by energetic, relentless, revolutionary and international action.

"Second, Establishment of a free society based upon co-operative organization of production.

"Third, free exchange of equivalent products by and between the productive organizations without commerce and profit-mongery.

"Fourth, Organization of education on a secular, scientific and equal basis for both sexes.

"Fifth, equal rights for all without distinction to sex or race.

"Sixth, Regulation of all public affairs by free contracts between the autonomous (independent) communes and associations, resting on a federalistic basis."

Thus began what is perhaps the most picturesque phase of the revolutionary movement in America. Though at its very height its strength was not numerically impressive, it had as elements of its influence the command, theoretically, of the most sinister agents of destruction and the most reckless willingness to make use of them, together with a very real luridness and violence of language. To the innocent citizen who gave full credence to its utterances it brought "a vision of universal ruin." While to the sober socialist who still held to the idea of revolution by political means, it seemed a sweeping away of all the groundwork so slowly and painfully laid in the last decade.

The Socialist view had great justification, for it was among Socialists and Socialist sympathizers that Anarchism at first made the greatest progress. The Socialists went over to the Anarchist camp in such numbers, during the year after Most's arrival in this country, that the party membership amounted in 1883 to only about 1500. Many Socialist papers, including the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* and *Vorbote* in Chicago, followed their example and became Anarchist organs. The *Freiheit* gained in circulation, and new Anarchist newspapers were established. The radicals, especially among the German-speaking workingmen, were deeply affected by Anarchist ideas, and the American "groups" increased steadily in membership.

ANARCHISM IN CHICAGO

In Chicago the movement was strongest. Toward the end of 1885 there were as many as twenty groups, with a membership of 3000. Earlier, especially before the panic of 1885-87 set in, they were not so numerous, but from the first the Anarchist newspapers, and the Anarchist writers and speakers, made Chicago the stronghold of the movement. The newspapers, besides the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* and the *Vorbote*, were the *Alarm* established in 1884, with Parsons as editor, and *Die Fackel*. Of the Anarchist writers and speakers, the most prominent were selected with a degree of precision by the grand jury a few years later to stand trial for the throwing of a bomb, and have since been known as the Haymarket Anarchists: they were Parsons, Spies, Fielden, Engel, Schwab, Fischer, Neebe and Lingg.

Of all these, August Spies was the most capable. He was, as his speeches and writings show, a cultured and intellectual man. Born in Landerk, Germany, in 1855, he came to this country in 1872, where he settled in Chicago and learned the upholstery trade. In 1875 he became interested in Socialism, and in 1877 joined the Socialist Labor party. He became business manager, and then editor-in-chief of the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*. He was a Marxian student, and spoke and wrote both English and German with fluency, attracting wide attention. It was after

the stolen election of 1879 that he became convinced of the futility of political action, and became a philosophical Anarchist.

Samuel Fielden, called by all who knew him "good-natured Fielden," was born in Todmorden, England, in 1847, the son of a Lancashire manufacturer. He was successively a weaver, a lay Methodist preacher, and a driver. He came to the United States in 1868, and to Chicago in 1869. When he came in contact with the Socialist movement, he poured the whole strength of a religious and idealistic nature into this new cause. He had an abrupt and passionate eloquence that was very appealing, and he became a popular speaker at workingmen's gatherings.

George Engel, the oldest of these men, was born in Cassel, Germany, in 1836. He was a painter by trade. It was in Philadelphia, where he settled in 1873, and where he saw the militia coming back from their task of subjugating some striking miners, that he first thought seriously about the labor problem. When he came to Chicago in 1873 he was converted to Socialism by reading the *Vorbote*. He set up a toy shop in 1876 so as to have more time and money to devote to the cause. He lived in the 14th ward, where the notorious stolen election occurred, and it was this event which disgusted him with political methods. He joined the Anarchist movement at its first appearance in Chicago, and was one of its most earnest devotees.

Michael Schwab had been a trade-union and Socialist agitator in Europe. He was born in Kitzingen, Germany, and learned the trade of bookbinding. Coming to the United States in 1879, and soon afterwards to Chicago, he got in touch immediately with the Socialist movement. After working at his trade in Milwaukee and other cities, he came back to Chicago and became a reporter, and later assistant editor on the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*. He had a good education, and was, says Hillquit, "a lucid though not original writer, and a fluent speaker. His influence in the labor movement was due principally to his great earnestness and unbounded devotion to the cause of the working class."

Adolf Fischer was a printer. He was born in Bremen, Germany, and came to this country at the age of 15 years; but even before that he had been made familiar with Socialist ideas by his parents. He was drawn into the Anarchist movement at the time of its greatest vogue in Chicago, and was employed as a compositor on the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*. He was one of the hardest workers in the cause.

Oscar Neebe was born in this country in 1849, and settled in Chicago in 1866. He had a profitable business, "peddling yeast," and was well-to-do. But he possessed remarkable gifts as an organizer, and was connected with almost every phase of the labor movement. He had been a delegate to the National Labor Union, and was a member of the Socialist Labor party before he left to join the International Working-People's Association. During the eight-hour agitation of 1886, he organized the bakers, and secured a ten hour day for them; he organized the beer brewers, and helped them secure a ten hour day and a raise in wages of $15 a month. Though associated with the Anarchists of Chicago, he was never prominent in Anarchist propaganda, being most actively interested in the trade-union movement.

Louis Lingg, the youngest of the group, did not come to Chicago until the Anarchist movement had reached its height. He presents a personality utterly different from that of any of the others. He appears to have believed in the Mostian gospel of violence; he certainly experimented in the manufacture of

dynamite bombs. This young man, who was gifted with terrible physical strength and intense intellectual fanaticism, was born in Mannheim, Germany, in 1864. At the age of thirteen the contrasts of luxury and poverty and the ironies of the wage system awakened in him "a hatred of existing society." He learned the trade of carpenter, and traveled in southern Germany and Switzerland, becoming an ardent Socialist. He came to America in 1885, and settled in Chicago. He was appointed an organizer of the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, and he was proud of the fact, as being greatly due to his own activities, that his union came out of the unsuccessful Eight Hour movement in 1886 with undiminished strength.

It appears to have been the impinging of these men upon the labor movement through the medium of the Eight Hour movement which gave them their real importance. So long as they devoted themselves to preaching a social ideal, little attention was paid them. The meetings, judged from reports in the *Alarm,* justify the minificatory description given by Governor Altgeld in his "Reasons for Pardoning":

". . . While Chicago had nearly a million inhabitants, the meetings held on the lake front on Sundays during the summer by these agitators rarely had fifty people present, and most of these went from mere curiosity, while the meetings held indoors during the winter were still smaller."

ANARCHIST NEWSPAPERS

Governor Altgeld at the same time referred to the Anarchist newspapers as "obscure little sheets with scarcely any circulation"; and this unsentimental characterization would appear also to be just. Their obscurity perhaps increased their irresponsibility; at best they were carelessly edited, while often their editors were away on lecture tours and the editing left to subordinates. In these circumstances much use was made of the writings of Johann Most, which may have seemed adapted to "frighten the bourgeoisie." Many of the original contributions, moreover, were but the echo of Most's rhetoric. The spirit in which these papers were edited was disclosed by Parsons in his address to the Haymarket jury:

"Your honor, you must remember that it was a labor paper, published by the International Working People's Association. Belonging to that body, I was elected its editor by the organization, and, as labor editors generally are, I was handsomely paid . . . My salary was $8 a week, and I have received that salary as editor of the *Alarm* for over two years and a half—$8 a week! . . . This paper belonged to the organization. It was theirs. They sent in their articles—Tom, Dick and Harry; everybody wanted to have something to say, and I had no right to shut off anybody's complaint. The *Alarm* was a labor paper, and it was specifically published for the purpose of allowing every human being who wore the chains of a monopoly an opportunity to clank those chains in the columns of the *Alarm.* It was a free press organ. It was a free speech newspaper."

The *Alarm* is an interesting example of the confusion of thought as well as the carelessness of editing of the period. Side by side in its advertising columns, under the head of "Socialist Books," were advertised Laurence Gronlund's "The Cooperative Commonwealth" and Johann Most's "Revolutionary Warfare," the one a sober attempt to describe the society of the future, the other a pamphlet

describing in detail the manufacture of dynamite and explosive bombs. In the news columns, occasional translations from this hand book would be placed beside sober and impressive indictments of our industrial system; while on the editorial page would be mingled statistical argument, radical sentimentalism and incitations to violence.

With respect to these incitations to violence, it should be recalled that the journalism of those times was more easily jarred into violent utterance than it is today. In denouncing their political foes, the Anarchists had at that time the example of the reputable press, an example which in bad taste, incendiary language and barbarity they could not easily surpass—which they could surpass only in the insistence with which they kept it up. These brief excerpts, which, together with many more, were seized upon and quoted by the Anarchist, Socialist and labor journals all over the country, may be adduced. They date back a few years to the panic of 1877. They are possibly not authentic, they are very probably garbled—but they do represent, after a fashion, the journalism of the period:

"Hand grenades should be thrown among these union sailors, who are striving to obtain higher wages and less hours. By such treatment they would be taught a valuable lesson, and other strikers could take warning from their fate.—Chicago *Times.*"

"It is very well to relieve real distress wherever it exists, whether in the city or in the country, but the best meal that can be given a ragged tramp is a leaden one, and it should be supplied in sufficient quantities to satisfy the most voracious appetite.—New York *Herald.*"

"When a tramp asks you for bread, put strychnine or arsenic on it and he will not trouble you any more, and others will keep out of the neighborhood.—Chicago *Tribune.*"

These passages are here quoted as they were printed in the *Alarm.*

Like these incitations to violence, those of the Anarchists were practically negligible in their actual effect. They played, however, an important part in the trial of the Haymarket Anarchists some two years later, after they had ceased to be a part of Anarchist agitation. Aside from their importance in connection with that trial, their interest lies chiefly in the psychology from which they spring, and to which they give the clue. Before analyzing that psychology, an example of these incitations to violence may be quoted. It is the "Letter to Tramps," printed in the *Alarm.*

It is quoted here in its entirety:

"TO TRAMPS, THE UNEMPLOYED, THE DISINHERITED, AND MISERABLE

"A word to the 35,000 now tramping the streets of this great city, with hands in pockets, gazing listlessly about you at the evidences of wealth and pleasure of which you own no part, not sufficient even to purchase a bit of food with which to appease the hunger now gnawing at your vitals. It is with you and the hundreds of thousands of others similarly situated in this great land of plenty, that I wish to have a word.

"Have you not worked hard all your life, since you were old enough for your labor to be of use in the production of wealth? Have you not toiled long, hard and

laboriously in producing wealth? And in all those years of drudgery, do you not know that you have produced thousands upon thousands of dollars worth of wealth, which you did not then, do not now, and unless you ACT, never will own any part in? Do you not know that when you were harnessed to a machine, and that machine, harnessed to steam, and thus you toiled your ten, twelve and sixteen hours in the twenty-four, that during this time in all these years you received only enough of your labor product to furnish yourself the bare, coarse necessities of life, and that when you wished to purchase anything for yourself and family, it always had to be of the cheapest quality? If you wanted to go anywhere you had to wait until Sunday, so little did you receive for your unremitting toil that you dare not stop for a moment, as it were? And do you not know that with all your pinching, squeezing and economizing, you never were enabled to keep but a few days ahead of the wolves of want? And that at last when the caprice of your employer saw fit to create an artificial famine by limiting production, that the fires in the furnace were extinguished, the iron horse to which you had been harnessed was stilled, the factory door locked up, you turned upon the highway a tramp, with hunger in your stomach and rags upon your back?

"Yet your employer told you that it was over production which made him close up. Who cared for the bitter tears and heart-pangs of your loving wife and helpless children, when you bid them a loving 'God bless you!' and turned upon the tramper's road to seek employment elsewhere? I say, who cared for those heart-aches and pains? You were only a tramp now, to be execrated and denounced as a 'worthless tramp and vagrant' by that very class who had been engaged all those years in robbing you and yours. Then can you not see that the 'good boss' or the 'bad boss' cuts no figure whatever? that you are the common prey of both, and that their mission is simply robbery? Can you not see that it is the industrial system and not the 'boss' which must be changed?

"Now, when all these bright summer and autumn days are going by, and you have no employment, and consequently can save up nothing, and when the winter's blast sweeps down from the north, and all the earth is wrapped in a shroud of ice, hearken not to the voice of the hypocrite who will tell you that it was ordained of God that 'the poor ye have always'; to the arrogant robber who will say to you that you 'drank up all your wages last summer when you had work, and that is the reason why you have nothing now, and the workhouse or the woodyard is too good for you; that you ought to be shot.' And shoot you they will if you present your petitions in too emphatic a manner. So hearken not to them, but list.' Next winter, when the cold blasts are creeping through the rents in your seedy garments, when the frost is biting your feet through the holes in your worn-out shoes, and when all wretchedness seems to have centered in and upon you; when misery has marked you for her own, and life has become a burden and existence a mockery; when you have walked the streets by day and slept upon hard boards by night, and at last determined by your own hand to take your life,—for you would rather go out into utter nothingness than to longer endure an existence which has become such a burden,—so, perchance, you determine to dash yourself into the cold embrace of the lake, rather than longer suffer thus. But halt before you commit this last tragic act in the drama of your simple existence. Stop! Is there nothing you can do to ensure those whom you are about to orphan against a like fate? The waves will only dash over you in mockery of your rash act; but stroll you down the

avenues of the rich, and look through the magnificent plate windows into their voluptuous homes, and here you will discover the *very identical robbers* who have despoiled you and yours. Then let your tragedy be enacted *here!* Awaken them from their wanton sports at your expense. Send forth your petition, and let them read it by the red glare of destruction. Thus when you cast 'one long, lingering look behind,' you can be assured that you have spoken to these robbers in the only language which they have ever been able to understand; for they have never yet deigned to notice any petition from their slaves that they were not *compelled* to read by the red glare bursting from the cannon's mouth, or that was not handed to them upon the point of the sword. You need no organization when you make up your mind to present this kind of petition. In fact, an organization would be a detriment to you; but each of you hungry tramps who read these lines, avail yourselves of these little methods of warfare which Science has placed in the hands of the poor man, and you will become a power in this or any other land.

"Learn the use of explosives!"

THE ANARCHISTS OF CHICAGO

In order to understand the real quality of such writings, something must be made perfectly plain concerning the personnel of the Anarchist movement. The Anarchists were, in part, former Socialists who had grown cynical about political methods, but who still desired what was in effect a political as well as an economic revolution: in part, they were idealists after the manner of Thoreau and Tolstoi; and for the rest they were workingmen who found in the Anarchist movement a voice making loudly articulate their wrongs. All of these found themselves in a movement permeated with the influence of Johann Most; not merely affected by his idealism and his eloquence, but by his teachings in regard to violence. Generally, they accepted that doctrine along with the rest; and it was posible for any of the elements of the Anarchist movement—the disgruntled Socialist, the gentle idealist, the dissatisfied workingman—to take the doctrine of violence with sufficient seriousness to act upon it. But as an actual matter of fact hardly any of them did take it in that way. So far as the movement in general was concerned, violence was a matter of talk and never a matter of action.

When the Mostian gospel first began to spread in America there were a certain number of romantic spirits who were attracted by the secrecy, the close organization and the terrorism, which were advocated and described in detail in his revolutionary handbook; and there was a certain amount of futile and rather ridiculous imitation of these things. Practical Mostism was, however, totally at variance with the revolutionary tradition already well established in America, and it died out harmlessly. The injection of such a personality as that of Louis Lingg into a group was sometimes sufficient to cause a temporary revival of this spirit. But, with such negligible exceptions, the Anarchist movement was (in spite of its discarding of political methods) a political movement; its actions were open and ordinary and legitimate. It proposed an end which was in the largest sense political, and it relied on the methods of reason and persuasion. through speeches, pamphlets, newspapers, etc., to gain adherents. Moreover, its members were for the most part what are called peaceable and law-abiding citizens. The leaders were men personally gentle, not accustomed to the use of firearms, and wholly unacquainted with the manufacture or use of the deadly explosives to which they sometimes

referred with such sinister emphasis in their speeches and writings. This fact of their personal peaceableness does not necessarily extenuate these Anarchist leaders for their violent utterances; nor does the fact of the really peaceable character of the Anarchist movement remove its responsibility for the doctrine of violence which it sponsored. But it must be understood that these are facts. The ironic contrast between the peaceable lives of the Anarchists and their occasional violent utterances is a significant matter. The explanation of that contrast will lay bare the psychology of the period.

BOMB-TALKING

In an earlier part of this sketch, in the analysis of the doctrine of violence, there was an explanation of the psychology of bomb-throwing. But this is a different thing: it is the psychology of bomb-talking. Bombs were talked and written about for a whole year by the Anarchists with no serious results whatever; for if one remembers that it has never been proved who threw the Haymarket bomb, and that it was certainly never traced to the Anarchists, the surprising fact appears that there is no bomb-throwing to discuss in the history of Chicago Anarchism. There is merely bomb-talking.

Why, then, did these men talk dynamite? It was done partly to attract attention to their real beliefs—it was a way of shocking the public into attention. So desperate a means of securing an audience is only taken by a small faction—it is the sign of weakness.

Then, too, if lawmakers and employers could be persuaded of the existence of a party ready to use violence to secure it ends, they might make concessions. So the Anarchists did not resent and often helped to cultivate, the opinion that they were dangerous men. The newspapers to some extent co-operated with the Anarchists in building up the illusion. When news was scarce, a reporter would interview some Anarchist and print a lurid story. To amuse these reporters Spies kept on his desk at the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* office a piece of gaspipe that someone had left there. It was supposed to be a bomb; it was the only bomb that Spies had ever seen; when reporters asked, jocularly, if he had any bombs about, he pointed with a smile to this one: the same piece of gaspipe later helped to hang him. Thus the talk of dynamite was made largely in the American spirit of "bluff."

But more essential than these causes was another something which may be called the Idea of dynamite. In a movement which stood for the poor and oppressed, the symbolism of dynamite, though not by any means necessarily the use of it, was bound to make a tremendous appeal. For here was a wonderful new substance which made one poor man the equal of an army: it seemed created as a sign to the oppressors of earth that their reign was not forever to endure. This symbolism of dynamite it was, and not any actual interest in the use of it, that made it so frequent a topic in Anarchist speeches and writings during a certain period. It was, that is to say, a sentimental interest in dynamite. When that interest had been exhausted by repetition, the matter was dropped. But Parsons, in his speech in the Haymarket trial, gave so interesting and convincing an elucidation of this symbolism that the passage is worth quoting in full:

"I am called a dynamiter. Why? Did I ever use dynamite? No. Did I ever have any? No. Why, then, am I called a dynamiter? Listen, and I will

tell you. Gunpowder in the 15th century marked an era in the world's history. It was the downfall of the mail-armor of the knight, the freebooter and the robber of that period. It enabled the victims of the highway-robbers to stand off at a distance in a safe place and defend themselves by the use of gunpowder and make a ball enter and pierce into the flesh of their robbers and destroy them. Gunpowder came as a democratic institution. It came as a republican institution, and the effect was that it immediately began to equalize and bring about an equilibrium of power. There was less power in the hands of the nobility after that; less power in the hands of the king; less power in the hands of those who would plunder and degrade and destroy the people after that.

"So today, dynamite comes as the emancipator of man from the domination and enslavement of his fellow man. . . . Dynamite is the diffusion of power. It is democratic; it makes everybody equal. General Sheridan says: 'Arms are worthless.' They are worthless in the presence of this instrument [the bomb]. Nothing can meet it. The Pinkertons, the police, the militia, are absolutely worthless in the presence of dynamite. They can do nothing with the people at all. It is the equilibrium. It is the annihilator. It is the disseminator of authority; it is the dawn of peace; it is the end of war, because war cannot exist unless there is somebody to make war upon, and dynamite makes that unsafe, undesirable and absolutely impossible. It is a peace-maker; it is man's best and last friend; it emancipates the world from the domineering of the few over the many, because all government, in the last resort, is violence; all law, in the last resort, is force. Force is the law of the universe; force is the law of nature, and this newly discovered force makes all men equal, and therefore free."

RELATION BETWEEN ANARCHIST AND SOCIALIST MOVEMENTS

Up to a certain point, and in spite of its doctrine of violence, it is proper to consider the Anarchist movement in America as a branch of the Socialist movement. Many Anarchists, including some of the most notable ones, called themselves indifferently Socialists and Anarchists. Many Socialists had joined the Anarchists in the belief that here was a more effective kind of Socialist movement. The Socialists who remained faithful were hard put to it to keep the old organization intact. It was a losing struggle, for section after section of the Socialists deserted to the Anarchist movement, and in the controversy between the *Freiheit* and the *Bulletin,* the official organ of the Socialist Labor party, the former proved itself the more accomplished controversialist. The Socialist numbers had dwindled in 1883 to about 1,500. The defeat of the Socialists seemed to be acknowledged when, in April, 1883, Philip Van Patten, who had been for six years the national secretary of the Socialist Labor party, and was one of its most capable and faithful officials, disappeared, leaving a note announcing his intention of committing suicide. As a matter of fact, he entered the government service; but his action accentuated the desperate condition of the Socialist fortunes.

There was then, among the Socialists, a disheartened motion toward surrender to the Anarchists. When the Pittsburg convention of the latter had been held, earlier in the year 1883, the Socialists had been invited to send delegates, but they had declined, the national executive committee declaring that there could

be no common ground between Socialists and Anarchists. But when the Pittsburg Proclamation had been adopted, there was not apparent in it any such wide difference from orthodox Socialist views as had been expected, and there followed considerable discussion among Socialists on the question of union with the Anarchists. In December, 1883, some prominent members of the Socialist Labor party addressed a communication to the Chicago groups, proposing a consolidation of the Socialists and Anarchists. "Reading the Proclamation of the Internationalists as adopted at the Pittsburg convention," they wrote, "we can hardly find anything in it with which the Socialist Labor party has not always agreed, except perhaps some obscure phrases of a reactionary coloring." The answer was written by August Spies. He took the position that the Socialist Labor party was a dying organization, and advised the members to dissolve into autonomous groups, to affiliate with the International Working-People's Association in the same manner as the groups already composing it. Practically the Socialists' overtures were rejected.

It was as well perhaps that they were. For the Socialist convention which met late the same month, in Baltimore, though it was attended by only sixteen delegates, drew a sharp line in its "proclamation" between the doctrines of Socialism and Anarchism, declaring: "We do not share the folly of the men who consider dynamite bombs as the best means of agitation; we know full well that a revolution must take place in the heads and in the industrial life of men before the working class can achieve lasting success." At the same time, the convention made concessions to the revolutionary sentiments of the period by recommending politics as a means of propaganda only and expressing the conviction that the privileged classes would never surrender their privileges until compelled by force to do so; and changes were made in the constitution of the party, to bring it in line with this feeling, the office of national secretary being abolished, the powers of the national executive committee curtailed, and the sections accorded greater autonomy in the administration of their affairs.

The declaration of the convention on the subject of Anarchism marked the beginning of open struggle between the Socialists and Anarchists, and at the same time the beginning of the gradual ascendency of the Socialist party. Paul Grottkau and many who had called themselves "social revolutionists" rejoined the Socialist party, and others definitely joined the other camp. The middle ground had been cut away. While something of the intellectual confusion which identified Socialism with Anarchism persisted, especially in Chicago, down to the Haymarket riot, it was to an extent dispelled by the vigorous newspaper controversies and public discussions between the two movements. The most notable of the latter was the debate between Paul Grottkau and Johann Most, held in Chicago, May 24, 1884. This debate, which was ably and eloquently conducted on both sides, was reported stenographically and widely circulated. In considering that Chicago particularly retained the confusion in which Socialism and Anarchism were identified,—the whole Socialist movement of that city practically assuming an Anarchist cast—it must be remembered what experience the Chicago working people had had, only a few years before with the ballot, and how cynical of merely political methods that stolen election must have made them.

As a part of the Socialist campaign against Anarchism, special lecture tours were arranged, and Alexander Jonas and others went over the country, visiting

especially the centers of Anarchist activity, seeking to expose the weaknesses of the Anarchist doctrine and to stimulate the discouraged Socialists. Leaflets to the same end were printed and distributed by the thousands. At the same time, ordinary propaganda was resumed, and some 160,000 pamphlets were made use of in a systematic campaign of education in the years 1884 and 1885.

When the next national convention was held, in October, 1885, in Cincinnati, the number of sections had increased from the 30 of the year before to 42. None of its newspapers in English had survived, and only two in German, to which a third, a weekly magazine under the editorship of the philosopher, Joseph Dietzgen, was added. Meanwhile the International had about 80 groups, with 7,000 enrolled members, and two English, seven German, and two Bohemian papers. During the following year the Socialist ranks increased to the total number of about 60 sections, while the Anarchists suffered the shattering blow of the Haymarket trial, an arbitrary end thus being put to a most interesting period of change in the American radical movement which would otherwise, or so it seems to some, have closed with the gradual renaissance of Socialist political ideals and the quiet decadence of Anarchism.

EIGHT-HOUR MOVEMENT

The factor which chiefly operated to bring about the more dramatic climax at the Haymarket was the eight-hour movement. A new industrial crisis had set in about 1884, lasting till 1886. It was the second of the great panics which began with the one of 1877 and have periodically since that time filled the streets of the great cities with unemployed and desperate men. The Anarchists in Chicago took advantage of the situation to hold large mass meetings, in particular a great street demonstration on Thanksgiving Day, 1884. Though Anarchism, or, for that matter, Socialism, made no general impression on working men, the feeling grew among them that it was necessary to take some concerted action for bettering their conditions. In response to this demand, perhaps, the 1884 convention of the Federation of Trades and Labor Unions of the United States, decided to revive the eight-hour movement.

The eight-hour movement was the successor of that ten-hour movement which began with the very birth of capitalism in the early 19th century, as a protest against its appalling industrial barbarities. About the middle of the century, eight-hour laws of a more or less ineffectual kind were passed in this country by the legislatures of various states and by congress; eight-hour leagues were formed, and there were many strikes for an eight-hour day. The panic of '77 put an end temporarily to the movement, which was now resumed. It was at first intended to make an immediate struggle for the eight-hour day, and a manifesto was issued calling on all trades to strike on a certain day in the same year. But afterward it was decided to postpone that critical action, and the date was set anew at May 1, 1886.

POLICE BRUTALITY

Before that date arrived, and before the wave of agitation which swept over the country had attained significant proportions, there occurred in Chicago some other events of an industrial nature which may have been the direct cause of the Haymarket bomb-throwing. These were the numerous strikes of the year 1885

and the extraordinary brutality with which the strikers were treated by the police.

Reference has been made earlier to the police brutality at a meeting of workingmen, in the year 1877, and the "free speech decision" which it called forth from Judge McAllister. Governor Altgeld, in his "Reasons for Pardoning," points out that "no attention was paid to the judge's decision; that peaceable meetings were invaded and broken up, and inoffensive people were clubbed; that in 1885 there was a strike at the McCormick reaper factory, on account of a reduction of wages, and some Pinkerton men, while on their way there, were hooted at by some people on the street, when they fired into the crowd and fatally wounded several people who had taken no part in any disturbance; that four of the Pinkerton men were indicted for this murder by the grand jury, but that the prosecuting officers apparently took no interest in the case, and allowed it to be continued a number of times, until the witnesses were worn out, and in the end the murderers went free."

Governor Altgeld in the same document calls attention to the conduct of the police in the street car strike in July of that year. This matter is particularly significant as it not only shows what was almost the habitual conduct of the Chicago police in the labor troubles of the time, but it also exhibits in a strong light the character of a certain police officer—the officer who was concerned directly in the labor riots of 1886, up to and including the Haymarket affair. This police officer is Captain John Bonfield.

The strike was that of the employes of the street railway on West Division street. It lasted from July 1 to July 8. The following passages are taken from the *Daily News* of July 3, which remarks that "complaints against the police began to came in early in the morning." The excerpts follow:

"John Schulkins, of 1258 Monroe street, says that while walking to Western avenue and Madison street for the purpose of taking a wagon to come down town to his business, he was approached by Captain Bonfield, who without a word of warning struck him a violent blow. Mr. Schulkins asserts that he saw the captain strike other innocent persons in the same manner."

"The feeling of the people is very bitter against the police and is especially directed against Captain Bonfield, who, they claim, used his club, most unmercifully. . . . Patrick Conly, an old man 65 years of age, was standing on the corner of Western avenue and Madison street, when he was approached by Captain Bonfield and ordered to fall back. Before the old man had time to obey, the captain hit him a violent blow over the head with his club, inflicting such a severe wound that the old man had to be taken into John Myer's drug store to have it dressed. Robert Ellis, a butcher at 974 West Madison street, was standing in the door of his shop with his apron on when the police came and ordered him to move on. As he did not start immediately, they seized him and rushing him into the car took him to the station, leaving his store entirely unprotected."

The paper goes on to note that among others a brakeman and an engineer of the C. M. & St. P. were assaulted.

The corroborative testimony of another police official is furnished by a letter from Captain Michael Schaack to the editor of the *Rights of Labor* and published May 4, 1893:

"In July, 1885, in the street car strike on the West Side, I held the office of lieutenant on the force. I was detailed with a company of officers, early in the morning, in the vicinity of the car barns, I believe on Western avenue and a little north of Madison street. My orders were to see that the new men on the cars were not molested when coming out of the barn. One man came up and passed my lines about 50 feet. I saw one of the men, either driver or conductor, leave the car at a standstill. I ran up near the car, when I saw, on the southeast corner of the street, Bonfield strike a man on the head with his club. He hit the man twice, and I saw the man fall to the ground. Afterward I was put on a train of cars, protecting the rear. Bonfield had charge of the front. I saw many people getting clubbed in front of the train, but I held my men in the rear and gave orders not to strike anyone except they were struck first. Not one of my officers hurt a person on that day or at any time. Many people were arrested, all appearing. From what I saw in the afternoon and the next day, no officer could state what they were arrested for. The officer professed ignorance of having any evidence, but 'someone told them to take him in,' meaning to lock him up. On that afternoon, about 4 o'clock, he addressed me in the following words, in great anger: 'If some of you goody-goody fellows had used your clubs freely in the forenoon, you would not need to use lead this afternoon.' I told him I did not see any use in clubbing people, and that I would club no person to please any one, meaning Bonfield; and that if lead had to be used, I thought that my officers could give lead and take it also. I will say that affair was brutal and uncalled for."

Further evidence in the form of affadavits are given in the "Reasons for Pardoning." Governor Altgeld recites as the sequel to this affair the fact that "a petition signed by about 1,000 of the leading citizens living on and near West Madison street was sent to the mayor and city council, praying for the dismissal of Bonfield from the force, but that on account of his political influence he was retained."

THE FIRST OF MAY

The Anarchists, who at first took no stock in the eight-hour day movement, gradually, as the appointed day was neared, were drawn into it, and in the large cities became, by virtue of their experience in agitation, the leaders. It was a general movement, the most widespread and powerful in American history. The trade unions, with a membership which rapidly doubled and trebled, were prepared to inaugurate what is now known as a "general strike." There were public meetings, parades and intense excitement in labor circles. Strikes, lockouts, boycotts, concessions and the organization of new unions make the industrial history of the period an indescribable chaos.

In Chicago the Trades and Labor Assembly, the main labor organization of the city, and the Central Labor Union, a smaller organization of Anarchist sympathies, were very active, as was also the Eight-Hour Association, a body formed by George A. Schilling and others. Parsons, Spies, Fielden, Schwab and other Anarchist speakers came into great prominence at the public meetings. It was a time when the middle class was ready to take alarm in any exaggerated utterance, and they found their occasion in the "Revenge Circular," which was dis-

tributed about the streets of the working class districts on the morning of May 4th.

The circumstances were these. The employes of the McCormick Reaper works had been locked out since February. The company had hired some 300 armed Pinkerton detectives to protect the strike-breakers; the presence of the Pinkertons intensified the bitterness of the struggle, and on the afternoon of May 3d there was a skirmish between some of the strikers and the strike-breakers, as the latter were leaving the factory. Stones were thrown, and a few windows were broken in the McCormick works. The police were telephoned for, and they came, 150 on foot and six or seven patrol wagons full, among them Inspector Bonfield. The police, being greeted with a shower of stones, opened fire on the crowd of men, women and children, killing six and wounding many more. One of those who saw the affair was Spies, who had been addressing a nearby meeting of the Lumber Shovers union when the trouble began. He ran to the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* office and composed a proclamation, of which five thousand were struck off in English and German and distributed. It was headed "Revenge!" and ran as follows:

"Your masters sent out their bloodhounds—the police; they killed six of your brothers at McCormick's this afternoon. They killed the poor wretches because they, like you, had the courage to disobey the supreme will of your bosses. They killed them because they dared ask for the shortening of the hours of toil. They killed them to show you, *'Free American Citizens,'* that you *must* be satisfied and contented with whatever your bosses condescend to allow you, or you will get killed!

"You have for years endured the most abject humiliations; you have for years suffered unmeasured iniquities; you have worked yourselves to death; you have endured the pangs of want and hunger; your Children you have sacrificed to the factory-lords; in short: You have been unselfish and obedient slaves all these years. Why? To satisfy the insatiable greed, to fill the coffers of your lazy, thieving master? When you ask him now to lessen your burden, he sends his bloodhounds out to shoot you, kill you!

"If you are men, if you are the sons of your grandsires who have shed their blood to free you, then you will arise in your might, Hercules, and destroy the hideous monster that seeks to destroy you. To arms, we call you, to arms!

YOUR BROTHER."

THE HAYMARKET RIOT

The alarm caused by the circular was increased by the calling of a meeting the next evening, May 4th, at the Haymarket, for the purpose of "branding the murder of our fellow-workers." The Haymarket, which had formerly the uses that its name implies, is a large open space on Randolph street, between Desplaines and Halsted streets, latterly used only for public meetings. To watch the present meeting five companies of police were put in the Desplaines street station, and four held in reserve at the Central station, while a score of detectives were detailed to mix with the crowd. It was very wisely determined not to disturb the meeting unless that became necessary. The chief of police, Ebersold, re-

mained at the Central station, while Bonfield was left in charge of the Desplaines street station. Mayor Harrison decided to attend the meeting himself.

About 2,000 workingmen gathered that evening at the Haymarket, and listened to speeches by Spies, Parsons and Fielden. Spies was at first the only speaker. But Fielden, and Parsons, who had gone down town with his wife and two little children to attend a meeting at the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* office, at which some sewing women were being organized into a union, were reached by telephone, and asked to come over to help out. They came, the women and children sitting near the wagon while Parsons spoke. Fischer and Engels, other prominent Anarchists, were at home playing cards at the time; while Schwab, Lingg and Neebe had not heard of the preparations for the meeting, and did not attend.

Mayor Harrison attended the meeting, and afterwards described it as "tame." "It was," he said, "what I should call a violent political harangue against capital. I went back to the station, and said to Bonfield that I thought the speeches were about over; that nothing had occurred yet or was likely to occur to require interference, and I thought he had better issue orders to his reserves at the other stations to go home."

Some heavy clouds had come up, threatening a storm, and Fielding was left addressing the remnants of the crowd, about six hundred in number, when the mayor went away, about ten o'clock. Bonfield obeyed the mayor's directions, and dismissed the reserves at the Central station. The mayor and the chief of police had gone home. Then Bonfield hastily ordered out his five companies of police (176 men) from the Desplaines street station, and marched them down to the Haymarket.

When the police drew near the crowd, Captain Ward, who was in charge of the squad, commanded the meeting to disperse. Fielden answered that the meeting was a peaceable one. At that moment a bomb was thrown from the direction of an adjoining alley; alighting between the first and second companies of policemen, it killed one man and wounded many others. What followed is vividly described in this account taken from the *Chicago Tribune* of the following morning:

"Immediately after the explosion, the police pulled their revolvers and fired on the crowd. An incessant fire was kept up for nearly two minutes, and at least 250 shots were fired. The air was filled with bullets. The crowd ran up the streets and alleys and were fired on by the now thoroughly enraged police. Then a lull followed. Many of the crowd had taken refuge in the halls or entrances of houses and in saloons. As the firing ceased they ventured forth, and a few officers opened fire on them. A dozen more shots were fired and then it ceased entirely and the patrol wagons that had stopped just south of Randolph street were called up, and the work of looking for the dead and wounded began. The police separated into two columns and scoured the block north to Lake street and south to Randolph. When the firing had stopped, the air was filled with groans and shrieks. 'O God! I'm shot.' 'Please take me home.' 'Take me to the hospital,' and similar entreaties were heard all over within a radius of a block of the field of battle. Men were seen limping into drug stores or saloons or crawling on their hands, their legs being disabled. Others tottered along the street like drunken men, holding their hands to their heads and calling for help to take

them home. The open doorways and saloons in the immediate vicinity were crowded with men. Some jumped over tables and chairs, barricading themselves behind them; others crouched behind walls, counters, doorways and empty barrels. For a few minutes after the shooting nobody ventured out on the street. The big bell in the police station tower tolled out a riot alarm. . . .

"It was a common spectacle to see men having their wounds dressed on the sidewalk.

"The street cars going in every direction contained men who had been wounded but were still strong enough to help themselves away. . . .

"Goaded to madness, the police were in that condition of mind which permitted of no resistance, and in a measure they were as dangerous as any mob of Communists, for they were blinded by passion and unable to distinguish between the peaceable citizen and the Nihilist assassin. But then at such a time honest men had no business on the street; their places were at home, and the police took it for granted that no man, unless he had had work on hand, would be hanging around the vicinity. For squares from the Desplaines station companies and squads of officers cleared the streets and mercilessly clubbed all who demurred at the order to go."

In an interview in the *Tribune* of June 27th, an unnamed police officer, stated to be well-known, was quoted as saying: "I also know it to be a fact that a very large number of the police were wounded by each other's revolvers. . . . There was a blunder," he said, "on the part of the man who commanded the police on the night of the Haymarket murders, or this fearful slaughter would not have occurred. Bonfield made the blunder, and is held responsible for its effects by every man injured there. . . . The whole thing was hasty and ill-advised, arising out of Bonfield's desire to distinguish himself."

Chicago was sickened and scared; a hysterical search began to be made for the bomb-thrower. In the dearth of any real evidence, it was generally conjectured that the man was Rudolph Schnaubelt, a man who was twice arrested and released on the night of the trouble. "At such times," as Jane Addams has said, "fervid denunciation is held to be the duty of every good citizen;" and in obedience to the general demand for something to be done, the police instituted a general policy of repression. All labor meetings were broken up, the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* placed under the censorship of the chief of police, and all the prominent Anarchists, including the speakers at the meeting and the entire editorial staff and force of compositors at the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, placed under arrest. Parsons, who had shaved off his moustache and gone to Waukesha, Wisconsin, could not be found.

EVENTS PRECEDING THE TRIAL

Between the time of the arrest and trial there were many sensational finds of bombs and dynamite. The real nature of these finds is disclosed in an interview in the Chicago *Daily News*, May 10, 1889. Ebersold, who had been chief of police in 1886, said in part:

"It was my policy to quiet matters down as soon as possible after the 4th of May. The general unsettled state of things was an injury to Chicago.

"On the other hand, Capt. Schaack wanted to keep things stirring. He wanted

bombs to be found here, there, all around, everywhere. I thought people would lie down and sleep better if they were not afraid that their homes would be blown to pieces any minute. But this man Schaack, this little boy who must have glory or his heart would be broken, wanted none of that policy. Now, here is something the public does not know. After we got the Anarchist societies broken up, Schaack wanted to send out men to again organize new societies right away. You see what this would do. He wanted to keep the thing boiling—keep himself prominent before the public. Well, I sat down on that; I didn't believe in such work, and of course Schaack didn't like it.

"After I heard all that, I began to think there was, perhaps, not so much to all this Anarchist business as they claimed, and I believe I was right. Schaack thinks he knew all about those Anarchists. Why, I knew more at that time then he knows today about them. I was following them closely. As soon as Schaack began to get some notoriety, however, he was spoiled."

Evidence against the Anarchists was collected in various ways; among others, in the way described in the following affidavit:

STATE OF ILLINOIS }
COUNTY OF COOK } SS.

Vaclav Djmek, being first duly sworn, on oath states that he knows of no cause for his arrest on the 7th day of May, A. D. 1886; that he took no part in any of the troubles of the preceding days; that without a warrant for his arrest, or without a search warrant for his premises, the police entered the house on the night of the 7th of May, 1886; that on being requested to show by what authority they entered, the police heaped abuse upon this affiant and his wife; that the police then proceeded to ransack the house, roused this affiant's little children out of bed, pulled the same to pieces, carried away the affiant's papers and pillow slips, because the same were red; that on the way to the police station, though this affiant offered no resistance whatever, and went at the command of the officer, peacefully, this affiant was choked, covered by revolvers, and otherwise inhumanly treated by the police officers; that for many days this affiant was jailed and refused a preliminary hearing; that during said time he was threatened, and promised immunity by the police, if he would turn State's witness; that the police clerk and Officer Johnson repeatedly promised this affiant his freedom and considerable money, if he would turn State's witness; that on his protestations that he knew nothing to which he could testify, this affiant was abused and ill-treated; that while he was jailed this affiant was kicked, clubbed, beaten and scratched, had curses and abuses heaped upon him, and was threatened with hanging by the police; that this affiant's wife was abused by the police when she sought permission to see this affiant.

Vaclav Djmek.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 14th day of April, A. D. 1893.

Charles B. Pavlicek,
Notary Public.

A Defense Committee was formed among the Socialists and Anarchists, of which Dr. Ernst Schmidt was chairman, and George A. Schilling, Charles Seib, and others

were members. This committee collected about $30,000 among sympathizers with which to secure adequate legal aid for the accused.

The grand jury convened on May 17th and found an indictment against August Spies, Michael Schwab, Samuel Fielden, Albert R. Parsons, Adolph Fischer, George Engel, Louis Lingg, Oscar W. Neebe, Rudolph Schnaubelt and William Seliger, charging them with the murder of Matthias J. Degan, the policeman who was killed by the bomb.

Schnaubelt had made his escape to Europe, whence he has since repeatedly denied, through the anarchist press, any connection with the bomb-throwing. Seliger turned state's evidence on a promise of immunity. When the trial was begun, on June 21, Parsons walked into court, and took his place with the other seven defendants.

JUDGE, COUNSEL AND JURORS FOR THE TRIAL

Judge Joseph E. Gary presided. The case for the prosecution was conducted by Julius C. Grinnell, state's attorney, Francis W. Walker and Edmund Furthman, assistant state's attorneys, and George C. Grinnell, special counsel. The defence was conducted by William P. Black, Sigmund Zeisler, Moses Salomon and William A. Foster.

The jury was not drawn in the ordinary manner; instead, the trial judge appointed a special bailiff, Henry L. Ryce, to go out and summon as jurors such men as he might select. Ryce (as appears from an affidavit made by a reputable citizen, Otis Favor), boasted while selecting jurors that he was managing the case; that the defendants would hang as sure as death; that he was calling such men as the defendants would have to challenge peremptorily and waste their challenges on, and that when their challenges were exhausted they would have to take such men as the prosecution wanted.

In selecting the jury 21 days were spent and 981 men were examined. As Bailiff Ryce had predicted, the defendants were obliged to use all their peremptory challenges, and then to take a jury of which nearly every member had confessed a prejudice against them. When the panel was about two-thirds full, the defendants' counsel called attention to the fact that Ryce was summoning only men of particular classes, such as clerks, merchants, manufacturers, etc.; but the judge refused to take any notice of the matter.

Of the talesmen many admitted having a prejudice against Anarchists and a preconceived opinion to the effect that the defendants were guilty; but almost every one of these was taken in hand by the judge, interrogated and lectured, and some of them were brought to say that they believed their prejudice could be overcome by strong proof of innocence; they were then ruled competent to serve as jurors.

Two instances out of many, as reported in the *Tribune* of June 23d and 24th, are as follows:

"William Crowley of Lamont, a farmer, was prejudiced against Anarchists, Communists and Socialists, and didn't think he could render an impartial verdict. He was acquainted with Officer Hogan and thought that might bias him against the prisoners. He wouldn't give the same credit to the testimony of an Anarchist that he would to that of one who was not. He was challenged for cause. . . . The court overruled the challenge.

"D. F. Shedd of Ravenswood, a wholesale tea and coffee merchant, . . . entertained an opinion with reference to the guilt or innocence of the accused, but thought he could lay aside all opinions and render a fair and impartial verdict. It would require some evidence, however, to change his opinion. He was challenged on the last statement, but the court overruled it. . . . The juror then stated he had a very decided prejudice against Anarchists, Communists and Socialists, and believed that prejudice would interfere with an impartial verdict. He was challenged on this statement, but the challenge was again overruled."

The jurors whom the defendants were obliged to accept, after the exhaustion of their challenges, were Frank S. Osborne, James H. Cole, Charles B. Todd, Alanson H. Reed, James H. Brayton, Theodore E. Denker, George W. Adams, Charles H. Ludwig, John B. Griener, Andrew Hamilton, Harry S. Sandford and Scott G. Randall. Denker, Griener, Adams and Sandford had explicitly stated their prejudice against the defendants.

Aside from the light these facts throw on the character of the presiding judge, they indicate the hysterical belief of the general public that American institutions could only be saved by the hanging of these Anarchists. It was to Chicago a desperate occasion; the community struck fiercely, without regard to justice, at what seemed a terrible enemy.

Only as a reflection, perhaps a wholly unconscious reflection, of the popular clamor for the death of the defendants, can the conduct of the trial be understood and that conduct has been characterized as "malicious ferocity." The trial judge forced the eight defendants to be tried together; he ruled every contested point in favor of the prosecution; he made in the presence of the jury remarks such as could not fail to influence the latter against the defendants.

POPULAR FEELING REGARDING THE ANARCHISTS

The theory of the prosecution was twofold. On the one hand, it presented an elaborate technical case connecting the defendants with the bomb-throwing, through the medium of the inflammatory utterances some of them had made in speech and print. On the other hand, it concocted, with the aid of Johann Most's sensational story of a "Revolutionary Handbook," a secret Anarchist organization and plot to capture the city of Chicago.

"It was to begin by the throwing of bombs into the North avenue station and into other stations in the city. Well drilled men, armed with rifles, were to be stationed outside to shoot the police as they came out; then the conspirators were to march inward, toward the heart of the city, destroying whatever should oppose them; the telegraph wires and the hose of the firemen would be cut, and the reign of Anarchy begin." [2]

It was probably the latter story which persuaded the jury to find the defendants guilty. It was this story which largely influenced the supreme court of the state to refuse a new trial. And it was certainly this story which caused the public to approve of the verdict; for this there is the testimony of Judge Gary, who later declared:

"There is ground for the charge made by those who deny that justice was

[2] M. M. Trumbull: "The Trial of the Judgment."

done to Spies and his companions,—and who claim them as martyrs for free speech, —that the [popular] approval [of the verdict] was based upon no intelligent understanding of the conduct of the convicted anarchists,—no definite knowledge of what acts, if any, they had done worthy of death,—but was the outcome of fear that anarchy and anarchists threatened the foundations of society; and that from this fear sprung approval of anything which tended to the extirpation of anarchists."

THE TRIAL OF THE ACCUSED ANARCHISTS

The tale of a secret Anarchist conspiracy was supported by some perjured and contradictory testimony. It is not now believed by any judicious person.

The elaborate technical case prepared by the prosecution is best explained in the words of the trial judge in denying the motion for a new hearing:

"The conviction has not gone on the ground that they did have actually any personal participation in the particular act which caused the death of Degan, but the conviction proceeds upon the ground, under the instructions that they had generally, by speech and print, advised large classes of people, not particular individuals, but large classes, to commit murder, and had left the commission, the time, and place, and when, to the individual will and whim or caprice, or whatever it may be, of each individual man who listened to their advice, and that in consequence of that advice, in pursuance of that advice, and influenced by that advice, somebody not known did throw the bomb that caused Degan's death. Now, if this is not a correct principle of the law, then the defendants are entitled to a new trial. This case is without a precedent; there is no example in the law-books of a case of this sort. No such occurrence has ever happened before in the history of the world."

It is impossible to defend this as law or as logic. "Somebody not known did throw the bomb . . . in consequence of that advice, in pursuance of that advice, and influenced by that advice." This is mere assumption. No evidence was brought to establish it; and no evidence could establish it, in the lack of proof as to who actually threw the bomb. "It is inconceivable," wrote Judge Gary, "that the man who threw a bomb made by Lingg, one of the conspirators, was not by some of those publications or speeches encouraged to do so . . ." This was absurd; it was quite conceivable that the man who threw the bomb (which was not proved to have been made by Lingg), had never seen or heard a word of any of these eight men's utterances. It is conceivable that the bomb-thrower did not know what Anarchism was. It is conceivable that he did it, as was later suggested to Governor Altgeld, as an act of personal revenge. In short, only if it could have been shown that the man who threw the bomb had read or heard and been influenced by the utterances of the defendants, could they have rightfully been connected with the death of Degan.

But upon this ingenious theory these eight men were charged with murder. By way of including all the defendants within the limits of responsibility, the political party to which they belonged was designated an illegal combination or conspiracy. "The mere fact," wrote Judge Gary, that the defendants were members of the International, more or less active in the organization, even though their action was confined to meetings of the groups, of itself made them conspirators with the more active members who worked publicly.

RESULT OF THE TRIAL

The fact which determined the jury's verdict was perhaps the production of the exhibits: pieces of gas-pipe and dynamite, which had been found everywhere and anywhere by the police, and certain materials and apparatus for the making of bombs which had been found in Lingg's room. It was pretty conclusively established that Lingg had experimented in the manufacture of bombs, and it was easy for the jury to deduce his and the other defendants' responsibility for the fatal Haymarket bomb.

The importance of these exhibits, in comparison to the testimony, is indicated by Frederick Trevor Hill in an article on "The Chicago Anarchists' Case" in *Harper's Magazine* in 1907. "There was much," he said, "to impeach the story told by the informers. . . . Under skilful cross-examination it was shown that he [an informant] had confessed and retracted and reconfessed, and very little reliance would have been placed upon his testimony had it not been supported by other proofs. . . ." Again: "Formidable as this evidence appeared to be, it was badly shattered under cross-examination. The witness, it appeared, had kept his information to himself for several days after the event . . . and his whole story and his manner of telling it indicated that he was a notoriety-seeker who had concocted the tale in order to attract public attention and gratify his pitiful vanity, if not for mercenary motives. Dozens of witnesses subsequently took the stand and swore that he was a notorious liar who lived by his wits, and the contrary statements of those who were called to support his reputation for veracity were utterly unconvincing." Of another witness: "Neither the appearance of the man who told this tale, nor his record, nor his motives entitled him to credence, but again the exhibits spoke louder than any words, and corroborated him beyond hope of contradiction."

The only fact connecting Neebe with the case was his ownership of some stock in the *Arbeiter-Zeitung;* it was discussed among the counsel for the state whether or not the case against him should be dismissed, and decided in the negative, on account of its possible injurious effect on the case against the other prisoners.

Against all the other defendants, then, except Neebe, the state's attorney, in his closing speech to the jury, invoked the death penalty.

The jury retired on the afternoon of August 19, and quickly reached an agreement. The sealed verdict, which was brought in the next morning, was as follows:

"We, the jury, find the defendants, August Spies, Samuel Fielden, Michael Schwab, Albert R. Parsons, Adolph Fischer, George Engel, and Louis Lingg guilty of murder in the manner and form charged in the indictment, and fix the penalty at death. We find the defendant, Oscar W. Neebe, guilty of murder in the manner and form as charged in the indictment, and fix the penalty at imprisonment in the penitentiary for fifteen years."

This judgment was affirmed in the fall of 1887 by the supreme court of the state, to which an appeal was taken. An appeal to the supreme court of the United States (in which Leonard Swett, Lincoln's old associate, appeared for the defense) was dismissed on the ground of no jurisdiction. Some of the men thereupon petitioned the governor for executive clemency; and the sentences of Schwab and Fielden were commuted to life imprisonment. Lingg committed suicide Nov. 10th, by exploding a dynamite cartridge in his mouth.

A. R. PARSONS

AUGUST V. T. SPIES

MONUMENT ERECTED IN WALDHEIM CEMETERY IN MEMORY OF THE ANARCHISTS WHO WERE HANGED

MICHAEL SCHWAB

LOUIS LINGG

On Nov. 11, 1887, Spies, Fischer, Engel and Parsons were hanged at the county jail. When the death caps had been adjusted, each man made a brief speech. Spies said: "There will be a time when our silence will be more powerful than the voices you strangle today." Engel cried: "Hurrah for anarchy!" Fischer said: "This is the happiest moment of my life." Parsons: "Will I be allowed to speak, O men of America? Let me speak, Sheriff Matson. Let the voice of the people be heard! O—."

ANARCHISTS PARDONED BY GOVERNOR ALTGELD

On June 26, 1893, Fielden, Neebe and Schwab were pardoned by Governor Altgeld. He held that the jury was packed; that the jurors were not competent and that the trial was not a legal trial; that the defendants were not proved guilty of the crime charged in the indictment; and that there was reason to believe the judge guilty of unfairness and subservicney.

Almost immediately after the conclusion of the trial, there began to be a reaction of popular sentiment. Chicago had begun to feel somewhat remorseful for using like a giant her giant's strength. Meetings were held, petitions signed and pamphlets written in favor of the condemned men. The height of the period of reaction came a little later. It has been described by Jane Addams:

"When I first came to Chicago, in 1889, the events of the Haymarket riot were already two years old, but during that time Chicago had apparently gone through the first period of repressive measures, and during the winter of 1889-90, by the advice and with the active participation of its leading citizens, had reached the conclusion that the only cure for the acts of anarchy was free speech and an open discussion of the ills of which the opponents of government complained.

". . . Great open meetings were held every Sunday evening in the recital hall of the then new Auditorium, which were presided over by such representative citizens as Lyman Gage, and where every possible shade of opinion was freely expressed. A man who spoke constantly at these meetings used to be pointed out to the visiting stranger as one who had been involved with the group of convicted anarchists, and as one who doubtless would have been arrested and tried but for the accident of his having been in Milwaukee when the explosion occurred.

"One cannot imagine such meetings being held in Chicago today . . ."

The immediate result of the Haymarket riot was to destroy Mostism, and to give to the Anarchist movement a setback from which it has never recovered. At the same time it served as a warning to the Socialist movement to purge itself of Anarchist tendencies, and to hold fast to its prime doctrine of progress by political methods. By virtue of holding to this doctrine, and after a hard struggle to make clear its non-Anarchist position to the people of the United States, the Socialists have, within 24 years after the Haymarket riot, achieved representation in congress, and gained control of a large city, Milwaukee, and of many small cities. That is to say, one of the main currents of the American revolutionary working-class movement has confined itself to a purely political channel; the other, flowing through the channel of trade unionism, seems about to break for itself a new course, in some kind of "industrial" organization: and with these two methods, the method of political action and the method of democratic and efficient organization, appears to lie the future of the American working-class.

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